The Civil War: Lincoln’s Speeches
High School, 11th Grade

Project READi Curriculum Module
Technical Report CM #22

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[Teacher Comment: As an AP History teacher, content coverage and time constraints are always at the forefront of my planning and instruction. Not having the flexibility to do drop-in designed units of instruction, I found embedding the READI History Learning Goals (Appendix A) into my required content and threading the deepening of them throughout the year helped achieve multiple purposes. My students received the content they needed to be ready for the year-end AP History Test while at the same time were provided opportunities to be introduced to and increase their command of the literacy practices of history.

Melding the two together (AP curriculum content and READI history learning goals) came with its challenges. I needed at times to pull back and be more in a teacher content delivery mode while at other times give my students the time and freedom to do the intellectual work of historical inquiry themselves. Knowing when to step in for learning and when to step out of the way of learning became an ongoing balancing act. By the end of the year, my students learned history but they learned more than names, dates, and events. They ended with some idea of how to approach the reading, reasoning, and writing involved in historical argumentation.]

The Civil War: Lincoln’s Speeches
1844-1877

Background: The fifth major unit of the school year encompasses the time period 1844 - 1877. Instructionally, this unit stretches over 18 days, with two additional days for testing (one day for multiple choice and one day for an essay). Below, are the lessons and reflection that fall toward the end of this unit; not all 18 days are present.

Abraham Lincoln has become firmly entrenched as one of the most foremost figures in American history. Much of this reputation that Lincoln carries stems from his speeches delivered during the Civil War. Lincoln’s speeches are not only primary sources from the Civil War, but they also represent the greater impact of the war as a “new birth of freedom.”

Lincoln’s speeches will be used to study the Civil War. In reading his speeches, students will highlight and examine major moments and events of the war. At the end of this series of readings, students should be able to answer the following: How did Lincoln’s speeches reflect the changing course and goals of the war?

Essential Question: How did Lincoln’s speeches reflect the changing course and goals of the war?

[Teacher Comment: Students need to read to find out Lincoln’s stated goals and how these changed from speech to speech. But they also need to understand some of the reasons why these goals may have changed; and so, students also need to know something about the major events of the war. They will need to infer how these events
and Lincoln’s inner state precipitated these changes (contextualization). Historians often infer the reasoning behind a person’s actions, and so these activities get at some of the work that historians do to interpret the past.]

[Teacher Comment: Change over time, the main historical understanding that is the focus of this unit, is different here from previous units, because it involves a change in the ideas of just one author—Lincoln. Previously, students had studied changes over time with multiple authors. In this series of activities, the changes are more confined to the Civil War. Students will have to identify changes in the Civil War that took place between each of Lincoln’s speeches in order to see what Lincoln said that reflected these changes. It requires an understanding of the stance of each individual speech towards the war, so that I ask students to consider each speech individually, before they look across them for changes that coincide to the time period.]

Objectives: (See Appendix A READI History Learning Goals)

- To understand change over time (Goal 6: Epistemology) by analyzing Lincoln’s speeches to evaluate the way in which the Civil War changed his viewpoints on such issues as slavery, the union, and overall meaning of the Civil War.
- To engage in close reading
  - To determine the context in which each of Lincoln’s speeches was developed and to highlight significant words or phrases indicative of the scope of the time period (Goal 2: Historical Inquiry Processes—contextualization)
  - To determine why Lincoln chose particular words or phrases, how the meaning of those words or phrases change within one speech and/or across speeches (Goal 2: Historical Inquiry Processes—determining perspective of the source).

Text set for entire unit:

- The First Inaugural Address (1861): This address says that the states which were then slave states could remain so, assures the south that fugitive slaves will be returned, and argues for retention of the Union
- Emancipation Proclamation (1862): This is the proclamation that freed the slaves in all of the rebellious states, asked the slaves to refrain from violence, and asked able-bodied slaves to join the armed services.
- Gettysburg Address (1863): The Gettysburg Address asked for a renewed commitment from the living to preserving the national ideal, “All men are created equal.” In this address, Lincoln draws attention to the Declaration of Independence.
- Second Inaugural Address (1865). This address suggests that the War has been God’s punishment for slavery and asks for an end to the war that embodies a “just and lasting piece.”
- Civil War Photographs (https://www.archives.gov/research/military/civil-war/photos)
- Observation - Question Chart
- John Quincy Adams Ward: Freedman, 1863; 1891
• This statuette shows a seated semi-nude African American man with broken manacles of servitude symbolizing the man’s having come to “his own hour of freedom.”

• Thomas Ball: Emancipation, 1876
  o The memorial shows Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, freeing an African American male slave, who is shackled, without a shirt, and kneeling at the feet of Lincoln.

• Word Cloud (www.wordle.net) of Emancipation Proclamation

• Civil War Notetaker

Activity 1:
Introduction to focus of study

Activity 1.1: Analyzing photographs

Objective: To initiate inquiry by analyzing a series of photographs from the Civil War, making observations and asking questions appropriate for historical inquiry. (Goal 1: Close Reading; Goal 2: Historical inquiry (See Appendix A: READI History Learning Goals)

[Teacher Comment: These kinds of activities are sometimes referred to as “gateway” activities because they provide an entryway to the rest of the unit as well as to pique interest.]

Texts/Materials:
• Civil War photographs
  (retrieved from https://www.archives.gov/research/military/civil-war/photos)
• Observation-Question Chart (see attached Activity 1.1)

Procedures:
• Students are given the photographs and the Observation-Question chart and asked to write down their observations and questions for each photograph.

[Teacher Comment: I have them do this independently but they could also do it in groups.]

• Students participate in whole class discussion
  o What were your observations?
What questions did the photographs prompt?

- Use student comments and discussion as a lead into the essential question and the structure of the class for the next few days of the unit.
- Introduce Essential question: How did Lincoln’s speeches reflect the changing course and goals of the war?

Assessment/Student Responses:
- Observation-Question chart
- Discussion

Activity 2:
Reading the First Inaugural Address

Objective: To read Lincoln’s Speeches using historical thinking

Activity 2.1: Sourcing, Contextualization and Questioning

Objectives: (See Appendix A)
  - To begin reading Lincoln’s First Inaugural Address as a historian would
    - Sourcing and Contextualizing the speech (Goal 2: Historical Reasoning)

[Teacher Comment: Sourcing: determining who the author is and under what circumstances the message is being said, to what audience, for what purpose, etc. Contextualization: Determining the time frame of the text and how what was happening in that time frame maybe impacting what is said. Historians engage in these activities as part of their approach to any historical text.]

- Annotating with questions about the text. (Goal 1: Close Reading; Goal 2: Historical Reasoning).

Texts/Materials:
- Abraham Lincoln Inaugural Address. March 1861. (Activity 2.1)

[Teacher Comment: I am using this speech to model how one would read.]

Procedures:
- Model reading the document so that students will know how to proceed with the other speeches.
- Begin by sourcing and contextualizing the document.
  - Why begin here? Need to initiate ourselves with the document. By identifying the time and place in which Lincoln is writing, I’m able to make more sense of the language and tone of his inaugural address.
  - What do we know about this author? (Republican candidate for office
running on platform of non-extension of slavery.) (Sourcing; Goal 1: Historical Reasoning)

- In what time is he writing? What important events have occurred which help set the context of this speech? (Election of 1860, South Carolina declared secession, failure of Crittenden Compromise, Lame Duck presidency of Buchanan). (Contextualization: Goal 2: Historical Reasoning)
- What is the purpose of the inaugural address? (To inform the American public of the goals over the next four years).
- What do you think Lincoln will hope to accomplish in this speech? (Possibly Lincoln will want to calm the fears of the public, especially since 7 states have seceded and others are teetering on the edge.)

- Demonstrate the questioning annotations using the first two paragraphs of the text.
  - Why ask questions? Historical documents are incomplete; therefore, creating questions helps us not only interact with the text, but help to clarify meaning, connect to other knowledge, or possibly determine significance of message.
  - How do I go about formulating my questions? (Read through text and demonstrate creation of questions; model one section, but then have students complete a section independently).
  - Assign annotation of the rest of the speech for homework.

Activity 2.2: Analysis of Words and Phrases

Objective: To analyze Lincoln’s presidential inaugural address
- To determine why Lincoln chose particular words or phrases and how the meaning of those words or phrases change within one speech (Goal 1: Close Reading; Goal 2: Historical Reasoning)

[Teacher Comment: Historians look carefully at word choice to determine an author’s stance or perspective.]

Text/Materials:
- Abraham Lincoln Inaugural Address. March 1861. (Activity 2.1)

Procedures:
- Students write a reflection to the prompt: Reflect on Lincoln’s inaugural address, which word would you argue appears the most in his speech? Write that word on your paper. Explain why you believe Lincoln uses that word. (5 min.)
- Project words that students pick (Constitution, Union, Law, Citizen, e.g.)
- Students share their ideas about the words with a partner.
  - Are there some words that surprise you?
Why did Lincoln use these words repeatedly?
What do you think these words are telling us about Lincoln?

- Small groups if students engage in an “Undiscussion”. They should be clarifying the contents of the speech by using their own questions as well as questions that came up in group discussion. I also have a set of questions ready if these were not brought up. (see attached Activity 2.2 a)

[Teacher Comment: Before beginning, it is a good idea to go over discussion norms and to also review the specific procedure for this discussion. Undiscussion: (1) One student selects a question from the pile and poses it to the group; (2) All other members respond to the question; (3) Student who selected question provides final thoughts; (4) Move to next person]
- Individual students reflect on the essential question by focusing on Lincoln’s course and goals for the war at this point in time.

(Teacher Comment: At this point, since they have only read one speech, their reflection about the essential question can only be about his goal for the war at this period in time.)

- Essential Question: How did Lincoln’s speeches reflect the changing course and goals of the war?
- I say, “It’s important to stop and reflect on each speech individually to answer the question. A question of change of position requires knowledge of positions held at particular points in time, so a comparison can be made. How does Lincoln defend the Union at this point in time?”

- Class Discussion
- Assign Emancipation Proclamation (Activity 2.2 b) for homework: Read and Annotate, paying attention to your questions, word choice, essential question, sourcing

[Teacher Comment: I have already modeled sourcing, so they should be able to do this on their own, with a reminder. I always remind them, too, the purpose of sourcing is not just to determine the speaker, occasion, audience, purpose, subject, tone—but to use that information to determine the perspective of the speaker and to help explain why this message at this point in time.]

Assessment/Student Responses: Discussion and Reflections

Activity 2.3: Contextualizing the Speeches (Goal 2: Historical Reasoning)

Objective: To determine context in which the Emancipation Proclamation was written from observations made during video excerpts.

Text/Materials:
- Abraham Lincoln. Emancipation Proclamation.1862 (Activity 2.2 b)
- Video Civil War, Ken Burns (see below for specific video clips)
Procedures:

• Clarify context for *Emancipation Proclamation*: Show students video clips from Ken Burns’ *Civil War* to help contextualize the events leading to the moment in which Lincoln writes the *Emancipation Proclamation*.

• Set purposes for viewing film:
  o What is happening from the time Lincoln takes office in March 1861 to the fall of 1862?
  o What claim is Burns making about each of these film sections?

[Teacher Comment: *It is important for students to get used to thinking about historical “texts” as arguments where there are claims and evidence. So I start using this language early on in the year.*]

• Stop after each video excerpt and discuss significant information

  “The Cause”
  (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8b5Nm_0gj9g)
  o April 1861: 47:17 - 52:23 - Firing on Ft. Sumter

  “A Very Bloody Affair”
  (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xuLOGGTVO&v=3341s)
  o Introduction - questions confronting Lincoln at during early 1862 (1:16-4:45)
  o Our Boy - characteristics of soldiers (27:43-30:00)
  o Arts of Death - technology of Civil War (44:09-47:19)

  “Forever Free”
  (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sK6FnaBO-HY)
  o Introduction (0:00-5:08)
  o Kiss Daniel for me - (24:30-31:49) question of slaves being freed as Union soldiers advance
  o Antietam - (44:54 - 49:00) - first day of battle of Antietam
  o Higher Object (1:02:24-1:10:11)
  o Students write Exit Slip: Why would Lincoln need a military victory like Antietam to deliver the Emancipation Proclamation?

Assessment/Student Responses: Exit slip

Activity 2.3: Lincoln’s definition of Union

Objective: To analyze Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation and Gettysburg Address by engaging in close reading: (See Appendix A)
  o To highlight significant words or phrases indicative of the scope of the
time period (Goal 2: Historical Reasoning [word choice, contextualization])

○ To determine why Lincoln chose particular words or phrases and how the meaning of those words or phrases have changed from previous speech, the Inaugural Address (Goal 2: Historical Reasoning [Word Choice, Corroboration]).

[Teacher Comment: Corroboration is engaged in by historians when they compare and contrast documents and their stands on particular issues of importance. By comparing and contrasting documents written in different contexts, historians can begin to understand the reasons why change takes place, and this is at the heart of historical reasoning.]

Text/Materials:
• Abraham Lincoln. Emancipation Proclamation. 1862 (Activity 2.2 b)
• Abraham Lincoln. Gettysburg Address. 1863 (Activity 2.3 c)
• Photographs of statues (Activity 2.3 a)
  ○ John Quincy Adams Ward: Freedman, 1863; 1891
  ○ Thomas Ball: Emancipation, 1876
• Word Cloud of Emancipation Proclamation (www.wordle.net)

Procedures:
• Juxtapose two different statues commemorating the Emancipation Proclamation: John Quincy Adam Ward’s “Freeman” and Thomas Ball’s “Emancipation.” (Activity 2.3 a) Prompt students to make observations about each artist’s interpretation of the document. Which statue more accurately projects the meaning of the Emancipation? (5 min.)

[Teacher Comment: This assignment gets students to think through their understandings of the Emancipation Proclamation that they read for homework and that documents’ depiction emancipation. To determine which statue more accurately projects Lincoln’s intended meaning, students would have had to read the document closely (Goal 1: Close Reading. It is one way I can tell what they have gotten out of their reading.]

• Students engage in small group Undiscussion: Instruct students on the task of their small groups:
  ○ Clarify the contents of the speech by using your own student-generated questions. (Activity 2.2 b)
  ○ Clarify the contents of the speech by using the teacher-generated questions. (See attached Activity 2.3 b)
  ○ Close reading prompt: Bailey claims “Emancipation Proclamation was stronger on proclamation than emancipation.” Which phrases would support this argument?
Segue to Gettysburg Address:
- Have students source the document. (Activity 2.3 c)
- Help students contextualize November 19, 1863 by showing clips from Ken Burn’s Civil War (www.youtube)
  - Significant Union victories by summer 1863 - Vicksburg & Gettysburg
  - Lincoln dealing with critics on his hands - Democrats dissent; Civil Liberties suppressed; draft riots in NYC
- Prompt students: What do you predict will be the focus of this speech, which dedicates a national cemetery?
- Show word cloud of Emancipation Proclamation speech - How does this image compare to your prediction? (www.wordle.net)
- Read speech aloud before splitting to do discussion work.

[Teacher Comment: Reading this aloud helps students understand the skill with which it was put together.]

Small-group work “Un-discussion”: Gettysburg Address
(Activity 2.3 c)
- Instruct students on the task of their small groups:
  - Clarify the contents of the speech by using the teacher-generated questions.
  - Close reading prompt: Eric Foner argues the Gettysburg Address reflected “the explosive growth of national self-consciousness that arose from the Civil War.” Which phrases would you argue best support his view?

Whole group debrief of “un-discussion.”

Assessment/Student Responses: Discussion

**Activity 2.4: Lincoln Restores the Union**

**Objective:** To analyze Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address (Activity 2.4) by engaging in close reading:
- To determine the context in which each of Lincoln’s speeches was developed and to highlight significant words or phrases indicative of the scope of the time period
- To determine why Lincoln chose particular words or phrases and how the meaning of those words or phrases have changed from previous speeches

**Text/Materials:**
- Abraham Lincoln. Second Inaugural Address. (Activity 2.4)

**Procedures:**
- Provide context for Second Inaugural Address
[Teacher Comment: Students have a difficult time with contextualization because they don’t know history. At this point in the year, I provide it for them. Later on, however, I have students go to texts to learn it on their own.]

- Election 1864
- Union victories
- Emancipation by way of Constitution - 13th Amendment

- Prompt students: What do you predict will be the focus of Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address?

- Pair/share or discuss with a small group.
- Discuss Second Inaugural Address:
  - Inform students that discussion strategy is changing to “Save the Last Word”

[Teacher Comment: This strategy gets students to engage in careful, meaning-based reading. I’m looking for explanations that are grounded in the larger meaning of the document, with the context in mind. But this strategy gets a lot of ideas out on the table, and students end up with more ideas about meaning than they would on their own.]

- Provide the following instructions:
  - Step One:
    - Select a phrase from the speech you find most compelling/meaningful.
    - Highlight the phrase.
    - Explain why you find the phrase to be compelling/meaningful
  - Step Two:
    - Share the phrase you selected with the group.
  - Step Three:
    - Allow all other members to discuss the quote you selected.
    - Share your interpretation of the quote with the group (The last word).
      Allow all other members to discuss the quote you selected.

- Whole class discussion about the Second Inaugural Address. Students share some of the Say the Last Word Discussion. I also ask them: “What is the tone Lincoln takes in addressing the people? What words does he use to help you determine the tone?”

- Students write Exit Slip: How does Lincoln restore the Union? What evidence from this Address provides support for your answer?

**Assessment/Student Responses:** Exit Slip

**Activity 3:**
**Constructing an Argument in Response to the Essential Question**
Objective: To construct the meaning of Lincoln’s speeches collectively by making an claim about change over time, and by supporting that claim with textual evidence.

Texts/Materials:
- First Inaugural Address (Activity 2.1)
- Gettysburg Address (Activity 2.3 c)
- Second Inaugural Address (Activity 2.4)

Procedures:
- Prompt students with the following scenario:
  o What sources of information and outside knowledge would you need to know about a person to be able to answer the following question: *How does Elizabeth’s academic record reflect her changing goals for life after high school?*
- Students engage in whole class discussion of the sources of information and outside knowledge.
- Note that the question involves understanding Elizabeth’s change over time. Ask what the processes are for creating claims about change over time questions.
  What to make sure they get to these points
  o Need to know the status quo—changed from what?
  o Need to recognize the process of change
  o Need to identify relevant developments between beginning and endpoint
  o Need to identify what characteristics you are looking at that change
- Transition to Lincoln: *The essential question we’ve been working with asks you to consider how Lincoln changes over time. Just like we did for Elizabeth, what would be the sources of information that I would want to go to in order to begin constructing a response to the question: How do Lincoln’s speeches reflect the changing goals and course of the war?*
  o Sources—Lincoln speeches; outside information (chapter, chapter notes, supplemental information)
  o Before writing, think about your intent - What is it that you would like to convince your audience of in your written response?
  o Keeping your intent in mind, now articulate your argument by writing a thesis. Remember, a thesis answers the question and recognizes complexity
  o Based on the thesis you have constructed, begin to organize your ideas - develop a “road map” for your writing. The organizational pattern depends largely on your argument

[Teacher Comment: One way to plan for this essay is to compare what changed in the
war to what changed in Lincoln’s speeches. So a graphic organizer for that kind of plan might have three columns: The date of the speech, what was happening with the War, and what Lincoln said. A fourth column might then be a statement of how what Lincoln said reflected what was happening in the war.

• Allow time to begin writing essay in class: “How did Lincoln’s speeches reflect the changing goals and course of the war?”
## Analyzing Photographs
### Observation – Question Chart

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<th>Observation</th>
<th>Question</th>
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Activity 1.1
First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

IN compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of this office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that—

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read: Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

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.

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause "shall be delivered up" their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?
Activity 2.1

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should anyone in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again: In any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidable attempted.

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union."

But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.
It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that *resolves* and *ordinances* to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it *will* constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from, will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily, the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify revolution; certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution that controversies never arise concerning
them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. *May* Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. *Must* Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative, for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is *right* and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong* and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both
cases *after* the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory *after* separation than *before*? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it or their *revolutionary* right to dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have referred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if also they choose, but the Executive as such has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the Government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no Administration by any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.
My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assault you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>According to Lincoln, is the Union of American states permanent and binding, or does a state have the right to secede?</td>
<td>What words appear to have been chosen specifically for their effects? A great example sits on line 170. What are some others?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What images are especially vivid? What do these images seem to indicate about the author’s tone?</td>
<td>Assuming that &quot;the Union is unbroken,&quot; what does Lincoln say is his constitutional responsibility as president regarding the laws of the Union?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How does Lincoln define &quot;secession&quot;? Why would it be necessary for him to state this in his inaugural address?</td>
<td>How would you describe the language that Lincoln uses? What does the language indicate about the author’s tone?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If a war breaks out as a result of states claiming to secede, why does Lincoln think his effort to preserve the Union is an act of national self-defense?</td>
<td>What details has Lincoln specifically included? Why would he do this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What details has Lincoln specifically left out? Why would he do this?</td>
<td>Do you find Lincoln's argument for maintaining the Union convincing? Why or why not? Possibly you want to consider the evidence he uses to make his argument.</td>
</tr>
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Activity 2.2 b

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863

[Image of the Emancipation Proclamation]

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power vested in me as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in pursuance of a decree in such case made, and agreed upon by the said States and parts of States where the same shall, for the term of seven years, be free, and shall then be at large, and said States and parts of States respectively, and the people thereof severally, are hereby declared to be free; and the Executive authority of the United States will so declare, and will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

In like manner, I declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and shall be, free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.
President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation,

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above mentioned order, and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana - except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafouvelle, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans - Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia - except the forty eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free: and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence; unless in necessary self defense: and I recommend to them that in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison foils, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity. I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God
Abraham Lincoln

Entered according to Act of Congress, the year 1864, by F.S. Butler, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Northern District of California.
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Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that “all men are created equal.”

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate – we can not consecrate – we can not hallow, this ground – The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, we here be dedicated to the great task remaining before us – that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here, gave the last full measure of devotion – that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.
Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address. March 4, 1865.

Fellow Countrymen

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it -- all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war -- seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern half part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!"

If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope -- fervently do we pray -- that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said four] three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"
With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to achieve and cherish a lasting peace among ourselves and with the world. to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with the world. all nations.

[Endorsed by Lincoln:]

Original manuscript of second Inaugural presented to Major John Hay.

A. Lincoln

April 10, 1865
READI History Learning Goals for Instruction*

The READI team developed six learning goals that reflect an integrated instructional approach to the Core Construct knowledge, skills, and practices that had guided the development of the initial units. The learning goals were intended to guide the instructional design as well as the assessment of progress toward the goals.

The six READI learning goals in history are the following.

1.  *Students engage in close reading of historical resources, including primary, secondary, and tertiary documents, to construct domain knowledge. Close reading encompasses meta-comprehension and self-regulation of the process.*

   Reading closely is just as important and relevant to the study of history as it is to the English Language Arts. Through close reading in history, students learn what the text says – literal comprehension, as well as what the text is doing, and its larger meaning. These processes inform analysis and evaluation of the information, processes that are detailed in additional learning goals (Goals 2-6) discussed below. Close reading is in service of these other goals.

   When prompted, historians have been found to be actively reflective about the processes they use to read history text, and they explicitly regulate how they read. Thus, a close reading goal includes these attributes. We wanted students to engage in the process of close reading as historians do.

2.  *Students synthesize and reason within and across historical resources using comparison, contrast, corroboration, contextualization, sourcing, and other historical inquiry processes.*
Historians have particular ways of interpreting what they read and study about the past. They consult many sources of information because they know that no single source tells the whole story. They compare one version of events with another, looking for consistencies and inconsistencies across different versions. They interpret a document based upon its place in history, about what was happening at the time and how the document fits into that milieu, the chronology of events and activities, and how it helps them make claims about aspects of history such as cause-effect and significance. Like historians, we wanted students to engage in these processes in order to identify, understand, and make claims about significance, cause/effect, and other insights into the past.

3. Students construct claim-evidence relations, using historical evidence and explaining the relationship among pieces of evidence and between evidence and claims.

Historical claims interpret the past. The interpretations are grounded in historical evidence (written documents, eyewitness testimonies and artifacts from the period of study) and informed by the work of historians on the subject. These claims, which form historical argument, may be expressed as descriptive, explanatory or narrative accounts.

Historical arguments explain the relationships among pieces of evidence and the reasoning that connects evidence and claims. For example, a historian may describe and discuss the evidence itself, show how various pieces of evidence together build a cohesive picture or how a particular perspective made sense within the context of the times. We wanted students to engage in historical argumentation themselves by learning to analyze evidence, create claims, and explain how the evidence connects to the claim.
4. **Students use interpretive frameworks such as societal structures (e.g. political, economic, technological), systems (e.g. feudalism, colonialism, Jim Crow), patterns (e.g. periodization, individual vs. mass agency, immigration, industrialization) and schools of historical thought (e.g. idealism, material determinism) to analyze historical claims and evidence.**

Interpretive frameworks are the lenses historians use to analyze the past. These lenses allow them to not only analyze claims and evidence but to create their own arguments and even their own interpretive frameworks. We wanted students to become aware of all of these kinds of interpretive frameworks and use them in the development of their own arguments.

5. **Students evaluate historical interpretations for coherence, completeness, the quality of evidence and reasoning, and perspective.**

In order for historians to create plausible interpretations of the past, they must evaluate what they read, and so must students. In order to evaluate a historical interpretation (argument), they must be able to read the argument closely and analyze it on a number of levels. We want students to recognize the work of historians as argument and have the tools to comprehend, analyze and evaluate them.

6. **Students demonstrate understanding of the epistemology of history—as inquiry into the past, seeing history as competing interpretations that are contested, incomplete approximations of the past, open to new evidence and new interpretations.**

This last focus is the most overarching of the six—encompassing understandings gleaned from each of the prior points. Students will be hampered in developing historical inquiry practices and achieving the other five learning objectives if they do not take up
the epistemology of historians. However, many students view history as a set of facts to memorize. Rather than just hope that students, by working toward the other five goals, will come to view history as interpretation, the epistemology needs to be made explicit through document sets that contradict one another (provide conflicting accounts), through discussions about why historians read and write the way they do, and by opportunities to engage in reading, thinking and writing like a historian.

*Excerpted from: