

THE LOCKE SOCIETY

LIFE, LIBERTY & EDUCATION



Unit

Slavery in the United States

Topic

Early Emancipation Efforts (Before 1830)

Lesson Plan

Aim

To evaluate arguments for emancipation in early American history (before 1830) by analyzing primary sources that reflect the struggle with and opposition to slavery.

Rationale

While most historians agree that the abolition movement matured in 1830, it would be misleading for educators to ignore the earlier emancipation efforts in American history. Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Thomas Paine are among those who made conscious and deliberate efforts to end slavery, either through legislation or advocacy in other ways. Although some struggled with manumission during their lifetime, evidence suggests that they knew emancipation would need to succeed in order for America to live up to its promise and reputation as the land of the free. This crucial lesson uses primary sources to analyze the words of these men in regard to their mindfulness of the meaning of liberty, and of their efforts with emancipation, both publicly and privately, that reflected their struggle with and opposition to slavery. This is not a lesson of empathy in that we can put ourselves in their place and think about what we would do, rather it is a lesson of understanding the circumstances surrounding failed attempts of emancipation during this time period and the faith of our Founders that it would one day be achieved.

Student Learning Objectives

1. Students will be able to interpret the language of primary sources by identifying the main idea of each document.
2. Students will be able to evaluate the strength of an argument by identifying the most convincing line of each text excerpt.
3. Students will be able to determine what caused the failure of early emancipation efforts by synthesizing information from various primary sources.

Civics Connection

- How does one contribute to an evolving political, social, or economic system individually and as a group?
- How have people in power affected political, social, and economic developments regarding the freedom and protection of their people?

*See the *Civics Connection Through Questioning* guide in *Civics* for more ideas.



Vocabulary

Emancipation	Abolition	Declaration of Independence
Manumission	Slavery	

Materials and Resources

1. Text: *Early Emancipation Efforts* (Documents 1 – 6) *Primary sources cited in document.
2. Handout: *Early Emancipation Efforts: Guiding Questions*

Procedure

Do Now:

With early emancipation efforts, why do you think it was so difficult to abolish slavery at the time of America's founding?

Lesson:

The teacher will introduce the lesson by discussing the controversy surrounding slavery in a nation that declared itself one conceived in freedom. The teacher will review key vocabulary words (see vocabulary section) and the differences between them. Next, the teacher will model the activity by reading aloud Document 5: Thomas Paine's essay *African Slavery in America*. The teacher will read and annotate to model how to interpret primary source language efficiently while thinking aloud about the meaning of Paine's words. The teacher will craft a response to the guiding questions through active engagement with the class.

Collaborative/Independent Work:

Students will be in groups of 3-4. Each group will be assigned 3 of the documents to read (making sure every document has been covered by at least one group). Students will work together to interpret the primary source language and develop a cohesive response to the guiding questions. The group must arrive at a consensus when discussing which line was the most convincing in each argument for the second question of each document.

Share:

The teacher will review each document and students must record the correct interpretation for question number 1 for each document. The teacher will also discuss the second question and whether or not it was difficult for the group to agree.

Close:

1. Who do you think made the most convincing argument for emancipation based on the documents studied today? Why do you think they did so in comparison to the others?
2. Do you think these early emancipation efforts made an impact on the success of the abolition movement? Why or why not?



Modifications

- The teacher may provide additional vocabulary for interpreting each primary source document.
- The teacher may provide visuals of the authors of the documents (i.e. Thomas Jefferson) to help differentiate between the different people.
- The teacher may ask students to read all documents (excluding the model) and answer only question 1 for all. If a group has a time, they may answer question 2 for each document.

Extension

In their group, students will determine whether or not each author effectively engaged in civic participation. In order to complete this task, students will need to define civic participation and create a strategy for determining what would suffice for effectively engaging in civic participation. The group may need to conduct outside research to arrive at their conclusion.

Notes

**Use discretion for activities according to what is appropriate for your class.*

Some documents have been modified to reflect appropriate language for the classroom. These modifications are marked with []. If printing these suggested texts from another source, check for language that must be removed or replaced before giving the text to your students.



Early Emancipation Efforts

From the moment slavery began in North America, there was opposition.

Document 1

Germantown Friends' Protest Against Slavery

1688 – *Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery*

[They] are brought hither against their will and consent, and that many of them are stolen. [...] There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of conscience, wch is right and reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of ye body, except of evil-doers, wch is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed wh are of a black colour. [...] Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse towards us, than if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating husbands from their wives and children. Being now this is not done in the manner we would be done at therefore we contradict and are against this traffic of men-body. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must, likewise, avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible. And such men ought to be delivered out of ye hands of ye robbers, and set free as well as in Europe. [...] [H]ave [they] not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Source: Friends, Society Of. Germantown, Pa. *Germantown Friends' protest against slavery*. *Facsimile*. Pdf. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.14000200/>.



Early Emancipation Efforts

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Document 2

Benjamin Franklin and The Abolition Society

1789 – *Address to the Public from The Abolition Society*

Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils. [...] Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national policy; but, as far as we contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgement and abilities.

To instruct, to advise, to qualify those, who have been restored to freedom, for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty, to promote in them habits of industry, to furnish them with employment suited to their age, [gender], talents, and other circumstances, and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life; these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of these [emancipated people].

Source: Franklin, Benjamin. "Address to the Public." Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, 9 November 1789, Philadelphia, PA. Address. <http://www.benjamin-franklin-history.org/address-to-the-public/>



Early Emancipation Efforts

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Document 3

George Washington

1786 – *Letter to Robert Morris, April 12*

I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it—but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, & that is by Legislative authority

Source: “From George Washington to Robert Morris, 12 April 1786,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-04-02-0019>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Confederation Series, vol. 4, 2 April 1786–31 January 1787, ed. W. W. Abbot. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995, pp. 15–17.]

1786 – *Letter to John Francis Mercer, September 9*

I never mean (unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it) to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted, by the legislature by which slavery in this Country may be abolished by slow, sure, & imperceptible degrees.

Source: “From George Washington to John Francis Mercer, 9 September 1786,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-04-02-0232>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Confederation Series, vol. 4, 2 April 1786–31 January 1787, ed. W. W. Abbot. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995, pp. 243–244.]

1799 – *George Washington's Will*

Item Upon the decease of my wife, it is my Will & desire that all the Slaves which I hold in my own right, shall receive their freedom. [...]

And whereas among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some, who from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who on account of their infancy, that will be unable to support themselves; it is my Will and desire that all who come under the first & second description shall be comfortably cloathed & fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living are unable, or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. [...]



Early Emancipation Efforts

From the moment slavery began in North America, there was opposition.

Document 3 (continued)

George Washington

[They] are (by their Masters or Mistresses) to be taught to read & write; and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the Laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of Orphan and other poor Children. and I do hereby expressly forbid the Sale, or transportation out of the said Commonwealth, of any Slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover most pointedly, and most solemnly enjoin it upon my Executors hereafter named, or the Survivors of them, to see that this clause respecting Slaves, and every part thereof be religiously fulfilled at the Epoch at which it is directed to take place; without evasion, neglect or delay [...]

[To] William (calling himself William Lee) I give immediate freedom; or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so: In either case however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and cloaths he has been accustomed to receive, if he chuses the last alternative; but in full, with his freedom, if he prefers the first; & this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War.

Source: Washington, George. "George Washington's Last Will and Testament." 9 July 1799, <https://www.mountvernon.org/education/primary-sources-2/article/george-washingtons-last-will-and-testament-july-9-1799/#>.



Early Emancipation Efforts

From the moment slavery began in North America, there was opposition.

Document 4

John Adams

1801 – *Letter to George Churchman, January 24*

Although I have never Sought popularity by any animated Speeches or inflammatory publications against the Slavery of the Blacks, my opinion against it has always been known, and my practice has been so conformable to my Sentiment that I have always employd freemen both as Domisticks and Labourers, and never in my Life did I own a Slave. The Abolition of Slavery must be gradual and accomplished with much caution and Circumspection. Violent means and measures would produce greater violations of Justice and Humanity, than the continuance of the practice. Neither Mr Mifflin nor yourselves, I presume would be willing to venture on Exertions which would probably excite Insurrections among the Blacks to rise against their Masters and imbue their hands in innocent blood

Source: “From John Adams to George Churchman, 24 January 1801,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-4766>. [This is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.]



Early Emancipation Efforts

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Document 5

Thomas Paine

1774-1779 - *African Slavery in America*

That some desperate wretches should be willing to steal and enslave men by violence and murder for gain, is rather lamentable than strange. But that many civilized, nay, christianized people should approve, and be concerned in the savage practice, is surprising; and still persist, though it has been so often proved contrary to the light of nature, to every principle of Justice and Humanity, and even good policy, by a succession of eminent men,* and several late publications.

Our Traders in MEN (an unnatural commodity!) must know the wickedness of that SLAVE-TRADE, if they attend to reasoning, or the dictates of their own hearts; and such as shun and stifle all these, willfully sacrifice Conscience, and the character of integrity to that golden Idol. [...]

Certainly one may, with as much reason and decency, plead for murder, robbery, lewdness, and barbarity, as for this practice [...] But the chief design of this paper is not to disprove it, which many have sufficiently done; but to entreat Americans to consider.

1. With what consistency, or decency they complain so loudly of attempts to enslave them, while they hold so many hundred thousands in slavery; and annually enslave many thousands more, without any pretence of authority, or claim upon them?
2. How just, how suitable to our crime is the punishment with which Providence threatens us? We have enslaved multitudes, and shed much innocent blood in doing it; and [8] now are threatened with the same. And while other evils are confessed, and bewailed, why not this especially, and publicly; than which no other vice, if all others, has brought so much guilt on the land?
3. Whether, then, all ought not immediately to discontinue and renounce it, with grief and abhorrence? Should not every society bear testimony against it, and account obstinate persisters in it bad men, enemies to their country, and exclude them from fellowship; as they often do for much lesser faults?
4. The great Question may be—What should be done with those who are enslaved already? To turn the old and infirm free, would be injustice and cruelty; they who enjoyed the labours of their better days should keep, and treat them humanely. As to the rest, let prudent men, with the assistance of legislatures, determine what is practicable for masters, and best for them. Perhaps some could give them lands upon reasonable rent, some, employing them in their labour still, might give them some reasonable allowances for it; so as all may have some property, and fruits of their labours at their own disposal, and be encouraged to industry; the family may live together, and enjoy the natural satisfaction of exercising relative affections and duties, with civil protection, and other advantages, like fellow men. Perhaps they might sometime form useful barrier settlements on the frontiers. Thus they may become interested in the public welfare, and assist in promoting it; instead of being dangerous, as now they are, should any enemy promise them a better condition.

Source: Paine, Thomas. "African Slavery in America." *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Collected and Edited by Moncure Daniel Conway (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894). Vol. 1, 1774-1779, https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/paine-the-writings-of-thomas-paine-vol-i-1774-1779#lf0548-01_label_026.



Early Emancipation Efforts

From the moment slavery began in North America, there was opposition.

Document 6

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

1774 – *Draft of Instructions to the Virginia Delegates in the Continental Congress (MS Text of A Summary View, &C.)*

For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative: thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American states, and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this infamous practice. Nay the single interposition of an interested individual against a law was scarcely ever known to fail of success, tho' in the opposite scale were placed the interests of a whole country. That this is so shameful an abuse of a power trusted with his majesty for other purposes, as if not reformed would call for some legal restrictions.

Source: "Draft of Instructions to the Virginia Delegates in the Continental Congress (MS Text of *A Summary View, &c.*), [July 1774]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0090>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, 1760–1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 121–137.]

1783 – *Jefferson's Draft of a Constitution for Virginia*

...nor to permit the introduction of any more slaves to reside in this state, or the continuance of slavery beyond the generation which shall be living on the 31st. day of December 1800; all persons born after that day being hereby declared free.

Source: "III. Jefferson's Draft of a Constitution for Virginia, [May–June 1783]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0255-0004>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 294–308.]

1784 – *Report of the Committee*

The Committee appointed to prepare a plan for the temporary government of the Western territory have agreed to the following resolutions. [...] That after the year 1800 of the Christian æra, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

Source: "III. Report of the Committee, 1 March 1784," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0420-0004>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 603–607.]



Early Emancipation Efforts

From the moment slavery began in North America, there was opposition.

Document 6 (continued)

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

1785 – *Notes on the State of Virginia*

The general assembly shall not have power [...] to permit the introduction of any more slaves to reside in this state, or the continuance of slavery beyond the generation which shall be living on the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred: all persons born after that day being hereby declared free [...]

We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation. [...]

The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most hoisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it for man is an imitative animal. [...] From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals [...] And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God he just: that his justice cannot sleep forever [...] I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, der the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation.

Source: Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes On the State of Virginia*. Boston: Lilly and Wait, 1832.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081883005&view=1up&seq=7>



Early Emancipation Efforts

From the moment slavery began in North America, there was opposition.

Document 6 (continued)

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

1790 – *Letter to Benjamin Vaughan, June 27*

Though large countries within our Union are covered with the Sugar maple as heavily as can be conceived, and that this tree yields a sugar equal to the best from the cane, yields it in great quantity, with no other labor than what the women and girls can bestow, who attend to the drawing off and boiling the liquor, and the trees when skillfully tapped will last a great number of years, yet the ease with which we had formerly got cane sugar, had prevented our attending to this resource. Late difficulties in the sugar trade have excited attention to our sugar trees, and it seems fully believed by judicious persons, that we can not only supply our own demand, but make for exportation. I will send you a sample of it if I can find a conveyance without passing it through the expensive one of the post. What a blessing to substitute a sugar which requires only the labour of children, for that which it is said renders the slavery of the blacks necessary.

Source: "From Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Vaughan, 27 June 1790," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-16-02-0342>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 16, 30 November 1789–4 July 1790, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961, pp. 578–580.]

From Monticello: Jefferson's Attitudes Toward Slavery

"Although Jefferson continued to advocate for abolition, the reality was that slavery was becoming more entrenched. The slave population in Virginia skyrocketed from 292,627 in 1790 to 469,757 in 1830. Jefferson had assumed that the abolition of the slave trade would weaken slavery and hasten its end. Instead, slavery became more widespread and profitable. In an attempt to erode Virginians' support for slavery, he discouraged the cultivation of crops heavily dependent on slave labor—specifically tobacco—and encouraged the introduction of crops that needed little or no slave labor—wheat, sugar maples, short-grained rice, olive trees, and wine grapes."

Source: *Jefferson's Attitudes Towards Slavery*. Th. Jefferson Monticello. https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/jefferson-slavery/jefferson-s-attitudes-toward-slavery/#footnote17_qzsgw66.

1820 – *Letter to John Holmes, April 22*

I can say with conscious truth that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would, to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any practicable way. the cession of that kind of property, for it is so misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected: and, gradually, and with due sacrifices, I think it might be. but, as it is, we have the wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other. of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one state to another would not make a slave of a single human being who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier



Early Emancipation Efforts

From the moment slavery began in North America, there was opposition.

Document 6 (continued)

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

and proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation; by dividing the burthen on a greater number of co-adjutors. an abstinence too from this act of power would remove the jealousy excited by the undertaking of Congress; to regulate the condition of the different descriptions of men composing a state. this certainly is the exclusive right of every state, which nothing in the constitution has taken from them and given to the general government. could congress, for example say that the Non-freemen of Connecticut, shall be freemen, or that they shall not emigrate into any other state?

I regret that I am now to die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves, by the generation of '76. to acquire self government and happiness to their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons [...] if they would but dispassionately weigh the blessings they would throw away against an abstract principle more likely to be effected by union than by scission...

Source: "From Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes, 22 April 1820," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-1234>. [This is an **Early Access document** from *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series*. It is not an authoritative final version.]

1821 – *Thomas Jefferson: Autobiography*

In 1769. I became a member of the legislature by the choice of the county in which I live, & continued in that until it was closed by the revolution. I made one effort in that body for the permission of the emancipation of slaves, which was rejected: and indeed, during the regal government, nothing liberal could expect success. our minds were circumscribed within narrow limits by an habitual belief that it was our duty to be subordinate to the mother country in all matters of government, to direct all our labors in subservience to her interests, and even to observe a bigotted intolerance for all religions but hers. the difficulties with our representatives were of habit and despair, not of reflection & conviction. experience soon proved that they could bring their minds to rights on the first summons of their attention. but the king's council, which acted as another house of legislature, held their places at will & were in most humble obedience to that will: the Governor too, who had a negative on our laws held by the same tenure, & with still greater devotedness to it: and last of all the Royal negative closed the last door to every hope of amelioration. [...]

The first establishment in Virginia which became permanent was made in 1607. I have found no mention of [enslaved persons] in the colony until about 1650. the first brought here as slaves were by a Dutch ship; after which the English commenced the trade and continued it until the revolutionary war. that suspended, ipso facto, their further importation for the present, and the business of the war pressing constantly on the legislature, this subject was not acted on finally until the year 78. when I brought in a bill



Early Emancipation Efforts

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Document 6 (continued)

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

to prevent their further importation. this passed without opposition, and stopped the increase of the evil by importation, leaving to future efforts it's final eradication [...]
The bill on the subject of slaves was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without any intimation of a plan for a future & general emancipation. it was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment whenever the bill should be brought on. the principles of the amendment however were agreed on, that is to say, the freedom of all born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age. but it was found that teh public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free. nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. nature, habit, opinion has drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. it is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly...

Source: "Thomas Jefferson: Autobiography, 6 Jan.-29 July 1821, 6 January 1821," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-1756>. [This is an **Early Access document** from The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series. It is not an authoritative final version.]



1799 – *George Washington's Will*

1. What is the main argument of this text?

2. Which line or phrase is most convincing for the cause of ending slavery? Explain why.

Document 4: John Adams

1801 – *Letter to George Churchman, January 24*

1. What is the main argument of this text?

2. Which line or phrase is most convincing for the cause of ending slavery? Explain why.



1783 – *Jefferson’s Draft of a Constitution for Virginia*

1. What is the main argument of this text?

2. Which line or phrase is most convincing for the cause of ending slavery? Explain why.

1784 – *Report of the Committee*

1. What is the main argument of this text?

2. Which line or phrase is most convincing for the cause of ending slavery? Explain why.



1785 – *Notes on the State of Virginia*

1. What is the main argument of this text?

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