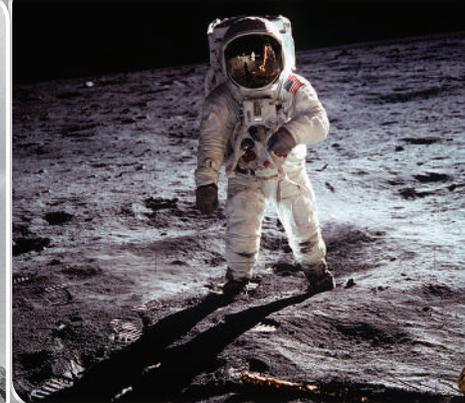
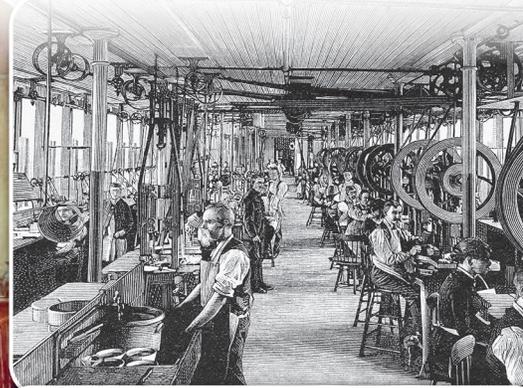
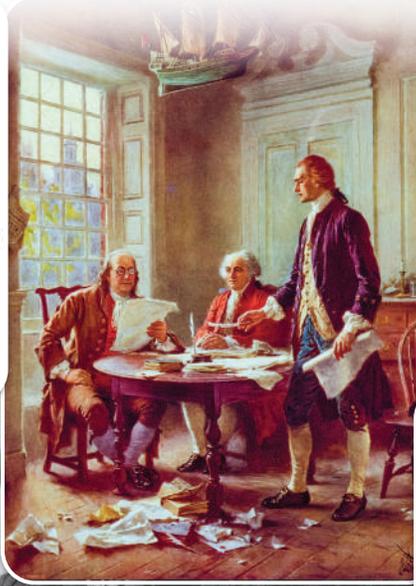


Land of Liberty DBQ Workbook

Student Edition



LOUISIANA HIGH SCHOOL U.S. HISTORY



Land of Liberty

DBQ Workbook



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About Primary Sources

WHAT IS A PRIMARY SOURCE?

According to the Library of Congress, primary sources are the raw materials of history—original documents and objects that were created at the time under study. A primary source is a firsthand account of a historic event. Primary sources include letters, diaries, photographs, artifacts, interviews, and sound or video recordings. For example, letters written by James Madison concerning the ideas within the U.S. Constitution and interviews with newly arrived immigrants during the Second Industrial Revolution are both examples of primary sources, as are political cartoons and propaganda posters.

Primary sources are different from secondary sources in that secondary sources are removed from the events of the past. Secondary sources often analyze, retell, or interpret historic events or people. Secondary sources are created by individuals who did not directly witness or experience the events they are discussing. These individuals rely on primary sources, such as historical documents, firsthand accounts, or scientific data, to inform their analysis. Secondary sources can include textbooks, journal and newspaper articles, documentaries, books about historical topics, encyclopedias, and biographies.

WHY STUDY PRIMARY SOURCES?

Primary sources are a window to the past. They help us understand a time period or event because they were created by people who lived during it. They show or tell us what people thought, what they knew, how they felt, and how they lived.

HOW TO ANALYZE A PRIMARY SOURCE

A deeper understanding of a primary source and the historical event or time period from which it originates can be reached through a systematic examination of the source.

Describe the Source

When examining a primary source, start by describing it. One way to do this is to ask the following questions:

1. What type of primary source is this?
2. Who created this source? What do you know about them?
3. When and where was the source created?
4. What is the main idea expressed in the source?
5. What stands out to you about the source?
6. What seems to be missing from the source, if anything?

Connect the Source

Next, put the primary source in context. This means connecting it to the historical, social, and cultural environment in which it was created. This can be done by asking the following questions:

1. How does this source reflect the time and place in which it was created?
2. What historical events or situations might have influenced the creation of this source?
3. Who was the intended audience for this source?
4. How might other audiences interpret this source differently?
5. What themes or ideas in this source resonate with other historical events, themes, or figures?
6. What other primary or secondary sources can you connect with this source?

Understand the Source

Continue by understanding the primary source. This means comprehending and interpreting the primary source to gain insight into the time period or event being studied. This often includes summarizing or paraphrasing the content of the primary source. Then ask the following questions:

1. What was the creator's purpose in creating this source?
2. What biases, attitudes, or emotions does the source convey?
3. How do the creator and context of the source affect its reliability?
4. What questions does this source raise about its creator or historical context?

Draw a Conclusion From or About the Source

Finally, draw a conclusion from or about the primary source. Use the information you have gathered to arrive at a conclusion about the primary source's meaning or significance. Asking questions such as the following helps create an informed understanding of the past:

1. What does this primary source reveal about its creator?
2. What does this primary source reveal about the time period or event being studied?
3. Why is this primary source important?
4. What do you still want to know?

Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, Letter VII

Background: In 1765, Pennsylvania lawyer and colonial assemblyman John Dickinson wrote a pamphlet against the Stamp Act and drafted the Stamp Act Congress's Declaration of Rights and Grievances. His status as the "Penman of the Revolution" was cemented when he began writing his *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* in opposition to the Townshend Acts, including the letter excerpted below. Dickinson served in both the First and Second Continental Congresses and, for a time, in the Delaware militia during the American Revolution. Later, he advocated for Delaware and other small states during the Constitutional Convention in 1787, writing letters in support of the new constitution under the pen name Fabius.

Certain duties are thereby imposed on paper and glass, imported into these colonies. By the laws of *Great-Britain* we are prohibited to get these articles from any other part of the world. We cannot at present, nor for many years to come, tho' we should apply ourselves to these manufactures with the utmost industry, make enough ourselves for our own use. That paper and glass and are not only convenient, but absolutely necessary for us, I imagine very few will contend. . . .

From these remarks I think it evident, that we *must* use paper and glass; that what we use *must* be *British*; and that we *must* pay the duties imposed, unless those who sell these articles, are so generous as to make us presents of the duties they pay.

Some persons may think this act of no consequence, because the duties are so *small*. A fatal error. *That* is the very circumstance most alarming to me. For I am convinced, that the authors of this law would never have obtained an act to raise so trifling a sum as it must do, had they not intended by *it* to establish a *precedent* for future use. To console ourselves with the *smallness* of the duties, is to walk deliberately into the snare that is set for us, praising the *neatness* of the workmanship. . . .

. . . If they have the right to levy a tax of *one penny* upon us, they have a right to levy a *million* upon us: For where does their right stop? At any given number of Pence, Shillings or Pounds? To attempt to limit their right, after granting it to exist at all, is as contrary to reason—as granting it to exist at all, is contrary to justice. If *they* have any right to tax *us*—then, whether *our own money* shall continue in *our own pockets* or not, depends no longer on *us*, but on *them*.

Source: Dickinson, John. *The Writings of John Dickinson*. Vol. 1, *Political Writings, 1764–1774*, edited by Paul Leicester Ford. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1895, pp. 355–356.

Name _____

Date _____

Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, Letter VII

Why does Dickinson consider the taxes imposed by the Townshend Acts to be unavoidable for colonists?

What is Dickinson's main objection to the taxes imposed by the Townshend Acts?

According to Dickinson, why do some of his contemporaries think the Townshend Acts are "of no consequence"? Why does he believe this is "a fatal error"?

How does this passage reflect larger colonial fears about taxation and government power?

Consider what you have read in Topic 1. Do you think Dickinson's analysis was correct? Did the Townshend Acts embolden Parliament to set more and higher taxes? Explain your reasoning.

Strictures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia

Background: Born in Boston in 1711, Thomas Hutchinson served in the Massachusetts Assembly for approximately twelve years and as the colony's lieutenant governor and, later, its chief justice. He was commissioned by King George III as the royal governor of Massachusetts in 1771. Although Hutchinson initially opposed Parliament's taxation policies following the French and Indian War, he was staunchly in favor of the acts' enforcement. The destruction of his personal property during the Stamp Act crisis in 1765 left him further committed to these views. Following the Boston Tea Party, Hutchinson left the colonies for London, where he served the king as a consultant on the unrest in the colonies. He wrote this letter in response to the Declaration of Independence while in England in 1776.

The Acts for imposing Duties and Taxes may have accelerated the Rebellion, and if this could have been foreseen, perhaps, it might have been good policy to have omitted or deferred them; but I am of the opinion, that if no Taxes or Duties had been laid upon the Colonies, other pretences would have been found for exception to the authority of Parliament. The body of the people in the Colonies, I know, were easy and quiet. They felt no burdens. They were attached, indeed, in every Colony to their own particular Constitutions, but the Supremacy of Parliament over the whole gave them no concern. They had been happy under it for an hundred years past: They feared no imaginary evils for an hundred years to come. But there were men in each of the principal Colonies, who had Independence in view, before any of those Taxes were laid, or proposed, which have since been the ostensible cause of resisting the execution of Acts of Parliament. Those men have conducted the Rebellion in the several stages of it. . . .

It will cause greater prolixity [wordiness] to analyze the various parts of this Declaration, than to recite the whole. I will therefore present it to your Lordship's view in distinct paragraphs, with my remarks, in order as the paragraphs are published.

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. . . .

They begin, my Lord, with a false hypothesis, That the Colonies are one *distinct people*, and the kingdom another, connected by *political bands*. The Colonies, *politically* considered, never were a *distinct* people from the kingdom. There never has been but one *political band*, and that was just the same before the first Colonists emigrated as it has been ever since. . . .

The first in order, *He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good*; is of so general a nature, that it is not possible to conjecture to what laws or to what Colonies it refers. I remember no laws which any Colony has been restrained from passing, so as to cause any complaint of grievance, except those for issuing a fraudulent paper-currency, and making it a legal tender. . . .

The laws of England are or ought to be the laws of its Colonies. To prevent a deviation further than the local circumstances of any Colony may make necessary, all Colony laws are to be laid before the King; and if disallowed, they then become of no force. . . .

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

. . . He has kept no armies among them without the consent of the Supreme Legislature [Parliament]. It is begging the question [assuming the question is already answered], to suppose that this authority was not sufficient without the aid of their own Legislatures. . . .

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

When troops were employed in America, in the last reign, to protect the Colonies against French invasion, it was necessary to provide against mutiny and desertion, and to secure proper quarters. Temporary Acts of Parliament were passed for that purpose, and submitted to in the Colonies. Upon the peace, raised ideas took place in the Colonies, of their own importance, and caused a reluctance against Parliamentary authority, and an opposition to the Acts for quartering troops, not because the provision made was in itself unjust or unequal, but because they were Acts of a Parliament whose authority was denied. . . .

For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

How often has your Lordship heard it said, that the Americans are willing to submit to the authority of Parliament in all cases except that of taxes? Here we have a declaration made to the world of the causes which have impelled to a separation. We are to presume that it contains all which they that publish it are able to say in support of a separation, and that if any one cause was distinguished from another, special notice would be taken of it. That of taxes seems to have been in danger of being forgot. It comes in late, and in as slight a manner as is possible.

Source: Hutchinson, Thomas. *Thomas Hutchinson's Strictures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia: In a Letter to a Noble Lord, &c.* Edited by Malcom Freiberg. Boston: Old South Association, 1958, pp. 5–22.

Name _____

Date _____

Strictures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia

Does Hutchinson believe that the Stamp Act and other such laws caused the American Revolution? Why or why not? How might an American who supported the revolution respond to Hutchinson's claim?

What does Hutchinson understand to be the relationship between Parliament and the colonial legislatures, and how do you know?

In Hutchinson's opinion, what are colonial laws supposed to do? What must they *not* do?

Recall what you learned in Topic 1 about the beliefs of the Loyalists and the way they were treated during and after the Revolutionary War. What does this document show about Loyalists' attitude toward the revolution?

What lesson does Hutchinson want his reader to conclude from the Declaration of Independence? What evidence does he offer for that lesson?

Abigail and John Adams Converse on Women's Rights

Background: The American Revolution and the years leading up to it invited a reconsideration of many social inequalities. Abigail Adams, in this letter to her husband, John Adams, asked him to “Remember the Ladies” by considering the rights of women when developing laws for a newly independent nation. The future president replied to his wife’s request shortly after receiving it.

Abigail Adams to John Adams, March 31, 1776

I long to hear that you have declared an independancy—and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If perticular care and attention is not paid to the Laidies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of Master for the more tender and endearing one of Friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the Lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of Sense in all Ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your Sex. Regard us then as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in immitation of the Supreem Being make use of that power only for our happiness.

Source: Adams, Abigail. Letter to John Adams, March 31, 1776. In *The Adams Papers: Adams Family Correspondence*, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, edited by Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 369–371.

John Adams to Abigail Adams, April 14, 1776

As to your extraordinary Code of Laws, I cannot but laugh. We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government every where. That Children and Apprentices were disobedient—that schools and Colledges were grown turbulent—that Indians slighted their Guardians and Negroes grew insolent to their Masters. But your Letter was the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerfull than all the rest were grown discontented.—This is rather too coarse a Compliment but you are so saucy, I wont blot it out.

Depend upon it, We know better than to repeal our Masculine systems. Altho they are in full Force, you know they are little more than Theory. We dare not exert our Power in its full Latitude. We are obliged to go fair, and softly, and in Practice you know We are the subjects. We have only the Name of Masters . . .

Source: Adams, John. Letter to Abigail Adams, April 14, 1776. In *The Adams Papers: Adams Family Correspondence*, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, edited by Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 381–383.

Name _____

Date _____

Abigail and John Adams Converse on Women's Rights

Why does Abigail Adams want her husband to "Remember the Ladies"?

How do Abigail and John present their individual arguments differently?

How and why does John Adams believe the struggle for independence "has loosened the bands of Government"?

Considering your prior knowledge and what you learned in Topic 1 about the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights, do you think Abigail Adams was pleased with the founding documents her husband helped influence? Explain your answer.

The Bill of Rights and Constitutional Ratification by State

Background: Following the Constitutional Convention in 1787, many Americans worried that the new constitution presented to them for ratification did not protect individual rights. The Federalists, who strongly supported the new constitution, eventually compromised with Anti-Federalists on a future bill of rights. In late 1789, Congress adopted twelve amendments to the freshly ratified Constitution, ten of which were soon ratified as the Bill of Rights. These amendments ensure freedoms such as speech, religion, and assembly and set limits on governmental power.

The map that follows the ten amendments in the Bill of Rights identifies when each of the thirteen states ratified the Constitution.

First Amendment

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Second Amendment

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Third Amendment

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Fourth Amendment

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Fifth Amendment

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Sixth Amendment

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Seventh Amendment

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Eighth Amendment

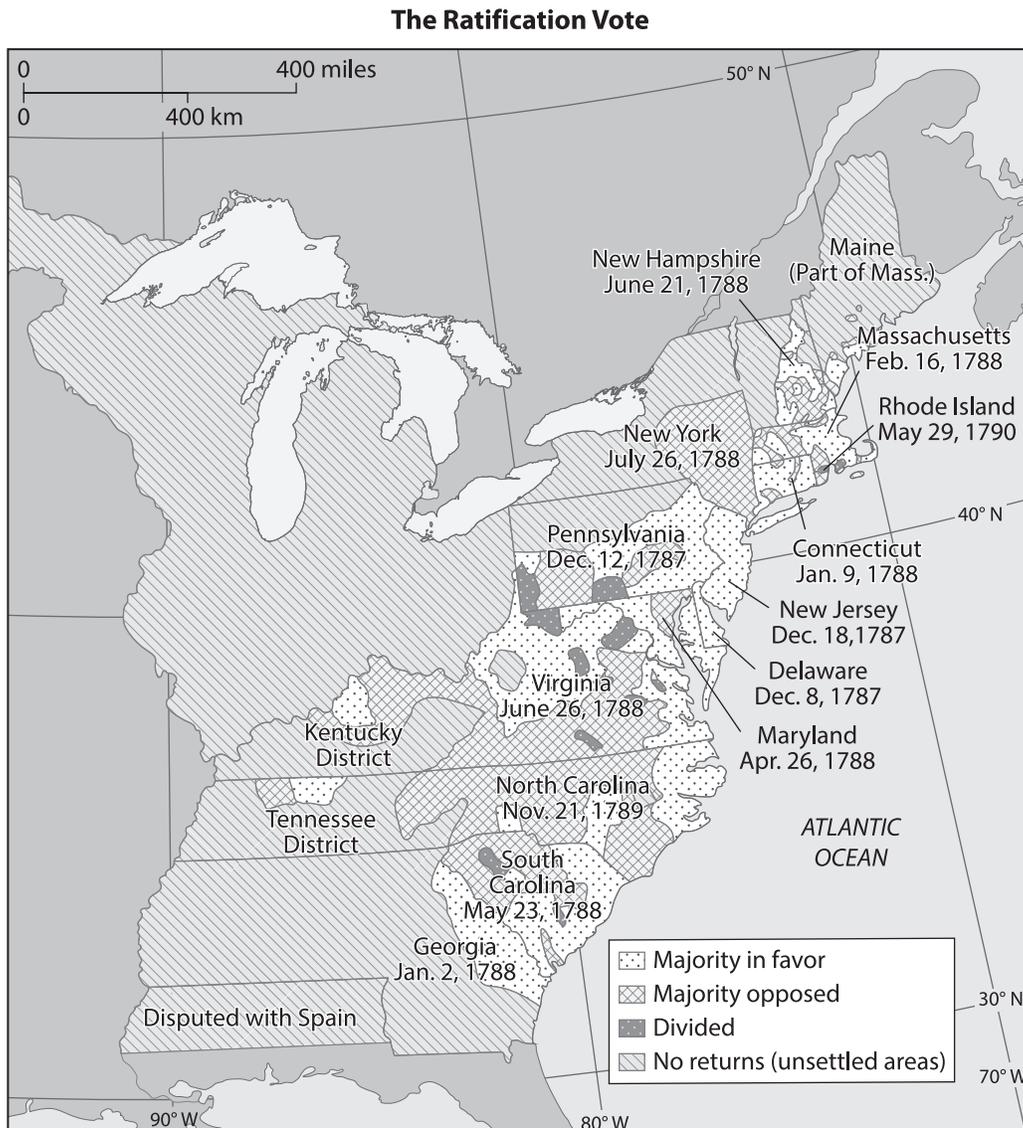
Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Ninth Amendment

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Tenth Amendment

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.



Name _____

Date _____

The Bill of Rights and Constitutional Ratification by State

How does the Bill of Rights reflect the colonists' grievances under British rule? Cite evidence from the amendments.

Based on your knowledge of U.S. history, why might the Tenth Amendment be considered particularly essential to both supporters and critics of the Articles of Confederation?

The ratification map shows that large parts of New York's land area were "majority opposed," yet the state still voted to ratify. What does this reveal about New York's population distribution?

Based on the dates of ratification and the distribution of votes, in what areas was the Constitution most popular at the beginning of the ratification debate? Explain how you determined this.

Observations on the New Constitution

Background: The poet and playwright Mercy Otis Warren was born in Massachusetts in 1728 and developed an interest in politics partly through family connections. Her writings from the 1770s often satirize and sometimes straightforwardly denounce British policies on the eve of the revolution. In this 1788 excerpt, Warren urges her fellow Americans to think carefully about ratification of the new constitution.

Animated with the firmest zeal for the interest of this country, the peace and union of the American States, and the freedom and happiness of a people who have made the most costly sacrifices in the cause of liberty,—who have braved the power of Britain, weathered the convulsions of war, and waded thro' the blood of friends and foes to establish their independence and to support the freedom of the human mind; I cannot silently witness this degradation without calling on them, before they are compelled to blush at their own servitude, and to turn back their languid eyes on their lost liberties—to consider, that the character of nations generally changes at the moment of revolution. . . .

. . . But the revolutions in principle which time produces among mankind, frequently exhibits the most mortifying instances of human weakness; and this alone can account for the extraordinary appearance of a few names, once distinguished in the honourable walks of patriotism, but now found in the list of the Massachusetts assent to the ratification of a Constitution, which, by the undefined meaning of some parts, and the ambiguities of expression in others, is dangerously adapted to the purposes of an immediate *aristocratic tyranny*; that from the difficulty, if not impracticability of its operation, must soon terminate in the most *uncontrolled despotism*. . . .

Though it has been said by Mr. *Wilson* and many others, that a Standing-Army is necessary for the dignity and safety of America, yet freedom revolts at the idea, when the Divan, or the Despot, may draw out his dragoons to suppress the murmurs of a few, who may yet cherish those sublime principles which call forth the exertions, and lead to the best improvements of the human mind. It is hoped this country may yet be governed by milder methods than are usually displayed beneath the bannerets of military law. . . .

We were then told by [a former governor of Massachusetts], in all the soft language of insinuation, that no form of government, of human construction can be perfect—that we had nothing to fear—that we had no reason to complain—that we had only to acquiesce in their illegal claims, and to submit to the requisition of parliament, and doubtless the lenient hand of government would redress all grievances, and remove the oppressions of the people:—Yet we soon saw armies of mercenaries encamped on our plains—our commerce ruined—our harbours blockaded—and our cities burnt. . . .

. . . Since their dismemberment from the British empire, America has, in many instances, resembled the conduct of a restless, vigorous, luxurious youth, prematurely emancipated from the authority of a parent, but without the experience necessary to direct him to act with dignity or discretion. . . . She [America] acquired the liberty of framing her own laws, choosing her own magistrates, and adopting manners and modes of government the most favourable to the freedom and happiness of society. But how little have we availed ourselves of these superior advantages: The glorious fabric of liberty successfully reared with so much labor and assiduity totters to the foundation, and may be blown away as the bubble of fancy by the rude breath of military combinations, and politicians of yesterday.

Source: Warren, Mercy Otis. *Observations on the New Constitution, and on the Foederal and State Conventions*. Boston, 1788.

Name _____

Date _____

Observations on the New Constitution

Who would have most likely written a text like this, a Federalist or an Anti-Federalist?

Based on this passage, what specific features of the U.S. Constitution worried the writer?

How do you know that Warren considers the wording and contents of the U.S. Constitution dangerous?
Why do you think she waits to describe these dangers until after mentioning the American Revolution?

What worries does Warren have about standing armies? What evidence or example does she cite to explain why she does not trust others' reassurances about standing armies?

What does Warren mean by her comparison of the United States to a “restless . . . youth”?

Recall what you read in Topic 1. Do events during the Washington and Adams presidencies support or undermine Warren's claims about a standing army? Explain your answer.

John Adams on the Alien and Sedition Acts

Background: John Adams wrote this letter in 1809 to the editors of the *Boston Patriot*, having concluded his term as president eight years earlier. In the letter, Adams opines on the policies proposed by his political rival Alexander Hamilton. He blames Hamilton for the Alien and Sedition Acts, restrictive laws passed during the Adams presidency with the stated aim of suppressing pro-French agitation. “Mr. Tracy of Connecticut” is Uriah Tracy, a Federalist U.S. senator who supported Adams’s policies.

Mr. Tracy of Connecticut, who indeed was always in my confidence, came to me, I believe at the opening of the special session of Congress which I called soon after my inauguration, and produced a long elaborate letter from Mr. Hamilton, containing a whole system of instruction for the conduct of the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. I read it very deliberately, and really thought the man was in a delirium. It appeared to me a very extraordinary instance of volunteer empiricism thus to prescribe for a President, Senate, and House of Representatives all desperately sick and in a state of deplorable debility, without being called. And when I maturely considered the contents of the letter, my surprise was increased. I despised and detested the letter too much to take a copy of it, which I now regret. This letter is still in being & I doubt not many copies of it are extant. I most earnestly request any gentleman who possesses one to publish it. That letter, though it had no influence with me, had so much with both Houses of Congress, as to lay the foundation of the overthrow of the federal party, and of the revolution that followed four years afterwards. I will endeavor to recollect as much of the contents of it as I can, and if I am incorrect in any point, those who possess the letter can, by the publication of it, easily set all right.

It began by a dissertation on the extraordinarily critical situation of the U. States. . . .

It recommended the raising an army of fifty thousand men, ten thousand of them to be cavalry, an army of great importance in so extensive a country vulnerable at so many points on the frontiers, and so accessible in so many places by sea.

It recommended an alien and sedition law.

It recommended an invigoration of the Treasury, by seizing on all the taxable articles not yet taxed by the government. . . .

Mr. Hamilton’s imagination was always haunted by that hedious [hideous] monster or phantom, so often called a *Crisis* and which so often produces imprudent measures. . . .

The army of fifty thousand men, ten thousand of them to be horse, appeared to me to be one of the wildest extravagancies of a Knight Errant. It proved to me that Mr. Hamilton knew no more of the sentiments and feelings of the people of America, than he did of those of the inhabitants of one of the planets. Such an army without an enemy to combat, would have raised a rebellion in every state in the Union. The very idea of the expence of it would have turned President, Senate and House out of doors. I adopted none of these chimeras [imaginary monsters] into my speech. . . .

Nor did I adopt his idea of an alien or sedition law. I recommended no such thing in my speech. Congress, however, adopted both these measures. I knew there was need enough of both, and therefore I consented to them. But as they were then considered as war measures and intended altogether against the advocates of the French and peace with France, I was apprehensive that a hurricane of clamour would be raised against them, as in truth there was, even more fierce and violent than I had anticipated.

Source: Adams, John. Letter to *Boston Patriot*, May 29, 1809. Founders Online. National Archives. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5367>.

Name _____

Date _____

John Adams on the Alien and Sedition Acts

Whom does Adams blame for the Alien and Sedition Acts, and why? How does he describe his own role?

What reasons does Adams give for agreeing to sign the acts, even though he thought they were the product of “a delirium” on Hamilton’s part? Use what you learned in Topic 1 about Adams’s presidency to help you answer the question.

Recall what you read in Topic 1 about the Alien and Sedition Acts. How might this source help explain the eventual controversy and political divisions between Federalists and their opponents? How might these effects have influenced what Adams writes here?

Do you find Adams's explanation of his role in the Alien and Sedition Acts convincing? Why or why not?

Arguments For and Against the Louisiana Purchase

Background: Although officials within President Thomas Jefferson's administration were enthusiastic about the Louisiana Purchase, it was highly controversial among other public figures. In addition to Jefferson's own qualms about the constitutionality of the purchase, some questioned whether the United States should pay France at all, rather than simply seize New Orleans and proceed from there. Others worried that Louisiana would prove unmanageable and that efforts to settle the huge new territory would spread resources (including population) too thin in the present seventeen U.S. states.

Alexander Hamilton in the *Evening Post*, February 8, 1803

Since the question of Independence, none has occurred more deeply interesting to the United States than the cession of Louisiana to France. . . .

. . . Two courses only present. First, to negotiate and endeavour to purchase, and if this fails to go to war. Secondly, to seize at once on the Floridas and New-Orleans, and then negotiate.

A strong objection offers itself to the first. There is not the most remote probability that the ambitious and aggrandizing views of Bonaparte will commute the territory for money. Its acquisition is of immense importance to France, and has long been an object of her extreme solicitude. . . .

The second plan is, therefore, evidently the best. First, because effectual: the acquisition easy; the preservation afterwards easy: The evils of a war with France at this time are certainly not very formidable: Her fleet crippled and powerless, her treasury empty, her resources almost dried up. . . .

Secondly, this plan is preferable because it affords us the only chance of avoiding a long-continued war. When we have once taken possession, the business will present itself to France in a new aspect. She will then have to weigh the immense difficulties, if not the utter impracticability of wresting it from us. In this posture of affairs she will naturally conclude it is her interest to bargain. Now it may become expedient to terminate hostilities by a purchase, and a cheaper one may reasonably be expected.

Source: Hamilton, Alexander. Letter to the *Evening Post*, February 8, 1803. Founders Online. National Archives. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-26-02-0001-0062>.

Thomas Jefferson's Third Annual Message to Congress, October 17, 1803

Congress witnessed at their late session the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind by the suspension of our right of deposit at the port of New Orleans, no assignment of another place having been made according to treaty. . . .

Previous, however, to this period we had not been unaware of the danger to which our peace would be perpetually exposed whilst so important a key to the commerce of the Western country remained under foreign power. Difficulties, too, were presenting themselves as to the navigation of other streams which, arising within our territories, pass through those adjacent. Propositions had therefore been authorized for obtaining on fair conditions the sovereignty of New Orleans and of other possessions in that quarter interesting to our quiet to such extent as was deemed practicable, and the provisional appropriation of \$2M to be applied and accounted for by the President of the United States, intended as part of the price, was considered as conveying the sanction of Congress to the acquisition proposed. The enlightened Government of France saw with just discernment the importance to both nations of such liberal

arrangements as might best and permanently promote the peace, friendship, and interests of both, and the property and sovereignty of all Louisiana which had been restored to them have on certain conditions been transferred to the United States by instruments bearing date the 30th of April last. When these shall have received the constitutional sanction of the Senate, they will without delay be communicated to the Representatives also for the exercise of their functions as to those conditions which are within the powers vested by the Constitution in Congress.

Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the Western States and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our Treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws. . . .

Should the acquisition of Louisiana be constitutionally confirmed and carried into effect, a sum of nearly \$13M will then be added to our public debt, most of which is payable after 15 years . . .

Source: Jefferson, Thomas. "Third Annual Message." Address to Congress, October 17, 1803. The American Presidency Project, edited by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley. University of California, Santa Barbara. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/202655>.

Name _____

Date _____

Arguments For and Against the Louisiana Purchase

How does Hamilton propose to obtain New Orleans? Why does he think this method is feasible and preferable to the Louisiana Purchase?

What justification does Jefferson offer to Congress for the Louisiana Purchase?

Based on Jefferson's address, what role did Congress play in the Louisiana Purchase?

Who do you believe makes the stronger argument: Jefferson, who wants to make the purchase peacefully, or Hamilton, who wants to seize the territory and then force France to agree to its cession?

The War of 1812 and Reflections on Fort McHenry

Background: British impressment of American sailors, trade restrictions, and support of Native Americans on the western frontier led to growing frustration among Americans. By 1811, the young country was considering war to protect American sovereignty and national interests. This inspired much debate in Congress, including the December 1811 speech by Tennessee representative Felix Grundy, which is the first excerpt below. After months more of debate, the United States declared war on Great Britain in June 1812.

The defense of Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor is now one of the most celebrated episodes of the War of 1812. On September 13 and 14, 1814, the British navy attacked the harbor and bombarded the fort, but the inaccuracy of their artillery and the strength of coastal defenses repulsed the invasion. Francis Scott Key's poem below, later set to music as the national anthem, draws patriotic pride from the fact that the flag still waved over the fort when the assault was over. It also includes several other specific details of this historic event. For instance, "the rockets' red glare" alludes to a then-new type of artillery that the British had developed recently.

The third source reflects on the battle from the perspective of Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead, who served as commander of Fort McHenry at the time of the bombardment.

Congress Debates Going to War

What, Mr. Speaker, are we now called on to decide? It is, whether we will resist by force the attempt, made by that Government, to subject our maritime rights to the arbitrary and capricious rule of her will; for my part I am not prepared to say that this country shall submit to have her commerce interdicted or regulated, by any foreign nation. Sir, I prefer war to submission.

Over and above these unjust pretensions of the British Government, for many years past they have been in the practice of impressing [recruiting by force] our seamen, from merchant vessels; this unjust and lawless invasion of personal liberty, calls loudly for the interposition of this Government. To those better acquainted with the facts in relation to it, I leave it to fill up the picture. My mind is irresistibly drawn to the West. . . .

This war, if carried on successfully, will have its advantages. We shall drive the British from our Continent—they will no longer have an opportunity of intriguing with our Indian neighbors, and setting on the ruthless savage to tomahawk our women and children. That nation will lose her Canadian trade, and, by having no resting place in this country, her means of annoying us will be diminished. The idea I am now about to advance is at war, I know, with sentiments of the gentleman from Virginia: I am willing to receive the Canadians as adopted brethren; it will have beneficial political effects; it will preserve the equilibrium of the Government. When Louisiana shall be fully peopled, the Northern States will lose their power; they will be at the discretion of others; they can be depressed at pleasure, and then this Union might be endangered—I therefore feel anxious not only to add the Floridas to the South, but the Canadas to the North of this empire.

Source: 23 Annals of Cong. 425–427 (1811). Statement of Rep. Felix Grundy.

Francis Scott Key, “Defence of Fort M’Henry”

O! say can you see, by the dawn’s early light,
What so proudly we hail’d at the twilight’s last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight,
O’er the ramparts we watch’d, were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets’ red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there—
O! say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O’er the land of the free, and the home of the brave?

On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe’s haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze o’er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning’s first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream—
'Tis the star-spangled banner, O! long may it wave
O’er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle’s confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has wash’d out their foul foot-steps’ pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave,
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave;
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O’er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

O! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their lov’d home, and the war’s desolation,
Blest with vict’ry and peace, may the heav’n-rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and preserv’d us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto—“In God is our trust!”
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O’er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

Source: Key, Francis Scott. “Defence of Fort M’Henry.” *The Analectic Magazine*, November 1814, pp. 55–56.

The Bombardment of Fort McHenry

Fort McHenry, September 24th, 1814.

A severe indisposition, the effect of great fatigue and exposure, has prevented me heretofore from presenting you with an account of the attack on this post. On the night of Saturday the 10th inst. [of this month] the British fleet, consisting of ships of the line, heavy frigates, and bomb vessels, amounting in the whole to 30 sail, appeared at the mouth of the river Patapsco, with every indication of an attempt on the city of Baltimore. My own force consisted of one company of United States artillery, under capt. Evans, and two companies of sea fencibles [coastal defenders], under captains Bunbury and Addison. Of these three companies, 35 men were unfortunately on the sick list, and unfit for duty. I had been furnished with two companies of volunteer artillery from the city of Baltimore, under capt. Berry and lieut. commandant Pennington.—To these I must add another very fine company of volunteer artillerists, under judge Nicholson, who had proffered their services to aid in the defence of this post whenever an attack might be apprehended; and also a detachment from commodore Barney's flotilla, under lieut. Rodman. Brig. general Winder had also furnished me with about six hundred infantry, under the command of lieut. col. Steuart and major Lane, consisting of detachments from the 12th, 14th, 36th and 38th regts. of United States troops—the total amounting to about 1000 effective men.

On Monday morning very early, it was perceived that the enemy was landing troops on the east side of the Patapsco, distant about ten miles. During the day and the ensuing night, he had brought sixteen ships (including five bomb ships) within about two miles and a half of this Fort. . . .

On Tuesday morning about sunrise, the enemy commenced the attack from his five bomb vessels, at the distance of about two miles, when, finding that his shells reached us, he anchored, and kept up an incessant and well-directed bombardment.—We immediately opened our batteries, and kept a brisk fire from our guns and mortars, but unfortunately our shot and shells all fell considerably short of him. This was to me a most distressing circumstance; as it left us exposed to a constant and tremendous shower of shells, without the most remote possibility of our doing him the slightest injury. It affords me the highest gratification to state, that although we were left thus exposed, and thus inactive, not a man shrunk from the conflict.

. . . The enemy continued throwing shells, with one or two slight intermissions, till 1 o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, when it was discovered that he had availed himself of the darkness of the night, and had thrown a considerable force above to our right; they had approached very near to fort Covington, when they began to throw rockets; intended, I presume, to give them an opportunity of examining the shores. . . .

. . . The only means we had of directing our guns, was by the blaze of their rockets, and the flashes of their guns. Had they ventured to the same situation in the day time, not a man would have escaped.

The bombardment continued on the part of the enemy until 7 o'clock on Wednesday morning, when it ceased; and about nine, their ships got under weigh, and stood down the river. During the bombardment, which lasted 25 hours (with two slight intermissions) from the best calculation I can make, from fifteen to eighteen hundred shells were thrown by the enemy. A few of these fell short. A large proportion burst over us, throwing their fragments among us, and threatening destruction. Many passed over, and about four hundred fell within the works. Two of the public buildings are materially injured—the others but slightly. I am happy to inform you (wonderful as it may appear) that our loss amounts to only four men killed, and 24 wounded. The latter will all recover. . . .

Were I to name any individual who signalled [distinguished] themselves, it would be doing injustice to others. Suffice it to say, that every officer and soldier under my command did their duty to my entire satisfaction.

Source: Armistead, George. Letter to the secretary of war, September 24, 1814. *Niles' Weekly Register*, October 1, 1814, p. 40.

Name _____

Date _____

The War of 1812 and Reflections on Fort McHenry

What are three reasons Representative Felix Grundy gives to support going to war with Great Britain? How do these reasons differ from the motivation of the soldiers later defending Fort McHenry?

What does Francis Scott Key understand to be the British objective in the War of 1812?

According to Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead, who was involved in the defense of Fort McHenry?

Seminole Resistance in Florida

Background: The Cherokee were certainly not the only Native American group affected by the U.S. government's removal policies of the 1830s. In Florida, the Seminoles endured a situation that was similar in some notable respects. The 1832 Treaty of Payne's Landing claimed that the Seminoles would relocate west voluntarily, but the chiefs of that nation later renounced the treaty or denied signing it in the first place. The U.S. Senate ratified the treaty in 1834.

Attempts to enforce the treaty at gunpoint provoked fierce resistance under Osceola, a Creek Wars refugee who had integrated into Seminole society. This became part of a wider conflict known as the Second Seminole War. Thomas Sidney Jesup, a veteran of both the War of 1812 and the Creek Wars, was the commander of U.S. forces in Florida at this time.

Osceola's Message to General Clinch, January 1836

You have guns and so have we; you have powder and lead and so have we; you have men and so have we; your men will fight, and so will ours until the last drop of the Seminole's blood has moistened the dust of his hunting-grounds.

Source: Coe, Charles H. *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles*. Cincinnati: The Editor Publishing, 1898, pp. 65–66.

Thomas Sidney Jesup's Diary, May 14, 1837

Information received by Lt. Cochran of the Indians planting potatoes and repairing their huts—Major Thompson ordered to send a detachment to destroy the crops, burn the houses and capture or drive out the Indians or Negroes: also to kill the horses and cattle. Rec.d from (*inserted:* by two Miccosukeys [Muscogeese]) Lt. Col. Harney the original of a communication of the 4th instant [of this month], a duplicate of which was rec.d on the 7th [illegible] by two Creek Indians. There is the same difference in all the acts of the two people. The Creeks will do as much in a week as the Seminoles in a month.

Source: Jesup, Thomas Sidney. Diary entry, May 14, 1837. Collection M86-12, State Archives of Florida. Florida Memory. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/252864?id=97>.

Historical Marker for the Capture of Osceola



The sign on the marker reads “Osceola captured on this spot while under the protection of a flag of truce, Oct. 26th, 1837.”

Name _____

Date _____

Seminole Resistance in Florida

What does Osceola’s decision to fight reveal about his view of the Treaty of Payne’s Landing and U.S. authority over his people?

What does Jesup’s diary reveal about how the U.S. military treated the Seminoles? What does it reveal about how military leaders viewed the Seminoles compared to other Native peoples?

Recall what you learned about the Creek (Muscogee) and the Cherokee in Topic 2. How were the fates of these peoples and the Seminoles similar in the 1830s?

Examine the photo of the historical marker. What can be inferred from the fact that the marker informs readers that Osceola was captured “under . . . a flag of truce”?

Louisiana Order of Secession

Background: Although Louisiana ultimately seceded from the Union, it took a long time and much controversy for this decision to be made. When other Southern states had threatened secession in the 1830s and 1850s, Louisiana had stood on the side of the Union. Shock and outrage at the Harpers Ferry raid, combined with deep misgivings over Lincoln's election in 1860, ultimately pushed Louisiana to secede. On January 26, 1861, the vote of secession went through by a vote of 113 to 17.

An ORDINANCE to dissolve the union between the State of Louisiana, united with her under the compact of Government entitled "The Constitution of the United States."

We, the people of the State of Louisiana, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, That the declaration of the people of Louisiana (then Territory of Orleans) in Convention assembled, made on the twenty second day of November, eighteen hundred and eleven, adopting the Constitution of the United States of America and every part thereof, be and the same is hereby repealed, rescinded and abnegated.

We do further declare and ordain, That the union now existing between the State of Louisiana and other States under the name and title of the "United States of America," be and the same is hereby dissolved, and the State of Louisiana is in full possession and exercise of those rights of sovereignty which belong to a free and independent State, and that the words "Of the United States and," be and the same are hereby stricken from Article Ninetieth title Sixth of the Constitution of this State, and that the members of the General Assembly and all officers who have taken the oath prescribed by said Article, be and they are hereby absolved from so much thereof as requires them to support the Constitution of the United States.

And we do further declare and ordain, That it is the purpose of the people of Louisiana to meet the other slaveholding States, who approve of such purpose in order to frame a Provisional, as well as a Permanent Government, upon the basis of the Constitution of the United States.

Source: *Official Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of Louisiana.* New Orleans: J. O. Nixon, 1861, pp. 5–6.

Name _____

Date _____

Louisiana Order of Secession

How does the language of this document mirror that of the United States' founding documents? Support your answer with examples.

What are some major differences between the secession order and the Declaration of Independence?

According to the secession order, what are three immediate consequences for (1) Louisiana's internal politics, (2) its relationship with the Union, and (3) its relationship with other seceded states?

A Protest Against Louisiana's Order of Secession

Background: James G. Taliaferro, the author of this protest, served as the delegate from Catahoula Parish to the Louisiana Convention of 1861. He asked that this protest against the secession convention's vote be included in the journal of the convention. His request was denied, so he published it separately.

I oppose the act of secession because, in my deliberate judgment, the wrongs alleged as the cause of the movement might be redressed under the constitution. . . .

Because I see no certainty that the seceding states will ever be confederated again; none that the border states will secede at all; and if they should, I see no reliable ground for believing that they would incorporate themselves with the gulf or cotton states in a new government. I see no surety either that Texas would unite with them.

Because the gulf or cotton states alone, were they to unite in a separate confederacy, would be without the elements of power, indispensable in the formation of a government to take a respectable rank among the nations of the earth.

Because I believe that peaceable secession is a right unknown to the constitution of the United States; that it is a most dangerous and mischievous principle in the structure of any government. and when carried into the formation of the contemplated confederacy of the gulf states, will render it powerless for good, and complete its incapacity to afford to the people permanent security for their lives, liberties and property.

Because it is my solemn and deliberate conviction that the distraction of the southern states by separate secession will defeat the purpose it is intended to accomplish, and that its certain results will be to impair instead of strengthen the security of southern institutions.

Because the proper status of Louisiana is with the border states, with which nature has connected her by the majestic river which flows through her limits; and because an alliance in a weak government with the gulf states east of her, is unnatural and antagonistic to her obvious interests and destiny. . . .

Because, the act of dissolving the ties which connect Louisiana with the federal Union is a revolutionary act that this convention is, of itself, without legitimate power to perform. Convened without authority of the people of the state, and refusing to submit its action to them for their sanction in the grave and vital act of changing their government, this convention violates the great fundamental principle of American government, that the will of the people is supreme.

Source: Taliaferro, James G. *A Protest Against the Ordinance of Secession, Passed by the Louisiana Convention, on the 26th January, 1861, Presented to the Convention on That Day.* Catahoula, LA, 1861.

Name _____

Date _____

A Protest Against Louisiana’s Order of Secession

In the second paragraph of his protest, Taliaferro presents some conditions that he deems important to the success of “the gulf or cotton states” and raises doubts that those conditions will be met. According to your knowledge of U.S. history, was he right to worry about these things? Why or why not?

Taliaferro mentions “the elements of power” that “the gulf or cotton states” will still lack even if they form a confederacy. Use your knowledge of U.S. history to identify and explain which of these elements proved missing during the Civil War.

What reason does Taliaferro give for considering Louisiana a border state even though it is surrounded by Confederate states?

Recall what you read in Topic 3 about Abraham Lincoln’s concerns about secession. How do Taliaferro’s concerns resemble those of Lincoln?

Excerpt from a Confederate Girl's Diary

Background: Sarah Morgan Dawson, a resident of Baton Rouge, kept a diary of her experiences during the Civil War. In these excerpts, she describes the arrival of Union forces in her hometown.

May 5, 1862

Vile old Yankee boats, four in number, passed up this morning without stopping. After all our excitement, this “silent contempt” annihilated me! What in the world do they mean? The river was covered with burning cotton; perhaps they want to see where it came from.

May 9, 1862

Our lawful (?) owners have at last arrived. About sunset, day before yesterday, the Iroquois anchored here, and a graceful young Federal stepped ashore, carrying a Yankee flag over his shoulder, and asked the way to the Mayor's office. I like the style! If we girls of Baton Rouge had been at the landing, instead of the men, that Yankee would never have insulted us by flying his flag in our faces! We would have opposed his landing except under a flag of truce; but the men let him alone, and he even found a poor Dutchman willing to show him the road!

He did not accomplish much; said a formal demand would be made next day, and asked if it was safe for the men to come ashore and buy a few necessaries, when he was assured the air of Baton Rouge was very unhealthy for Yankee soldiers at night. . . .

Last evening came the demand: the town must be surrendered immediately; the Federal flag Must be raised; they would grant us the same terms they granted New Orleans. Jolly terms those were! The answer was worthy of a Southerner. It was, “The town was defenseless; if we had cannon, there were not men enough to resist; but if forty vessels lay at the landing,—it was intimated we were in their power, and more ships coming up,—we would not surrender; if they wanted, they might come and Take us; if they wished the Federal flag hoisted over the Arsenal, they might put it up for themselves, the town had no control over Government property.”

Source: Dawson, Sarah Morgan. *A Confederate Girl's Diary*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913, pp. 22–24.

Name _____

Date _____

Excerpt from a Confederate Girl's Diary

What does this diary excerpt reveal about civilian experiences under Union occupation in the Civil War?

What does Dawson's reaction to the "Yankee flag" suggest about Confederate attitudes toward Union authority?

What is Dawson's complaint about how the local men responded to the Union officer? According to Dawson, how should they have acted instead?

What does Dawson's description of the surrender indicate about sectional identity in Louisiana at this point in the 1860s?

How does the tension between government authority and popular sovereignty communicated in these diary entries connect to broader causes of the Civil War?

Letter from Robert Smalls

Background: Robert Smalls was an African American sailor who escaped slavery in South Carolina after commandeering the Confederate gunboat on which he was forced to serve. Some believed that he would take the vessel outside U.S. waters and seek his freedom in Central America. In fact, he turned the gunboat over to the Union navy.

Celebrated as a hero in the Union, Smalls later became the first African American captain in the U.S. Navy as well as a congressman. He wrote this letter to William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper *The Liberator* in September 1862, a few months after he commandeered the CSS *Planter*.

Mr. Editor,—In your paper of yesterday, it is stated that an application had been made by me to Senator Pomeroy for a passage to Central America. I wish it understood that I have made no such application; but, at the same time, I would express my cordial approval of every kind and wise effort for the liberation and elevation of my oppressed race.

After waiting, apparently in vain, for many years for our deliverance, a party consisting of nine men, myself included, of the city of Charleston, conferred freedom on ourselves, five women and three children; and to the Government of the United States we gave the *Planter*, a gunboat which cost nearly thirty thousand dollars, together with six large guns, from a 24-pounder howitzer to a 100-pound Parrott rifle.

We are all now in the service of the navy, under the command of our true friend, Rear Admiral Dupont, where we wish to serve till the rebellion and slavery are alike crushed out forever.

Source: Smalls, Robert. "Letter from the Negro Robert Smalls." *The Liberator*, September 12, 1862, p. 148.

Name _____

Date _____

Letter from Robert Smalls

What was Smalls accused of? What actually happened?

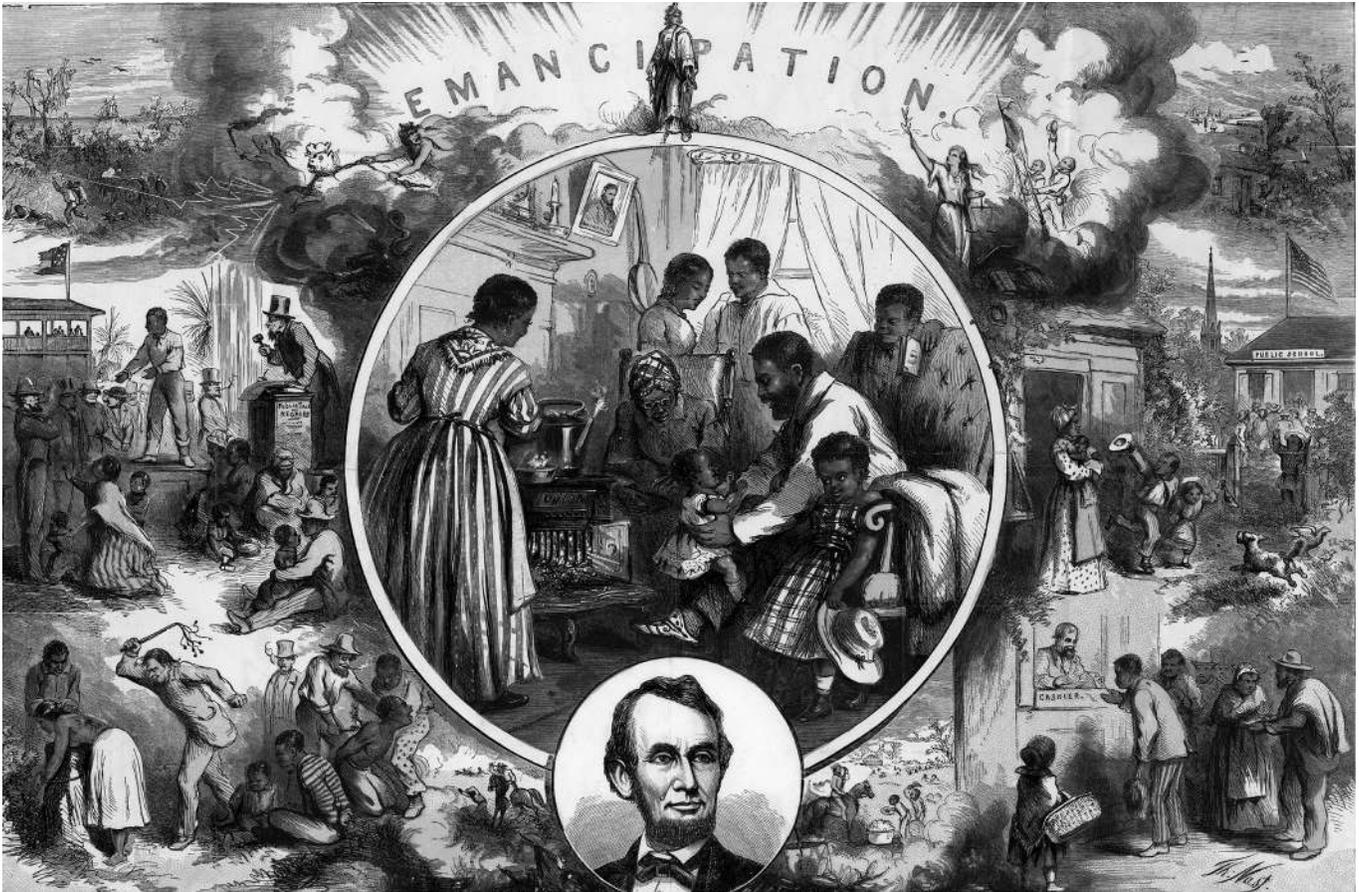
Why was Smalls eager to dispel a rumor about himself?

Why do you think that *The Liberator* was interested in publishing Smalls's letter? Use your prior knowledge of the newspaper from Topic 3.

Smalls says that he and his fellow escapees were "waiting, apparently in vain," for their "deliverance." What is he referring to here?

Emancipation

Background: Thomas Nast was a German-born American cartoonist who is often celebrated today for his iconic depictions of Santa Claus. During his lifetime, he was much better known as a political cartoonist whose work covered a host of contemporary topics. His engraving here, published in 1865, was much more serious in tone than many of his cartoons. It celebrates the emancipation of enslaved people.



Name _____

Date _____

Emancipation

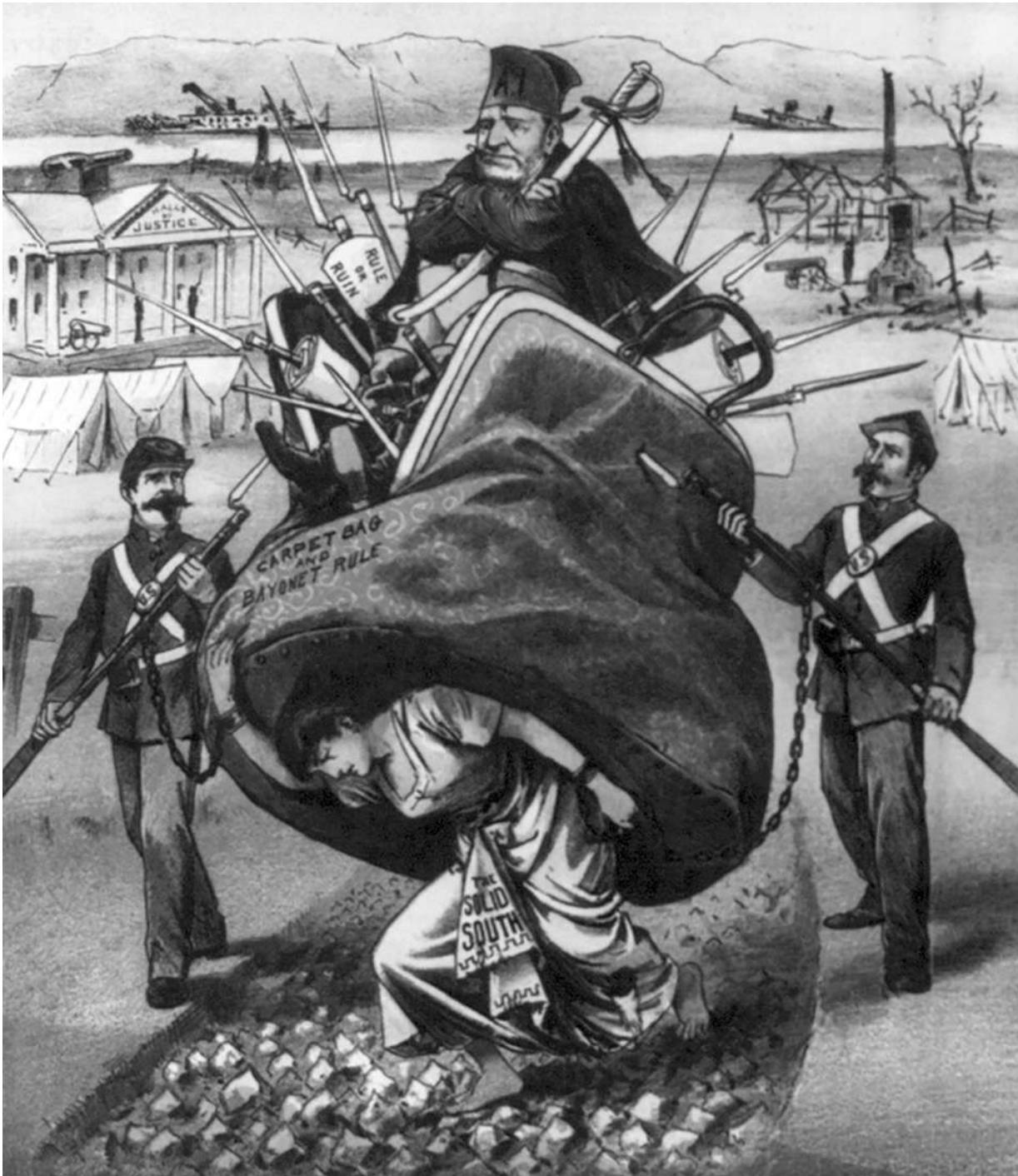
Examine the four small images at center left, lower left, center right, and lower right. How do these parts of Nast's engraving tell the story of emancipation? If it is helpful, use a separate sheet of paper to map out how you interpret each of the small images.

Examine the central panel of the image. How is this image related to the concept of emancipation?

The version of the engraving shown here was produced in 1865, after Abraham Lincoln's death. In the original 1863 version, the small oval at the bottom showed an enslaved man having his shackles broken. What inferences can be drawn from the decision to use a portrait of Lincoln instead?

“The ‘Strong’ Government, 1869–1877”

Background: In 1868, former Union Army commander Ulysses S. Grant won the first presidential election held since the end of the Civil War. A Republican, Grant took office as Reconstruction was underway, with many formerly Confederate states under military occupation. This cartoon by James Albert Wales, published in 1880, depicts Grant in a carpetbag. This was a reference to the derogatory nickname given to Northerners who moved south to take advantage of the region’s postwar economic weakness.



Name _____

Date _____

“The ‘Strong’ Government, 1869–1877”

A bayonet is a steel blade attached to the end of a rifle and used for hand-to-hand combat. Using your prior knowledge of Reconstruction, why do you think “bayonet rule” is written on the bag in which President Grant sits? What other symbols in this cartoon support your answer?

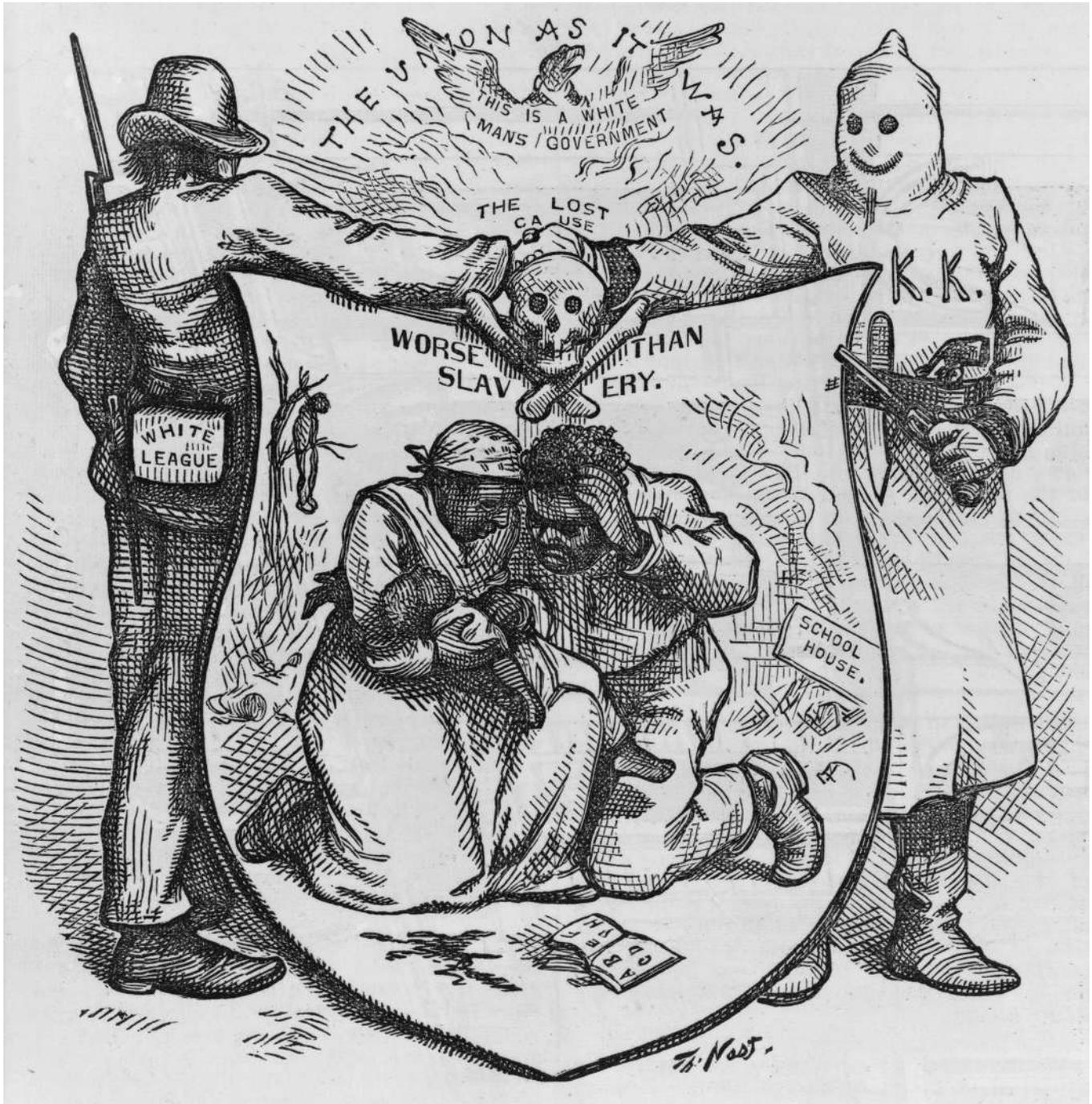
Consider how Grant is depicted in the cartoon. What message is the cartoonist trying to communicate about the president?

Examine the figure of the woman carrying Grant and the bag. How does she represent an overall theme about Reconstruction and its reception in the South?

James Albert Wales created a second part of this cartoon, which he titled “The ‘Weak’ Government, 1877–1891.” Using what you learned about Reconstruction in Topic 3, predict what Wales might have depicted in that part of the cartoon.

“The Union as It Was”

Background: By 1874, the failures of Reconstruction were painfully evident, and white supremacist organizations—including the Ku Klux Klan—held a great deal of power. Meanwhile, a “lost cause” narrative had emerged in parts of the South that romanticized both life before the Civil War and the Confederacy. Among other claims, lost-cause advocates stated that states’ rights, not slavery, was the main issue in the Civil War and that African Americans were not ready for freedom and citizenship. The cartoon below was created by Thomas Nast in 1874.



Name _____

Date _____

“The Union as It Was”

What message is the cartoon conveying about the “lost cause” and the Union after the Civil War? Support your answer with details from the source.

What symbols do you notice, and what might they represent?

“The Union as It Was” borrows the form of a coat of arms, like that of a royal family. In traditional coats of arms, the figures standing alongside the shield are called *supporters* and are interpreted as holding up the shield. Considering this, in what ways does this cartoon reflect broader challenges during Reconstruction?

Recall what you read about the decades following the end of the Civil War. Do you agree with cartoonist Thomas Nast that circumstances for African Americans in 1874 were “worse than slavery”? Why or why not?

Frederick Douglass on the Exodusters

Background: After Reconstruction ended, many Black Southerners looked to migrate to the North and the Midwest—especially Kansas—as a way to escape worsening economic and political repression in the South. This group, borrowing a term from the Bible, called themselves Exodusters, a reference to their exodus from the South to a new land in search of opportunity and promise. By the end of 1880, more than forty thousand Exodusters called Kansas home, while many others had settled in other parts of the Great Plains. This essay, published in 1880 by Frederick Douglass—a formerly enslaved man, an abolitionist, and a prominent African American leader—provides a contemporary take on the Exodusters’ mass migration.

Nothing has occurred since the abolition of slavery which has excited a deeper interest among thoughtful men in all sections of the country than has this “exodus.” In the simple fact that a few thousand freedmen have deliberately laid down the shovel and the hoe, quitted the sugar and cotton-fields of Mississippi and Louisiana, and sought homes in Kansas, and that thousands more are seriously meditating upon following their example, the sober thinking minds of the South have discovered a new and startling peril to the welfare of that section of our country. . . .



. . . We are told that greedy speculators in Kansas have adopted this plan to sell and increase the value of their lands. This cannot be true. Men of that class are usually shrewd. They do not seek to sell land to those who have no money, and they are too sharp to believe that they can increase the value of their property by inviting to its neighborhood a class of people against whom there is an intense and bitter popular prejudice. So far from speculating in the negro, and attempting to increase their wealth by promoting this stampede, the negro has been a heavy charge upon Kansas. Her benevolence [kindness] and welcome to these homeless emigrants has been large, beautiful and touching. . . .

Necessity often compels men to migrate, to leave their old homes and seek new ones, to sever old ties and create new ones; but to do this the necessity should be obvious and imperative. It should be a last resort, and only adopted after carefully considering what is against the measure, as well as what is in favor of it. There are prodigal sons everywhere, who are ready to demand the portion of goods that would fall to them, and betake themselves to a strange country. Something is ever lost in the process of migration, and much is sacrificed at home for what is gained abroad. . . .

The colored people of the South, just beginning to accumulate a little property, and to lay the foundation of family, should not be in haste to sell that little and be off to the banks of the Mississippi. . . . It is a more cheerful thing to be able to say: I was born here, and know all the people, than to say: I am a stranger here, and know none of the people.

It cannot be doubted that in so far as this exodus tends to promote restlessness in the colored people of the South, to unsettle their feeling of home and to sacrifice positive advantages where they are for fancied ones in Kansas or elsewhere, it is an evil. . . .

Then, again, is there to be no stopping-place for the negro? Suppose that, by-and-by, some "Sand-lot orator" shall arise in Kansas, as in California, and take it into his head to stir up the mob against the negro, as he stirred up the mob against the Chinese? What then? Must the negro have another exodus? Does not one exodus invite another? and in advocating one, do we not sustain the demand for another? . . .

The negro, as already intimated, is pre-eminently a Southern man. He is so both in constitution and habits, in body as well as mind. He will not only take with him to the North Southern modes of labor, but Southern modes of life. The careless and improvident [shortsighted] habits of the South cannot be set aside in a generation. If they are adhered to in the North, in the fierce winds and snows of Kansas and Nebraska, the emigration must be large to keep up their numbers.

It would appear, therefore, that neither the laws of politics, labor nor climate favor this exodus. It does not conform to the laws of healthy emigration, which proceeds not from south to north, not from heat to cold, but from east to west, and in climates to which the emigrants are more or less adapted and accustomed.

Source: Douglass, Frederick. "The Negro Exodus from the Gulf States." *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, January 1880, pp. 39, 42, 46-47.

Name _____

Date _____

Frederick Douglass on the Exodusters

What does Douglass mean when he says, “So far from speculating in the negro, and attempting to increase their wealth by promoting this stampede, the negro has been a heavy charge upon Kansas”?

Does Douglass support the Exodusters? Why or why not? Cite evidence to support your response.

Recall what you read in the Student Volume about Chinese immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century. What comparison does Douglass draw between the Exodusters and Chinese immigrants? Why does he make this point?

What other argument does Douglass make against the exodus to Kansas? How is this argument contradicted by the photo of Exodusters?

In what ways does Douglass place the Exoduster movement in a broader global or national context?

Native Account of the Battle of the Little Bighorn

Background: In 1874, a flood of miners and prospectors poured onto a Sioux reservation following the discovery of gold in South Dakota’s Black Hills. This, compounded by the Sioux’s refusal to remain within the confines of the reservation, set the tribe on a collision course with the U.S. Army. During the Battle of the Little Bighorn, Sioux and Cheyenne forces—led by Chiefs Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull—killed Colonel George A. Custer and all two hundred of his soldiers in less than an hour, stunning U.S. leaders and citizens alike. The following source is part of an account of the battle given by a Sioux warrior named Wooden Leg.

I found myself wide awake, sitting up and listening. My brother too awakened, and we both jumped to our feet. A great commotion was going on among the camps. We heard shooting. We hurried out from the trees so we might see as well as hear. The shooting was somewhere at the upper part of the camp circles. It looked as if all of the Indians there were running away toward the hills to the westward or down toward our end of the village. Women were screaming and men were letting out war cries. Through it all we could hear old men calling:

“Soldiers are here! Young men, go out and fight them.” . . .

. . . The soldiers were on the level valley ground and were shooting with rifles. Not many bullets were being sent back at them, but thousands of arrows were falling among them. I went on with a throng of Sioux until we got beyond and behind the white men. By this time, though, they had mounted their horses and were hiding themselves in the timber. A band of Indians were with the soldiers. It appeared they were Crows or Shoshones. Most of these Indians had fled back up the valley. Some were across east of the river and were riding away over the hills beyond.

Our Indians crowded down toward the timber where were the soldiers. More and more of our people kept coming. Almost all of them were Sioux. There were only a few Cheyennes. Arrows were showered into the timber. Bullets whistled out toward the Sioux and Cheyennes. . . .

Suddenly the hidden soldiers came tearing out on horseback, from the woods. I was around on that side where they came out. I whirled my horse and lashed it into a dash to escape from them. All others of my companions did the same. But soon we discovered they were not following us. They were running away from us. They were going as fast their tired horses could carry them across an open valley space and toward the river. We stopped, looked a moment, and then we whipped our ponies into swift pursuit. A great throng of Sioux also were coming after them. My distant position put me among the leaders in the chase. The soldier horses moved slowly, as if they were very tired. Ours were lively. We gained rapidly on them.

. . . Our war cries and war songs were mingled with many jeering calls, such as:

“You are only boys. You ought not to be fighting. We whipped you on the Rosebud. You should have brought more Crows or Shoshones with you to do your fighting.”

Source: Wooden Leg. *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*. Interpreted by Thomas B. Marquis. Minneapolis: The Midwest Company, 1931, pp. 217–221.

Name _____

Date _____

Native Account of the Battle of the Little Bighorn

What does Wooden Leg's account suggest about the strategy used by Custer's troops?

What evidence from the excerpt suggests that the Sioux and Cheyenne forces were vast and intimidating?

What evidence from the excerpt supports the conclusion that the size and determination of the fighting force were more decisive than the way they fought?

Recall what you read in Topic 1 about the events leading up to Custer’s defeat. What is Wooden Leg referencing when he says, “We whipped you on the Rosebud”? Why do you think he makes this reference?

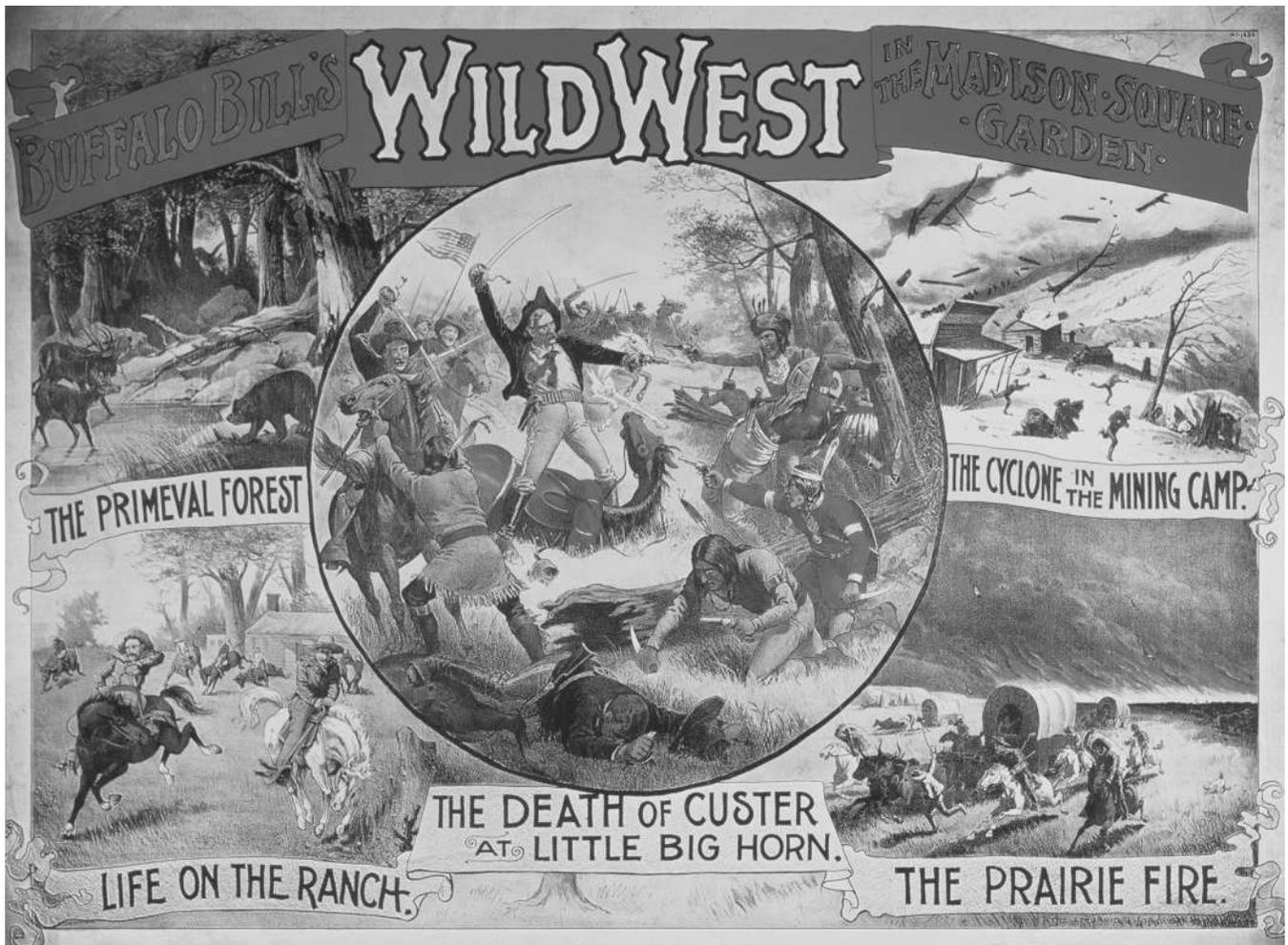
How might the availability of Native histories like Wooden Leg’s affect historians’ interpretations of the Battle of the Little Bighorn compared to accounts written by U.S. soldiers or officers?

How do the Battle of the Little Bighorn and Wooden Leg’s description of it reflect both continuity and change in the conflicts between Native Americans and the U.S. government?

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Fair

Background: During the ranching boom of the 1860s and 1870s, cowboys drove cattle along the Chisholm Trail from Texas to railroad hubs in Kansas, including Wichita and Dodge City. Up to forty thousand cowboys lived on the Great Plains between 1865 and 1885.

In 1883, Buffalo Bill (William F. Cody) launched his Wild West show, capitalizing on the popular iconography of the “American cowboy” and life on the western frontier. His show featured Native Americans, trick riders, and sharpshooters such as the famous Annie Oakley. Performances also included a stagecoach robbery and gunfights. The show toured the United States and Europe, drawing audiences of up to twenty thousand. For four months in 1885, the Lakota leader Sitting Bull joined the cast of the traveling show. This helped bring Sitting Bull international fame.



Name _____

Date _____

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Fair

What aspects of Western life did Buffalo Bill's show claim to represent?

What evidence from the poster suggests that Buffalo Bill's depictions of Western life were sensationalized?

What counterclaims to Buffalo Bill's show might Native sources (like the previous account by Wooden Leg) offer?

How might the availability of Native-produced sources in popular culture at the time of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, or the lack thereof, have affected historical interpretations of the battle?

Two Accounts of Wounded Knee

Background: In 1890, U.S. officials and the Bureau of Indian Affairs attempted to ban the Ghost Dance, a ritual dance started by Paiute leader Wovoka that was intended to reunite Native Americans with their ancestors and their lands. Members of the Sioux, led by Chief Big Foot, resisted this ban, eventually fleeing to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

A force of five hundred U.S. soldiers pursued the Sioux to Wounded Knee Creek. The soldiers fired on the Sioux after a young warrior named Black Coyote refused to surrender his rifle, resulting in the deaths of three hundred Sioux people. Joseph Horn Cloud, a member of the Sioux, and U.S. Army scout John Shangrau were interviewed about the event at the time, and the interviewer's summaries of their statements were later shared during a congressional hearing about the massacre.

Joseph Horn Cloud

Before these sergeants had come up, this man who was deaf, had been holding up his gun in both hands over his head and telling the Indians that this was his own gun, that it had cost him a good deal of money, that if anybody wanted it he must pay for it, for he would not give it up without pay. As soon as this was said the three sergeants approached him from behind as above stated. Just as the struggle between him and the sergeants began someone cried, "Look out! Look out!" These words were scarcely heard when the gun went off elevated in the air at an angle of about 45 degrees and pointing eastwardly. Instantly there was a volley [gunfire] from the soldiers standing around the circle. These shot the men in the back.

. . . Women were killed in the beginning of the fight just the same as the men were killed. Women who were wounded and had babies digged hollow places in the bank and placed the little things in them for safety; some women made places for themselves and crawled into them for protection. . . . The soldiers shot women the same as they shot men.

U.S. Army Scout John Shangrau

As soon as this was said he heard a volley. But then ran down to the ravine with Big Foot's people; they all stampeded. Shangrau went on a trot toward the cannon which were right close to the top of the hill. An Indian followed him, but was shot down before he reached John who was wondering what the Indian would do. When John got up on the hill he met a lieutenant who said to John: "Scout, we've got our revenge now." And John said: "What revenge?" "Why, don't you know, the Custer massacre?" John said: "Look here, Lieutenant, Custer had all the guns to protect himself with, but they massacred him; and here you take all the guns away from them and then massacre them; you ought be ashamed of yourself for saying such a thing!" . . .

Then John went back over where the fight started and there he saw women and boys and girls lying dead, and some were wounded, some sitting up and some lying down.

Source: *Wounded Knee Massacre: Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, on S. 1147 and S. 2900.* 94th Cong., 2nd Sess. 104–105, 109 (1976). Statements of Judge Eli Ricker on interviews with Joseph Horn Cloud and John Shangrau.

Name _____

Date _____

Two Accounts of Wounded Knee

According to Joseph Horn Cloud, why did the warrior hold up his gun? Why do you think he includes this detail?

In what other ways does Joseph Horn Cloud emphasize that the Sioux did not pose a threat to U.S. soldiers?

How are Joseph Horn Cloud's and John Shangrau's accounts similar, and what does this tell us about the reliability of their testimony?

Do you think that John Shangrau agreed with the soldiers' actions at Wounded Knee? Why or why not?

How might U.S. government policies, such as the Dawes Act of 1887, provide important context for understanding the events at Wounded Knee?

The Communist Manifesto

Background: The *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, a pamphlet authored by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, was first published in German in 1848. Written in Europe a few decades before the Second Industrial Revolution would transform much of the United States, it presents a powerful critique of capitalism and advocates for a revolutionary restructuring of society.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation [gradation] of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat. . . .

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favor of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property. . . .

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social. . . .

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries, unite!

Source: Marx, Karl, and Frederick [Friedrich] Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Translated by Samuel Moore. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, [1888?], pp. 12–13, 31, 36, 58.

Name _____

Date _____

The Communist Manifesto

How do Marx and Engels use historical events to support their argument in favor of the overthrow of the class system? Why do you think they chose the examples they did?

How do Marx and Engels describe the evolution of class struggle?

How do Marx and Engels explain the role of capitalism in modern class struggle?

How do Marx and Engels define the theory of communism, and how do they predict the modern class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat will be resolved?

What do the authors suggest about how the bourgeois family might change if capitalism and private property were abolished? Do you think they believe that this change would make family life better or worse, and why?

The Life of an Immigrant Rag Shop Worker

Background: During the late 1800s and early 1900s, industrial workers, many of whom were immigrants, endured long hours for low wages in often dangerous conditions. Hilda Satt Polacheck—a Polish and Jewish immigrant, writer, activist, and beneficiary of the Hull House settlement—worked to shed light on these experiences by conducting interviews with Chicago’s immigrant population, including this detailed account about Jacob Saranoff, a Russian immigrant and rag shop worker.

Jacob Saranoff worked in a rag-shop near Hull-House. He had come to Chicago from Russia in 1902, bringing his wife and two children with him. The family was met at the train by a relative who helped to find a home for them. . . .

. . . It was necessary for Jacob to take the first job that he could find. The job was sorting rags. His wages were eight dollars a week. The rent was six dollars a month. Jacob and [his wife] Sarah decided that they could get along.

The rag-shop was located in an abandoned barn. There was a small window in the rear of this barn which had been opened when the horses were housed in it. But since it had become a rag-shop, the window had been nailed up to keep out any possible thieves. Ventilation was not considered.

The floor of the rag-shop was never swept. The dust was allowed to gather day after day, week after week. But Jacob paid no attention to the dust. His children were in school. They could not have gone to school in Russia. There were no schools for Jewish children in the village where he had lived. So why pay attention to dust? . . .

Jacob had now been sorting rags for three years. He had been inhaling the dust for the same length of time. He would have liked to find other work. Something more interesting—something that would pay a little more money. He began to dream of the possibility of buying a piano for [his son] Solly. But he was afraid to take a day off to look for a better job. He was afraid he might lose the one he had. He could not risk having the family go without food. And there were shoes to buy. And the rent had to be paid. So he continued to sort rags, paying no attention to the dust on the floor. . . .

Jacob went on sorting rags. . . . Jacob noticed that he would get very tired, long before the day was over. He coughed a good deal when the bales of rags were dumped on the floor. He would sweat during the night, even when the bedroom was very cold. But he said nothing to his wife. . . .

Jacob would have liked to stay in bed the morning after [Solly’s high school] graduation. But a man had been fired the week before for staying home one day. So he dragged himself out of the bed and went to the rag-shop. Several hours later he was brought home by two men. They said that Jacob had started to cough and had spit large chunks of blood.

“Yes, the dust in the rag-shop is bad,” said one of the men.

Sarah was panic stricken. The neighbors called a doctor from the health department. A week later, Jacob was dead.

Source: Polacheck, Hilda. “Dust.” Chicago, 1937. Folklore Project, Life Histories, 1936–39, MSS55715: BOX A708. U.S. Work Projects Administration, Federal Writers’ Project. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/wpalh000083/>.

Name _____

Date _____

The Life of an Immigrant Rag Shop Worker

How does the excerpt reflect common pull factors and migration patterns in the early 1900s?

Why did Jacob take the job at the rag shop? What does this suggest life was like for recent immigrants at this time?

What does author Polacheck mean when she asks, "So why pay attention to dust?"

Cliff Dwellers

Background: Around the turn of the twentieth century, a group of artists known as the Ashcan School began depicting the often harsh realities of urban and industrial life, especially in New York City. George Bellows (1882–1925), a member of the Ashcan movement, painted *Cliff Dwellers* in 1913. The title is a reference to the Ancestral Pueblo peoples in the American Southwest, who lived in communities nestled in steep rock faces.



Name _____

Date _____

Cliff Dwellers

What type of residence is depicted in this scene? How do you know?

What aspects of urban life does the artist share?

How does the painting make you feel, and why?

Why do you think the artist chose the name *Cliff Dwellers*?

The Immigrant Experience

Background: The immigrant experience was challenging and deeply personal. Individuals and groups traveled great distances to make a new home in the United States for a wide variety of reasons. Written sources like letters, journals, and newspaper articles offer insight into what immigrants thought and felt about their journeys. Photographs from this era provide a direct view of what daily life was really like for some of them.



The Statue of Liberty greets immigrants entering New York Harbor on their way to Ellis Island (c. 1910).



Immigrants carry all of their possessions with them as they land at Ellis Island (c. 1900).



An immigrant family waits to disembark at Ellis Island (c. 1905).



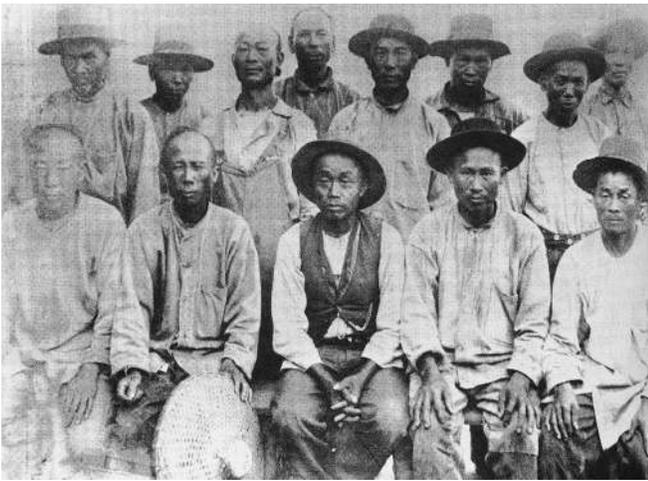
Female immigrants are processed at Ellis Island (c. 1907).



An immigrant family undergoes a medical examination at Ellis Island (c. 1910).



An Italian family sits together in their small apartment in Chicago (c. 1910).



Many Chinese immigrants found work building the transcontinental railroad (c. 1880).



A shopkeeper stands in the doorway of a Chinese-owned grocery store in San Francisco (c. 1890s).



A young Chinese girl stands in front of fish baskets in San Francisco's Chinatown (1896).

Name _____

Date _____

The Immigrant Experience

Who do you think these photos were taken for and by? What details support your claim?

What emotions do you see on the faces of the people in these photos? What do these expressions tell you?

How could these photos have been used to influence Americans' opinions about immigrants at the time?

What do these photos *not* show about immigrants' lives after they arrived in the United States? What limitations do the photos present for interpreting and understanding the immigrant experience?

Responses to the Chinese Exclusion Act

Background: In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which completely prohibited Chinese laborers from immigrating to the United States for a period of ten years. The law included provisions for non-laborers, such as diplomats, to enter the country; however, this group required special documentation, and the law still made it difficult for them to immigrate. The act also had consequences for people of Chinese descent already living in the United States—those who left the United States had a difficult time returning. The act was later extended and remained in effect until 1943.

In the first source, G. Frisbie Hoar, a U.S. senator from Massachusetts, speaks against the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Hoar was considered progressive in many areas, including antitrust action, women's suffrage, and civil rights. The second source, captioned "The only one barred out. Enlightened American Statesman.—'We must draw the line *somewhere*, you know,'" appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in 1882.

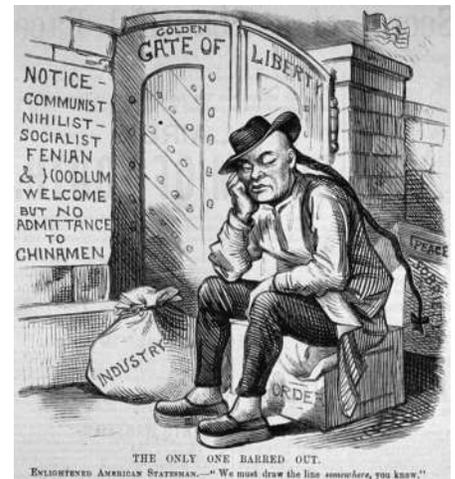
Nothing is more in conflict with the genius of American institutions than legal distinctions between individuals based upon race or upon occupation. The framers of our Constitution believed in the safety and wisdom of adherence to abstract principles. They meant that their laws should make no distinction between men except such as were required by personal conduct and character. The prejudices of race, the last of human delusions to be overcome, has been found until lately in our constitutions and statutes, and has left its hideous and ineradicable stains on our history in crimes committed by every generation. . . .

The old race prejudice, ever fruitful of crime and of folly, has not been confined to monarchies or to the dark ages. Our own Republic and our own generation have yielded to this delusion, and have paid the terrible penalty. . . .

But it is urged, and this in my judgment is the greatest argument for the bill, that the introduction of the labor of the Chinese reduces the wages of the American laborer. "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor" is a cry not limited to the class to whose representative the brilliant humorist of California first ascribed it. I am not in favor of lowering anywhere the wages of any American labor, skilled or unskilled. On the contrary, I believe the maintenance and the increase of the purchasing power of the wages of the American workingman should be the one principal object of our legislation. The share in the product of agriculture or manufacture which goes to labor should, and I believe will, steadily increase. For that, and for that only, exists our protective system. The acquisition of wealth, national or individual, is to be desired only for that. The statement of the accomplished Senator from California on this point meets my heartiest concurrence. I have no sympathy with any men, if such there be, who favor high protection and cheap labor.

But I believe that the Chinese, to whom the terms of the California Senator attribute skill enough to displace the American in every field requiring intellectual vigor, will learn very soon to insist on his full share of the product of his work. But whether that be true or not, the wealth he creates will make better and not worse the condition of every higher class of labor. There may be trouble or failure in adjusting new relations. But sooner or later every new class of industrious and productive laborers elevates the class it displaces.

Source: Hoar, George Frisbie. *Chinese Immigration: Speech of Hon. Geo. F. Hoar of Massachusetts, Delivered in the Senate of the United States, Wednesday, March 1, 1882.* Washington, D.C., 1882, pp. 6, 14, 24.



Name _____

Date _____

Responses to the Chinese Exclusion Act

According to Hoar, what is “the last of human delusions to be overcome”? What does Hoar declare will be the repercussions if this does not happen?

How does Hoar justify his support for Chinese immigrants in the face of economic arguments against them?

Which of Hoar’s points seems most supported by the cartoon? What details from the cartoon help you reach this conclusion?

What do the labels on the cargo surrounding the Chinese immigrant in the cartoon suggest?

A Survivor Remembers the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire

Background: The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire took place in a sweatshop in New York on March 25, 1911. The building had insufficient fire escapes, and the exterior doors at the bottom of the staircases were locked, resulting in the death of 146 people. The tragedy prompted public outcry and led to the passage of new state laws to protect workers. This excerpt from an article in the *New York Tribune*, published four days after the event, details the experience of Nellie Ventura, one of the survivors of the fire.

I was on the ninth floor, putting on my hat and furs, when I heard somebody cry “Fire!” There had been several scares before in the building, sometimes a scare of fire and sometimes for other reasons. You know, some of the boys who worked there used to smoke cigarettes in the hallways. When I heard the cry of “Fire!” this time I looked around and saw a puff of smoke coming from the hallway on the Greene street side of the building.

At the same instant that I saw the smoke coiling up the stairway I also saw the girls make a rush for the hallway at the head of the stairs. You see, every time before when there was such a scare the girls would make a habit of rushing to these stairs and running down to the next floor, or perhaps further down, until they were sure that there was no longer any danger. They had got in the habit of doing that, and never waited for the elevators to the right of the stairway; they wanted to get out in a hurry.

I ran at once to the window opening on the fire escape on the ninth floor and cried to the other girls to follow me. I don’t know what happened then, but I stepped out on the ladder and looked down. All below me was thick smoke, with red tongues of flame showing through, at the eighth floor. At first I was too frightened to try to run through the fire, for I thought I would be burned to death. When I heard the screams of the other girls and heard the roar of the fire in back of me, I knew I had to go down that ladder or die there.

I pulled my boa [scarf] tight about my face and went on; it seemed as though I would never reach the end. No, I do not know how I got down into the courtyard at the bottom of the shaft; perhaps I jumped; perhaps somebody carried me down—I don’t remember anything much after that, except that some firemen led me through a hallway and out into the street. Then I wandered about the streets, not remembering where I lived on 14th street. A policeman took me home after awhile.

Source: Adapted from “Girls Swear One Door Was Locked, Another Blocked.” *New York Tribune*, March 29, 1911, p. 1.

Name _____

Date _____

A Survivor Remembers the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire

What time of day do you think the fire occurred? What details support this conclusion?

What does Ventura reveal about conditions in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory? What does this suggest about the officials in charge of the factory?

Why did the workers not wait for the elevators? What does this indicate about conditions in the building?

What does Ventura's account reveal about factory conditions, and what does it leave out?

Samuel Gompers's Letter to Judge Grosscup

Background: Samuel Gompers was born in London in 1850 and immigrated to the United States at the age of thirteen. Gompers, like many other children at the time, was forced to find employment, and he worked alongside his father in a cigar factory. In 1886, Gompers was elected president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

Judge Peter Grosscup was the federal judge who issued an injunction against the American Railway Union's 1894 boycott of the Pullman Company. Judge Grosscup later called for President Grover Cleveland to send in U.S. troops to intervene after the American Railway Union (ARU) violated the injunction.

In 1894, the same year as the strike, Gompers published an open response to a letter Grosscup wrote to him in his capacity as president of the AFL. In his response, Gompers addresses Grosscup's directions to the grand jury that heard charges against ARU president Eugene V. Debs.

What shall the workers do? Sit idly by and see the vast resources of nature and the human mind be utilized and monopolized for the benefit of the comparative few? No. The laborers must learn to think and act, and soon, too, that only by the power of organization, and common concert of action, can either their manhood be maintained, their rights to life (work to sustain it) be recognized, and liberty and rights secured. . . .

I am not one of those who regards the entire past as a failure. I recognize the progress made and the improved conditions of which nearly the entire civilized world are the beneficiaries. I ask you to explain, however, that if the wealth of the whole world is, as you say, "pre-eminently and beneficially the nation's wealth," how is it that thousands of able-bodied, willing, earnest men and women are suffering the pangs of hunger? We may boast of our wealth and civilization, but to the hungry man and woman and child our progress is a hollow mockery, our civilization a sham, and our "national wealth" a chimera [a mythical beast with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent]. . . .

You evidently have observed the growth of corporate wealth and influence. You recognize that wealth, in order to become more highly productive, is concentrated into fewer hands, and controlled by representatives and directors, and yet you sing the old siren song that the workingman should depend entirely upon his own "individual effort." . . .

Year by year man's liberties are trampled under foot at the bidding of corporations and trusts, rights are invaded and law perverted. . . .

You may not know that the labor movement as represented by the trades unions, stands for right, for justice, for liberty. You may not imagine that the issuance of an injunction depriving men of a legal as well as a natural right to protect themselves, their wives and little ones, must fail of its purpose. Repression or oppression never yet succeeded in crushing the truth or redressing a wrong.

In conclusion let me assure you that labor will organize and more compactly than ever and upon practical lines, and despite relentless antagonism, achieve for humanity a nobler manhood, a more beautiful womanhood and a happier childhood.

Source: "A Letter from Judge Grosscup, and Its Answer." *American Federationist*, September 1894, pp. 150–152.

Name _____

Date _____

Samuel Gompers's Letter to Judge Grosscup

According to Gompers, what is the only way for laborers to maintain their rights?

What does Gompers mean when he says that “our progress is a hollow mockery, our civilization a sham, and our ‘national wealth’ a chimera”?

Based on Gompers's letter, do you think Grosscup is likely to rule in favor of the laborers? Why or why not?

What claim is Gompers making, and how does he use evidence to support it?

“Cross of Gold”

Background: In 1896, William Jennings Bryan, a populist presidential candidate, gave his “Cross of Gold” speech before members of the Democratic Party. Bryan’s fiery speech left the crowd momentarily stunned before they gave in to thunderous applause as the hundreds of people in the audience hugged, cheered, and threw their hats in the air in response. The speech launched Bryan into the national spotlight and earned him the Democratic nomination for president, though he would lose in the general election to William McKinley.

The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the crossroads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and by application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain. The miners who go a thousand feet into the earth or climb 2,000 feet upon the cliffs and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured in the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who in a back room corner the money of the world. . . .

It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated [pled] and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came.

We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them! . . .

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country. . . .

If they dare to come out and in the open defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of the Nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

Source: *Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention: Held in Chicago, Ill., July 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th, 1896.* Logansport, IN: Wilson, Humphreys, 1896, pp. 228–234.

Name _____

Date _____

“Cross of Gold”

How does Bryan compare those he speaks for, including farmers and miners, to the businessmen who employ those people? What does Bryan mean when he says, “We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest”?

Why does Bryan say, “But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country”? What is the effect of this imagery?

How might Bryan’s role as a Democratic politician and populist leader have influenced the way he presents farmers’ struggles and the Free Silver Movement in this speech?

What evidence from the text supports the conclusion that Bryan supported the Free Silver Movement?

“The Man with the Muck-Rake”

Background: President Theodore Roosevelt coined the pejorative term *muckraker* during a speech he gave in Washington, D.C., in 1906. It is a reference to the illustration shown below, titled “The Man with the Muck Rake,” which appeared in a book called *Pilgrim’s Progress*. Roosevelt criticized investigative journalists for reporting on the negative aspects of American life in an overly sensational fashion and often ignoring the good aspects.

There are in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of, and attack upon, every evil man, whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in a book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful. The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity [lie] takes the form of slander, he may be worse than most thieves. . . .

At the risk of repetition, let me say that my plea is not for immunity to, but for the most unsparing exposure of, the politician who betrays his trust, of the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate or corrupt ways. There should be a resolute effort to hunt every such man out of the position he has disgraced. Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal; but remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself. It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the forces of evil that I ask that the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution. The men with the muck-rakes are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck, and to look upward to the celestial crown above them, to the crown of worthy endeavor. There are beautiful things above and around about them; and, if they gradually grow to feel that the whole world is nothing but muck, their power of usefulness is gone.



The Man with the Muck Rake.

Source: Roosevelt, Theodore. “Theodore Roosevelt: The Man with the Muck-Rake, April 14, 1906.” In *History of American Oratory*, edited by Warren Choate Shaw. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928, pp. 604–606.

Name _____

Date _____

“The Man with the Muck-Rake”

What does Roosevelt imply when he says investigative journalism is necessary provided the journalist “remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful”?

According to Roosevelt, when are journalists worse than thieves? Why do you think Roosevelt uses this comparison?

What does Roosevelt mean when he says, “If they gradually grow to feel that the whole world is nothing but muck, their power of usefulness is gone”? Do you feel that this is a problem with journalism today?

How does the illustration that inspired Roosevelt’s use of “muck-rakes” connect to the claims he makes in his speech?

What would readers not understand if they only had Roosevelt’s speech and not muckraking articles?

The Jungle

Background: In 1904, the weekly socialist magazine *Appeal to Reason* sent journalist Upton Sinclair to Chicago to report on a meatpackers' union strike and conditions in the meatpacking industry, an assignment that eventually inspired Sinclair to write his novel *The Jungle*. In it, he describes the harsh, unsafe, and unsanitary conditions of Chicago's stockyards and meatpacking plants through the experiences of his fictional main character, Lithuanian immigrant Jurgis Rudkus, and his family.

In this excerpt, Sinclair describes some of the shocking ways spoiled and contaminated meat was processed for sale to unsuspecting Americans. Among other unsanitary practices, workers used chemicals such as borax, a common cleaning compound and insecticide, and glycerine, an oil often used in soaps, to disguise rotten meat and make it seem fresh.

Jonas had told them how the meat that was taken out of pickle would often be found sour, and how they would rub it up with [baking] soda to take away the smell, and sell it to be eaten on free-lunch counters; also of all the miracles of chemistry which they performed, giving to any sort of meat, fresh or salted, whole or chopped, any color and any flavor and any odor they chose. . . .

It was only when the whole ham was spoiled that it came into the department of Elzbieta. Cut up by the two-thousand-revolutions-a-minute flyers [high-speed chopping machines], and mixed with half a ton of other meat, no odor that ever was in a ham could make any difference. There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was moldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into the hoppers [large bins], and made over again for home consumption. There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit uncounted billions of consumption [tuberculosis] germs. There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the dried dung of rats. These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together.

Source: Sinclair, Upton. *The Jungle*. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1906, pp. 160–161.

Name _____

Date _____

The Jungle

According to Sinclair, what were the conditions inside the meatpacking plant like? Cite examples from the excerpt.

What is Sinclair referring to when he writes of “the miracles of chemistry”? Explain his choice of phrase.

Why do you think the meatpacking companies engaged in the deceptive, dangerous practices that Sinclair describes in *The Jungle*?

How might Sinclair’s perspective as a socialist have influenced the way he describes the meatpacking industry?

Booker T. Washington and the “Atlanta Compromise”

Background: This speech, delivered by Booker T. Washington in 1895 at the Atlanta Exposition, downplayed the desire of African Americans for social integration and reinforced his view that African Americans should focus on education and economic well-being, rather than directly challenge the status quo in the South.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, “Water, water; we die of thirst!” The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, “Cast down your bucket where you are.” A second time the signal, “Water, water; send us water!” ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, “Cast down your bucket where you are.” And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, “Cast down your bucket where you are.” The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: “Cast down your bucket where you are”—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man’s chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws [trinkets] of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, “Cast down your bucket where you are.” . . . Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. . . . As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

Source: Washington, Booker T. “The Standard Printed Version of the Atlanta Exposition Address.” In *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, edited by Louis R. Harlan, vol. 3, 1889–95. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974, pp. 584–585.

Name _____

Date _____

Booker T. Washington and the “Atlanta Compromise”

According to Washington, why is the South, despite “whatever other sins [it] may be called to bear,” the best place for African Americans?

How does Washington view manual labor? Why is this important to him?

How does Washington transform the meaning of the phrase “Cast down your bucket where you are” through the course of his speech?

What does Washington mean when he says, “In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress”? Why do you think he made this point?

Compare Washington’s “Cast down your bucket where you are” argument with W. E. B. Du Bois’s ideas in *The Souls of Black Folk*. What do the differences reveal about the broader debate within the African American community?

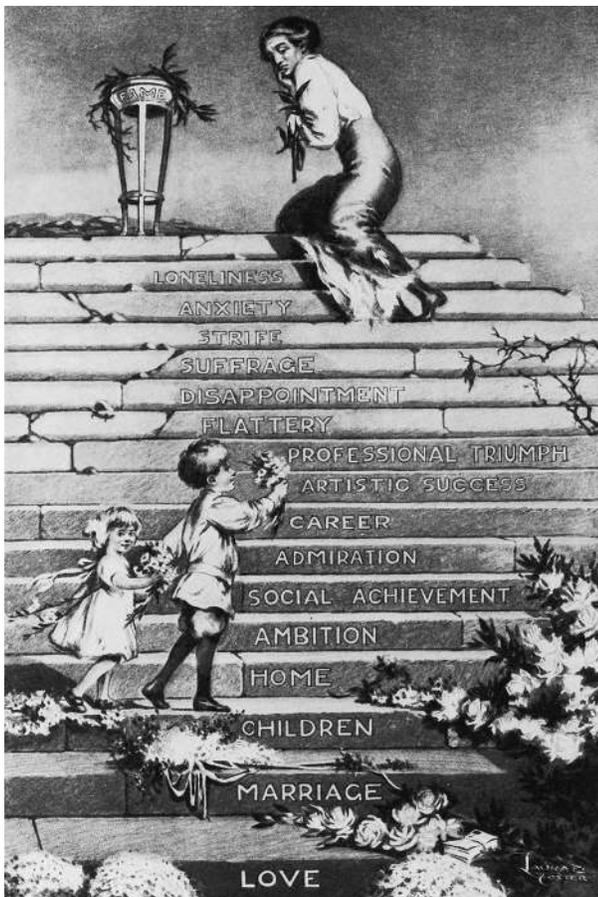
How might Du Bois’s background as a Northern-born, university-educated intellectual have shaped his perspective compared to how Washington’s Southern, vocational background shaped his views?

Two Women's Suffrage Cartoons

Background: The U.S. women's suffrage movement first began in the early to mid-1800s and gained momentum during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Suffrage organizations, including the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and the National Woman's Party (NWP), advocated for voting rights at the local, state, and federal levels. The road to universal suffrage, achieved through the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, was a difficult one.

As these two cartoons show, suffragists often faced opposition from officials and average citizens alike, including other women. The first cartoon, created by Laura E. Foster, appeared in *Life* magazine in 1912. The second cartoon, created by Elmer Andrews Bushnell, appeared in the *Sandusky Star Journal* in Ohio and the *Olean Evening Herald* in New York in August 1920, a few days after the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified.

“Looking Backward”



“The Sky Is Now Her Limit”



Name _____

Date _____

Two Women's Suffrage Cartoons

How does "Looking Backward" reflect contemporary views of women in the early twentieth century?

What statement does the cartoonist of "Looking Backward" make about the women's movement?

How are the two cartoons similar and different? How might the perspective or bias of each cartoonist have influenced the way women's suffrage is portrayed?

Why do you think the cartoonist of "The Sky Is Now Her Limit" placed "equal suffrage" toward the center of the ladder?

President McKinley's Message to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War with Spain

Background: In the late 1800s, Cuba was engaged in a long struggle for independence from Spanish colonial rule. Many Americans sympathized with the Cuban people and were outraged when the USS *Maine*, a U.S. battleship stationed in Havana Harbor, exploded in February 1898, killing more than two hundred American sailors. Although the cause was unclear, many Americans blamed Spain. The United States also had business interests in Cuba, especially in sugar. In this message, delivered on April 11, 1898, President McKinley asks Congress to authorize military intervention in Cuba.

The grounds for such intervention may be briefly summarized as follows:

First. In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty, for it is right at our door.

Second. We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

Third. The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

Fourth, and which is of the utmost importance. The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace and entails upon this Government an enormous expense. . . .

In view of these facts and of these considerations I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

And in the interest of humanity and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island I recommend that the distribution of food and supplies be continued and that an appropriation be made out of the public Treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens.

The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

Source: McKinley, William. "Message to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War with Spain." April 11, 1898. The American Presidency Project, edited by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley. University of California, Santa Barbara. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/message-congress-requesting-declaration-war-with-spain>.

Name _____

Date _____

**President McKinley’s Message to Congress Requesting
a Declaration of War with Spain**

Why does McKinley say the United States cannot ignore the crisis in Cuba because “it is right at our door”?
How does this idea connect to the Monroe Doctrine?

What evidence from McKinley’s message shows that economic concerns were a factor in motivating the United States to consider war with Spain?

How might events such as the presence of U.S. citizens in Cuba and the explosion of the USS *Maine* have influenced McKinley’s request for war?

If historians only had McKinley's speech as a source, how might their interpretation of U.S. motives for the Spanish-American War be limited? What other kinds of sources would they need for a fuller picture?

Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League

Background: The American Anti-Imperialist League formed in 1898 in response to U.S. expansion overseas. The league specifically opposed U.S. annexation and intervention in the Philippines, a territory acquired from Spain after the Spanish-American War (1898). When Filipinos resisted U.S. rule, the U.S. military fought to suppress their independence movement during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). This 1899 excerpt criticizes that war and outlines the American Anti-Imperialist League’s platform of values and beliefs.

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it is now necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We still maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the forcible subjugation of a purchased people is “criminal aggression” and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government. . . .

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present national administration in the Philippines. It is the spirit of ’76 that our government is striving to extinguish in those islands; we denounce the attempt and demand its abandonment. We deplore and resent the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror, a deep dishonor to our nation.

We protest against the extension of American empire by Spanish methods and demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty begun by Spain and continued by us. . . . Our government should at once announce to the Filipinos its purpose to grant them under proper guarantees of order the independence for which they have so long fought. . . . It is today as true of the Filipinos as it was a year ago of the Cubans that they “are and of right ought to be free and independent.”

Source: American Anti-Imperialist League. *The Chicago Liberty Meeting, Held at Central Music Hall, April 30, 1899*. Chicago: Central Anti-Imperialist League, 1899, pp. 50–51.

Name _____

Date _____

Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League

Based on the source and your own knowledge, why do you think the American Anti-Imperialist League points out that the United States is “the land of Washington and Lincoln”?

The Declaration of Independence states, “To secure [human] rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.” Why does the league’s platform include part of this statement?

Why does the American Anti-Imperialist League compare the Filipino rebellion to “the spirit of [17]76”? What message does this comparison send to American readers?

The league describes U.S. rule in the Philippines as “the extension of American empire by Spanish methods.” What does the league mean by this phrase, and how is the United States behaving similarly to Spain?

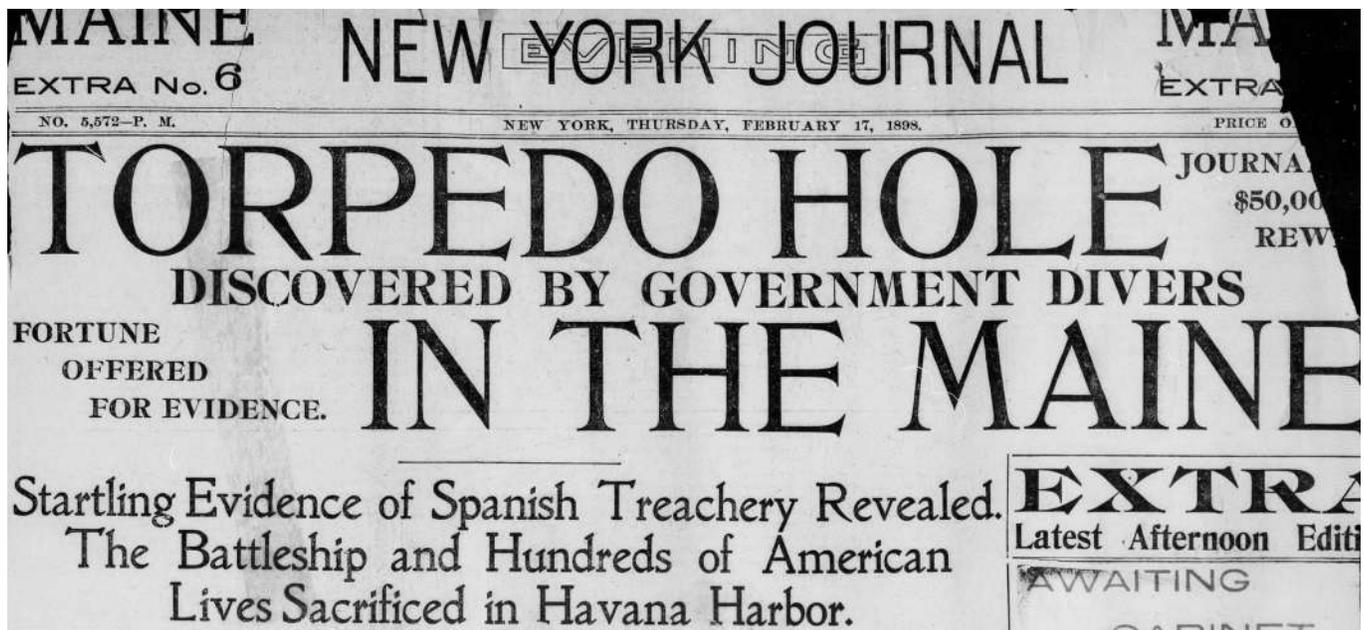
What does the league want the U.S. government to do? Why?

**“Torpedo Hole Discovered by Government Divers in the *Maine*:
Startling Evidence of Spanish Treachery Revealed” / “Spain Guilty!” /
*How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed***

Background: In the late 1800s, two prominent newspapers, the *New York World* and the *New York Evening Journal*, competed for readers’ attention through dramatic, sensationalized headlines, images, and articles. The material they printed was often inaccurate. These two *New York Evening Journal* headlines, dated February 17 and March 25, 1898, respectively, refer to the sinking of the USS *Maine* off the Cuban coast on February 15, 1898. The papers’ coverage of the event is often credited with pushing American public opinion toward war with Spain. Torpedoes and floating mines are explosive weapons placed in the water and designed to destroy ships.

War was declared two months later, and the United States defeated Spain easily; its first victory was the Battle of Manila Bay, near Manila, the capital of the Spanish-controlled Philippines. In 1976, U.S. Navy admiral Hyman Rickover published an investigation into how and why the USS *Maine* sank.

**“Torpedo Hole Discovered by Government Divers in the *Maine*:
Startling Evidence of Spanish Treachery Revealed” (1898)**



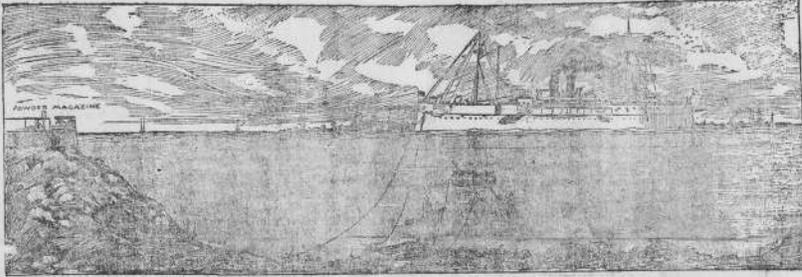
“Spain Guilty!” (1898)

NIGHT SPECIAL. NEW YORK JOURNAL EVENING JOURNAL SPECIAL. NIGHT SPECIAL.
NO. 5,608—P. M. NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 25, 1898. PRICE ONE CENT.

SPAIN GUILTY!

DESTROYED BY A FLOATING MINE.

HOW THE MAINE WAS BLOWN UP WITH A FLOATING MINE.
(From the Journal of February 17.)



(From the Evening Journal, March 22.)

Evening Journal's Exclusive Forecast, Sunday, Confirmed by the President.

FACTS ON WHICH CONGRESS WILL HAVE TO ACT.

This Summary of Points Determined by the Maine

EXTRA.
NO. 11

PRESIDENT GIVES NEWS OF MAINE REPORT

WASHINGTON, MARCH 25.—THE PRESIDENT THIS AFTERNOON AUTHORIZED THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE COURSE OF INQUIRY REPORT SHOWS THE MAINE TO HAVE BEEN BLOWN UP BY EXTERNAL EXPLOSION.

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET OBSERVED THEIR PLEDGES OF SECRECY WHILE THE PRESIDENT GAVE THE BULLETIN.

BILL EMPOWERING M'KINLEY TO CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS.

WASHINGTON, March 25.—General Wheeler, of Alabama, today introduced in the House a bill providing that in the event of an act of war being committed by Spain prior to the meeting of the next session of Congress the President of the United States be authorized to accept leaders of volunteer troops, to purchase arms and munitions of war to equip such troops for active service and make other preparations necessary to the safety of the country and to protect its honor and prestige.

CABINET DRAFTING A NOTE TO MADRID.

WASHINGTON, March 25.—It is asserted positively that the second meeting of the Cabinet now in session is to decide what instructions shall be sent to Minister Woodford to-night.

How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed (1976)

In all probability, the *Maine* was destroyed by an accident which occurred inside the ship. . . .

As a result of the war the United States became an imperial power. The sinking of the *Maine* did not create the emotional forces that led to American imperialism: it released them. The United States assumed, particularly in the Philippines, obligations to maintain order and to defend territories remote from its shore. The easiness of victory for a time obscured the responsibilities which had been incurred. Exuberant Americans lionized the victor of the easy battle of Manila and celebrated the triumph which carried the flag to new heights of world prestige.

Source: Rickover, Hyman G. *How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed*. Washington, D.C.: Naval History Division, Dept. of the Navy, 1976, pp. 104–106.

Name _____

Date _____

**“Torpedo Hole Discovered by Government Divers in the *Maine*:
Startling Evidence of Spanish Treachery Revealed” / “Spain Guilty!” /
*How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed***

How did the *New York Evening Journal*'s perspective influence the way it reported the USS *Maine* incident, and what words or phrases did it use to shape readers' responses?

What do you think “the emotional forces that led to American imperialism” were? How did the sinking of the USS *Maine* release these forces?

If Americans had known in 1898 that the USS *Maine*'s sinking was most likely an accident, how do you think the news coverage of the event would have changed? Would the United States still have gone to war with Spain? Why or why not?

According to Rickover, what were the consequences of the Spanish-American War for the United States?

According to Rickover, why did U.S. forces think that ruling the Philippines would be easy? How did this expectation compare to reality?

The Roosevelt Corollary

Background: In 1902, several European countries blockaded ports in Venezuela to force repayment of unpaid debts. President Theodore Roosevelt feared that such actions could lead to long-term European influence in Latin America. In his 1904 State of the Union address, he introduced what became known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence [lack of power] which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which with the aid of the Platt amendment Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end. Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society they may rest assured that they will be treated by us in a spirit of cordial and helpful sympathy. We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations. It is a mere truism to say that every nation, whether in America or anywhere else, which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence can not be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it.

Source: Roosevelt, Theodore. "Message of the President." In *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, with the Annual Message of the President, Transmitted to Congress December 6, 1904*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905, pp. xli–xlii.

Name _____

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The Roosevelt Corollary

How is the Roosevelt Corollary similar to the Monroe Doctrine? How is it different?

What does Roosevelt believe nations should do to maintain their right to independence? Using your knowledge of U.S. history, what arguments would you make to agree or disagree with his stance?

Roosevelt cites several examples of times when he believes U.S. foreign policy benefited the United States and humanity as a whole. What are two of these examples? How did they benefit humanity, according to Roosevelt?

How did the Roosevelt Corollary establish the United States as an international police power?

Can the Roosevelt Corollary be seen as a turning point in U.S. foreign policy? Why or why not?

“A ‘Threatening’ Situation”

Background: This 1912 cartoon by Nelson Harding, titled “The Chain of Friendship,” illustrates the tangled system of alliances and rivalries in Europe before World War I. At the time, rising tensions in southeastern Europe fueled a growing conflict between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. Serbia, a Balkan nation, hoped to unite Slavic peoples into a larger Serbian state, an ambition that threatened Austria-Hungary’s control over recently annexed territories such as Bosnia. The cartoon shows how these national interests and alliances drew many powers into the conflict. The countries depicted, from left to right, are Serbia, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany, France, and Britain.



[From the 'Eagle,' Brooklyn, N.Y.,

A ‘Threatening’ Situation.

Situazione ‘minacciosa’

Name _____

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“A ‘Threatening’ Situation”

How does the cartoon demonstrate the goals of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente?

This cartoon is sometimes called “The Chain of Friendship.” Why do you think this title is used? Was this “friendship” ironic? Why or why not?

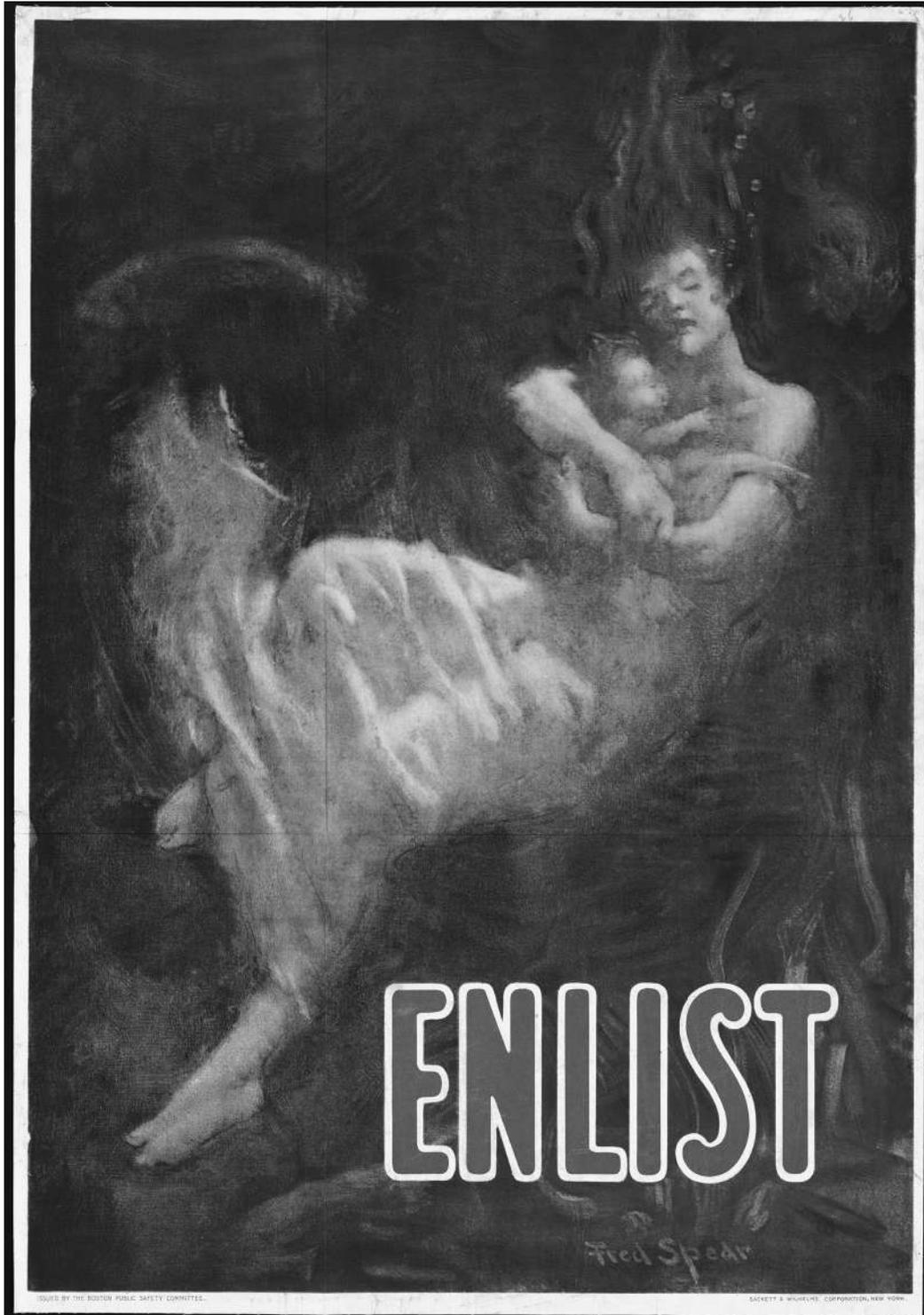
How do the figures representing Serbia and Austria-Hungary show the nations’ relationship in 1912? How do they show each nation’s ambitions? Consider the figures’ size, dialogue, and positions in the lineup.

How do the figures representing Serbia and Russia show the two nations' relationship in 1912? How do they show each nation's level of power? Consider the figures' size, dialogue, and positions in the lineup.

Look at the order of the figures in the cartoon, from left to right. How does this order reflect the series of events that caused World War I to break out in 1914? Use the source and your own knowledge.

“Enlist”

Background: This 1915 American poster by Fred Spear is a response to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, a British ocean liner torpedoed by a German submarine on May 7, 1915. Nearly 1,200 people were killed, including more than 100 Americans. The word *enlist* means to voluntarily sign up for the armed services.



Name _____

Date _____

“Enlist”

What does the image on the poster represent? What impression was the artist trying to achieve with this image?

The poster was created in 1915, two years before the United States entered the war and before the Selective Service Act was passed. The U.S. military still relied on volunteers in 1915. How do you think these facts affect the poster’s message?

In what ways does the poster show how Americans’ feelings about the war and the German threat changed after the sinking of the *Lusitania*?

Suppose the poster included a brief sentence or phrase to further make its point. What might this sentence or phrase say? Why?

How does the poster reflect a shift from U.S. neutrality toward a more interventionist stance?

President Woodrow Wilson's Address to Congress

Background: This excerpt is from President Wilson's message, delivered on April 2, 1917, asking Congress to approve a declaration of war against Germany.

Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. . . .

. . . The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. . . .

. . . I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States. . . .

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. . . .

. . . We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Source: Wilson, Woodrow. "Address of the President of the United States, Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, April 2, 1917." In *President Woodrow Wilson's Address to Congress, April 2, 1917; Proclamation of the President, April 6, 1917; Proclamation of the Mayor of the City of New York, April 6, 1917; Address of the President to His Fellow Countrymen, April 16, 1917*. New York: American Exchange National Bank, [1917?], pp. 4–6, 8, 11.

Name _____

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President Woodrow Wilson’s Address to Congress

What reasons does Wilson give for describing Germany’s unrestricted submarine warfare as a “challenge . . . to all mankind”?

According to Wilson, what are the United States’ goals in entering the war? How do these goals support the ideal of “political liberty”?

Why does Wilson argue that victory over Germany is necessary to make the world “safe for democracy”? Consider how world powers could control smaller, less powerful nations.

Why does Wilson point out that “the liberation of [the world’s] peoples” includes the German people?

How does Wilson describe the U.S. government’s feelings toward the German people? How do these feelings compare to the treatment of German Americans during World War I?

How might the experiences of Americans during the Progressive Era (e.g., reform movements, belief in moral leadership) have shaped the way Wilson frames his appeal for war?

“Over There”

Background: American songwriter George Cohan wrote “Over There” soon after the United States entered World War I in April 1917. Its lyrics encourage young American men to enlist in the war “over there” in Europe. The sheet music for the song sold more than two million copies in the United States by the end of the war. Promoted widely through the Committee on Public Information (CPI), the song became a powerful piece of World War I propaganda, rallying support for enlistment and the American war effort.

Johnnie get your gun, get your gun, get your gun
Take it on the run, on the run, on the run
Hear them calling you and me
Ev’ry son of liberty
Hurry right away no delay go today
Make your daddy glad to have had such a lad
Tell your sweetheart not to pine
To be proud her boy’s in line.

Over there, over there
Send the word, send the word over there
That the Yanks are coming the Yanks are coming
The drums rum-tumming ev’ry where
So prepare, say a pray’r
Send the word, send the word to beware
We’ll be over we’re coming over
And we won’t come back till it’s over over there.

Johnnie get your gun, get your gun, get your gun
Johnny show the Hun you’re a son of a gun
Hoist the flag and let her fly
Yankee Doodle do or die
Pack your little kit show your grit do your bit
Yankees to the ranks from the towns and the tanks
Make your mother proud of you
And the old Red White and Blue.

Source: Cohan, George M. *Over There*. New York: Williams Jerome Publishing, 1917. Historic Sheet Music Collection, 1162. Digital Commons @ Connecticut College. <https://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/sheetmusic/1162/>.

Name _____

Date _____

“Over There”

“Yankee Doodle” was a popular song during the American Revolution (1775–83), describing Americans as “Yankees.” The song became associated with American patriotism. Why is the lyric “Yankee Doodle do or die” significant in “Over There”?

How are the American flag and the flag’s presence in Europe important to the song?

What mood does the song create, and how might that mood have supported the government’s goals during the war?

How does the lyric “Johnny show the Hun [German] you’re a son of a gun” indicate what the United States wants to show Germany?

“Over There” was produced at the height of the Committee on Public Information’s propaganda campaign. Why do you think the government wanted a song like “Over There” during World War I, and how does that change the way we understand its message?

Emma Goldman's Address to the Jury

Background: In 1917, political activist and anarchist Emma Goldman, an immigrant from Russia, was arrested and charged with violating the Selective Service Act, the law that established the military draft during World War I. She had encouraged men to resist conscription, which was considered a federal offense. During her trial on July 9, 1917, Goldman addressed the jury to defend her beliefs about individual freedom and political conscience. She was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison.

Gentlemen of the Jury: . . .

We say that if America has entered the war to make the world safe for democracy, she must first make democracy safe in America. How else is the world to take America seriously, when democracy at home is daily being outraged, free speech suppressed, peaceable assemblies broken up by overbearing and brutal gangsters in uniform; when free press is curtailed and every independent opinion gagged. Verily, poor as we are in democracy, how can we give of it to the world? We further say that a democracy conceived in the military servitude of the masses, in their economic enslavement, and nurtured in their tears and blood, is not democracy at all. It is despotism—the cumulative result of a chain of abuses which, according to that dangerous document, the Declaration of Independence, the people have the right to overthrow.

Source: Goldman, Emma. "Emma Goldman's Address to the Jury." In *Anarchism on Trial: Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman Before the United States District Court in the City of New York, July, 1917*. New York: Mother Earth Publishing, [1917?], pp. 56, 64.

Name _____

Date _____

Emma Goldman's Address to the Jury

What does Goldman argue about democracy in America, and which rights does she believe are being threatened?

What example does Goldman believe the United States is setting for the world by suppressing opposition to the war?

What does Goldman think about the U.S. policy requiring able-bodied men to serve in the war? What does she think about the war economy? Use evidence from the text in your response.

Why does Goldman call the Declaration of Independence a “dangerous document”? What does she imply by discussing the Declaration of Independence?

“Dulce et Decorum Est”

Background: British poet Wilfred Owen served in World War I, fighting for the Allied powers as a soldier in the trenches. He was promoted to company commander, but he suffered physical wounds and shell shock, for which he was hospitalized in 1917. Owen later returned to the front. On November 4, 1918, Owen was killed in action a week before the armistice ended the war. He was twenty-five years old at the time of his death. This poem, written while he was in the hospital but not published until 1920, after his death, was inspired by Owen’s wartime experiences.

The poem takes its title from a Latin phrase that means “It is sweet and fitting to die for one’s country.” The phrase, which appears in full at the end of the poem, was originally written by the Roman poet Horace. The “Five-Nines” mentioned in the poem were 5.9-inch (15 cm) artillery shells used by the Germans.

Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,
Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge,
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;
Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots
Of tired, outstripped Five-Nines that dropped behind.

Gas! GAS! Quick, boys!—An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time;
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And flound’ring like a man in fire or lime . . .
Dim, through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.

In all my dreams, before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil’s sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,—
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est*
Pro patria mori.

Source: Owen, Wilfred. “Dulce et Decorum Est.” In *The Collected Poems of Wilfred Owen*, edited by C. Day Lewis. London: Chatto & Windus, 1963, p. 55.

Name _____

Date _____

“Dulce et Decorum Est”

What experience does this poem describe? What happens to the poem’s speaker?

How do the descriptions in the poem reflect the experience of soldiers in the trenches on the Western Front? Use evidence from the text in your response.

How does the poem illustrate the experiences of soldiers in the trenches, and what role does new warfare technology play in shaping those experiences and the mood of the poem?

What evidence in the poem supports the idea that the speaker continues to experience “shell shock” or ongoing trauma after combat has ended?

How does the speaker address or challenge patriotic views of war, and how does he respond to readers who believe the sacrifices of World War I soldiers were brave and patriotic? Consider how the word *you* is used.

How does this poem challenge popular understandings of World War I compared to government propaganda at the time?

A Flapper's Appeal to Parents

Background: In a 1922 article published in the magazine *The Outlook*, Ellen Welles Page, a self-described “semi-flapper,” explains to the older generation—and the many rural fundamentalists who took issue with the cultural and social changes of the 1920s—why so many American women found the flapper lifestyle both liberating and challenging.

If one judges by appearances, I suppose I am a flapper. I am within the age limit. I wear bobbed hair, the badge of flapperhood. (And, oh, what a comfort it is!) I powder my nose. I wear fringed skirts and bright-colored sweaters, and scarfs, and waists with Peter Pan collars, and low-heeled “finale hopper” shoes. I *adore* to dance. I spend a large amount of time in automobiles. I attend hops, and proms, and ball-games, and crew races, and other affairs at men’s colleges. . . .

I want to beg all you parents, and grandparents, and friends, and teachers, and preachers—you who constitute the “older generation”—to overlook our shortcomings, at least for the present, and to appreciate our virtues. I wonder if it ever occurred to any of you that it required *brains* to become and remain a successful flapper? Indeed it does! It requires an enormous amount of cleverness and energy to keep going at the proper pace. It requires self-knowledge and self-analysis. We must know our capabilities and limitations. We must be constantly on the alert. Attainment of flapperhood is a big and serious undertaking! . . .

Think back to the time when you were struggling through the teens. Remember how spontaneous and deep were the joys, how serious and penetrating the sorrows. Most of us, under the present system of modern education, are further advanced and more thoroughly developed mentally, physically, and vocationally than were our parents at our age. We hold the infinite possibilities of the myriads of new inventions within our grasp. We have learned to take for granted conveniences, and many luxuries, which not so many years ago were as yet undreamed of. We are in touch with the whole universe. We have a tremendous problem on our hands. You must help us. Give us confidence—not distrust. Give us practical aid and advice—not criticism. Praise us when praise is merited. Be patient and understanding when we make mistakes.

We are the Younger Generation. The war tore away our spiritual foundations and challenged our faith. We are struggling to regain our equilibrium. The times have made us older and more experienced than you were at our age. It must be so with each succeeding generation if it is to keep pace with the rapidly advancing and mighty tide of civilization. Help us to put our knowledge to the best advantage. Work with us! That is the way! . . . Give us a helping hand. . . .

. . . It is up to you who have the supervision of us of less ripe experience to guide us sympathetically, and to help us find, encourage, and develop our special abilities and talents. Study us. Make us realize that you respect us as fellow human beings, that you have confidence in us, and, above all, that you expect us to live up to the highest ideals, and to the best that is in us.

Source: Page, Ellen Welles. “A Flapper’s Appeal to Parents.” *The Outlook*, December 6, 1922, p. 607.

Name _____

Date _____

A Flapper’s Appeal to Parents

Based on Page’s article, what are some stereotypes that the older generation had about flappers?

What does Page ask of the older generation? Do you think this is realistic?

What are some examples of “conveniences, and . . . luxuries” that the people of Page’s generation had when growing up that their parents did not? Choose one of these examples, and explain how it could create a “generation gap” in people’s experience and understanding of the world.

Recall what you read in Topic 1 about the Lost Generation of the 1920s. How does Page’s discussion of “the Younger Generation” connect to the ideas and experiences of the Lost Generation?

Using the text and your knowledge of social studies, how does the flapper reflect a change in American society, and what is Page’s argument for acceptance of these changes?

The Case Against the “Reds”

Background: During the Palmer Raids of 1919–21, employees of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer raided labor union offices and locations of suspected socialist and communist groups without warrants. These actions came in response to a series of bombings perpetrated by anarchists, who in May 1919 had mailed bombs to several high-profile figures in American politics and industry. More bombs were sent the next month.

In this 1920 article, published in the magazine *The Forum*, Palmer tries to build support for his department’s actions by impressing readers with the magnitude of the communist “reign of terror.” In the process, he alludes to the Russian revolutionary and leading Soviet politician Leon Trotsky (spelled “Trotzky” in the article) as a then-familiar symbol of communist thought.

In this brief review of the work which the Department of Justice has undertaken, to tear out the radical seeds that have entangled American ideas in their poisonous theories, I desire not merely to explain what the real menace of communism is, but also to tell how we have been compelled to clean up the country almost unaided by any virile [strong or forceful] legislation. Though I have not been embarrassed by political opposition, I have been materially delayed because the present sweeping processes of arrests and deportation of seditious aliens should have been vigorously pushed by Congress last spring. The failure of this is a matter of record in the Congressional files. . . .

Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order a year ago. It was eating its way into the homes of the American workman, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine [unrestrained by morality or convention] laws, burning up the foundations of society.

Robbery, not war, is the ideal of communism. This has been demonstrated in Russia, Germany, and in America. As a foe, the anarchist is fearless of his own life, for his creed is a fanaticism that admits no respect of any other creed. Obviously it is the creed of any criminal mind, which reasons always from motives impossible to clean thought. Crime is the degenerate factor in society. . . .

By stealing, murder and lies, Bolshevism has looted Russia not only of its material strength, but of its moral force. . . .

My information showed that communism in this country was an organization of thousands of aliens, who were direct allies of Trotzky. Aliens of the same misshapen caste of mind and indecencies of character, and it showed that they were making the same glittering promises of lawlessness, of criminal autocracy to Americans, that they had made to the Russian peasants. How the Department of Justice discovered upwards of 60,000 of these organized agitators of the Trotzky doctrine in the United States, is the confidential information upon which the Government is now sweeping the nation clean of such alien filth.

Source: Palmer, A. Mitchell. “The Case Against the ‘Reds.’” *The Forum*, February 1920, pp. 173–176.

Name _____

Date _____

The Case Against the “Reds”

How does Palmer view Congress’s response to the Red Scare? How does this compare to how he feels about his own government-sanctioned action? Cite evidence from the text for your answer.

How does Palmer’s depiction of immigrants reflect broader nativist attitudes in the United States during the 1920s?

How does Palmer invoke ideas of religious belief and traditional morality in his attack on the “Reds”? What sort of “robbery” is he accusing the “Reds” of perpetrating?

How do you think Palmer wants readers to feel when they finish reading his article? How does he want them to act?

Why might Palmer deliberately conflate communists, anarchists, socialists, and Bolsheviks in this article? What effect would this have on his audience?

What does Palmer’s framing of the Department of Justice’s actions as “sweeping processes” indicate about his approach to handling perceived threats?

How might Palmer’s description of communism differ from accounts given by labor organizers, immigrants, or later historians? What counterclaims could be made against Palmer’s position?

Aims and Objects of Movement for Solution of the Negro Problem

Background: In 1914, Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) to encourage Black self-pride, foster economic independence, and pursue the long-term goal of establishing a united African homeland. He believed that this would give African Americans a way to escape the oppression they still experienced in the United States.

Garvey identified the West African country of Liberia as the ideal destination for his project. Liberia had been founded in the nineteenth century as part of a project to repatriate freed and freeborn Black people. By the 1920s, these “Americo-Liberians” were the dominant ethnic group in the small coastal nation.

In this excerpt from a 1924 pamphlet, Garvey explains his organization’s aims.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association is an organization among Negroes that is seeking to improve the condition of the race, with the view of establishing a Nation in Africa where Negroes will be given the opportunity to develop by themselves, without creating the hatred and animosity that now exist in countries of the white race. . . .

We cannot put off the consideration of the matter, for time is pressing on our hands. The educated Negro is making rightful constitutional demands. The great white majority will never grant them, and thus we march on to danger if we do not now stop and adjust the matter.

The time is opportune to regulate the relationship between both races. Let the Negro have a country of his own. Help him to return to his original home—Africa, and there give him the opportunity to climb from the lowest to the highest positions in a state of his own. . . .

This plan when properly undertaken and prosecuted will solve the race problem in America in 50 years. Africa affords a wonderful opportunity at the present time for colonization by the Negroes of the Western world. There is Liberia, already established as an independent Negro government. . . . France, England and Belgium owe America billions of dollars that they claim that they cannot afford to repay immediately. Let them compromise by turning over Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast on the West Coast of Africa and add them to Liberia and help make Liberia a state worthy of her history.

Source: Garvey, Marcus. *Aims and Objects of Movement for Solution of Negro Problem Outlined*. New York: Press of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, 1924.

Consumerism and Advertising of the Roaring Twenties

Background: Helen Landon Cass was a radio broadcaster who also wrote a “personality column” in print publications under the pseudonym Peggy Schuyler. Personality columnists like Cass were the influencers of their day, as she explains in this 1923 essay. Cass’s analysis is based on the rising consumerism of the 1920s and the growth of the advertising industry to address and shape consumer demands. The “New Holiday” advertisement promotes an ocean liner company of the time.

Everyone has the missing-link complex. We all know that life, love, and laughter hang upon the “if only’s.” If only we had just the right dress to wear we’d be the life of the party. If only we knew what color to wear our hair wouldn’t look so henna by birth. Every time we buy something we are trying to find the lost chord.

Earrings we buy, not as twinkling bits of jeweled metal, but because they will give us youth or age, sophistication, piquancy [state of being engagingly provocative], or romance. We are trying to buy the gifts of the gods, two for fifty-nine cents. . . . People don’t buy things to have things; they buy things to work for them. They buy hope, hope of what your merchandise will do for them.

Most advertisements sell things, dresses, earrings, soap. The column sells hope, luxury, and the whirl of parties, dreams of country clubs and proms, visions of what might happen if only. . . .

And once you get that vision you don’t have to be sold anything—you buy.

Source: Cass, Helen Landon. “The Personality Column in Advertising.” In *Advertising and Selling*, by 150 Advertising and Sales Executives, edited by Noble T. Praigg. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1923, p. 123.



Name _____

Date _____

Consumerism and Advertising of the Roaring Twenties

What is “the missing-link complex” that Cass describes, and how does it relate to advertising? What are some examples of “missing links” today?

Think about the consumer goods that became popular in the 1920s. How do these prove Cass’s claim that people “buy things to work for them,” both in the sense of saving labor and in the sense of helping them realize their dreams?

Recall what you read in Topic 1 about consumerism and buying on credit. What might be a downside for the individual who takes the attitude that Cass describes? What might be a downside for a society in which large numbers of people have this attitude?

Examine the advertisement for United States Lines. How does it reinforce the view of advertising that Cass describes in her column? What specific images or words in the ad connect to Cass’s idea of selling hope and dreams?

How did consumer attitudes in the 1920s, as described by Cass, continue patterns from the late nineteenth century, and how did they deviate from those patterns?

Campaign Address in New York City

Background: In 1928, near the end of a presidential election that he would ultimately win, then–Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover took to the podium to defend the “American system” of limited government, low taxes, and individual initiative and enterprise. He identified these as the principles of the Republican Party and contrasted them with the Democrats’ call for greater government intervention in industry, especially in agriculture and utilities. In this campaign address, often referred to as his “Rugged Individualism” speech, Hoover discusses the prosperity of the 1920s and offers some hypotheses about what caused it.

When the war closed, the most vital of all issues both in our own country and throughout the world was whether governments should continue their wartime ownership and operation of many instrumentalities of production and distribution. We were challenged with a peacetime choice between the American system of rugged individualism and a European philosophy of diametrically [completely] opposed doctrines—doctrines of paternalism and state socialism. The acceptance of these ideas would have meant the destruction of self-government through centralization of government. It would have meant the undermining of the individual initiative and enterprise through which our people have grown to unparalleled greatness. . . .

By adherence to the principles of decentralized self-government, ordered liberty, equal opportunity, and freedom to the individual, our American experiment in human welfare has yielded a degree of well being unparalleled in all the world. . . .

As a nation we came out of the war with great losses. We made no profits from it. The apparent increases in wages were at that time fictitious. We were poorer as a nation when we emerged from the war. Yet during these last 8 years we have recovered from these losses. . . . I know of no better test of the improved conditions of the average family than the combined increase in assets of life and industrial insurance, building and loan associations, and savings deposits. These are the savings banks of the average man. These agencies alone have in 7 years increased by nearly 100 percent to the gigantic sum of over \$50 billions, or nearly one-sixth of our whole national wealth. . . .

In addition to these evidences of larger savings, our people are steadily increasing their spending for higher standards of living. Today there are almost 9 automobiles for each 10 families, where 7½ years ago only enough automobiles were running to average less than 4 for each 10 families. The slogan of progress is changing from the full dinner pail to the full garage. Our people have more to eat, better things to wear, and better homes. . . . Wages have increased, the cost of living has decreased. The job of every man and woman has been made more secure. We have in this short period decreased the fear of poverty, the fear of unemployment, the fear of old age . . . fears that are the greatest calamities of humankind.

All this progress means far more than greater creature comforts. It finds a thousand interpretations into a greater and fuller life. A score of new helps save the drudgery of the home. In 7 years we have added 70 percent to the electric power at the elbow of our workers and further promoted them from carriers of burdens to directors of machines. We have steadily reduced the sweat in human labor. Our hours of labor are lessened; our leisure has increased. . . . The visitors at our national parks have trebled [tripled] and we have so increased the number of sportsmen fishing in our streams and lakes that the longer time between bites is becoming a political issue. In these 7½ years the radio has brought music and laughter, education and political discussion to almost every fireside.

Source: Hoover, Herbert. “Campaign Address in New York City.” October 22, 1928. The American Presidency Project, edited by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley. University of California, Santa Barbara. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/campaign-address-new-york-city>.

Name _____

Date _____

Campaign Address in New York City

Which laborers in which industries does Hoover mention as examples of 1920s prosperity and progress?
Who is not mentioned?

How does Hoover’s audience influence the examples he uses in this speech?

Hoover points out that deposits in “the savings banks of the average man” have nearly doubled since 1921. Using what you have read in Topic 2, explain how vulnerabilities of these savings became apparent after Hoover was elected.

To what extent is it fair to attribute the achievements noted in the text to individual enterprise, limited government (or “decentralized self-government”), and other values that Hoover praises? Explain your answer.

How does Hoover link technological advancements to the improvement of workers’ lives? Recall what you have read about American workers and organized labor in Units 2 and 4. How might this view differ from the views of those who emphasized ongoing labor struggles in the 1920s?

“New Deal Lexicon”

Background: Soon after taking office in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt—with Congress’s help—began to create a series of agencies to help relieve unemployment, poverty, and instability in finance and industry. These agencies were often known by their acronyms rather than their full names, giving rise to the nickname “alphabet agencies,” a term parodied here in a 1935 political cartoon by Vaughn Shoemaker.



Name _____

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“New Deal Lexicon”

Consider Franklin D. Roosevelt’s posture and facial expression in this cartoon. What do you think Shoemaker is trying to convey about the New Deal with these artistic choices?

Dozens of “alphabet agencies” were formed during the New Deal, and most of them had been created by the time this cartoon was published. Why do you think Shoemaker chose these specific agencies for the cartoon?

Imagine a political or business leader who opposed the New Deal. How might they have used this image to support or illustrate an argument against Roosevelt’s policies?

What counterarguments might a supporter of the New Deal make in response to the criticisms implied by the cartoon?

“I’d Rather Not Be on Relief”

Background: Lester Hunter was a migrant who escaped the Dust Bowl for California. His poem became a song sung by migrant workers in California’s Farm Security Administration camps. In the final line, Hunter refers to the CIO—the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a federation of trade unions founded in 1935. (In 1955, the CIO merged with the American Federation of Labor, which you read about in Unit 2, to form the AFL-CIO.)

We go around all dressed in rags
While the rest of the world goes neat,
And we have to be satisfied
With half enough to eat.
We have to live in lean-tos,
Or else we live in a tent,
For when we buy our bread and beans
There’s nothing left for rent.

[Refrain]

I’d rather not be on the rolls of relief,
Or work on the W. P. A.,
We’d rather work for the farmer
If the farmer could raise the pay;
Then the farmer could plant more cotton
And he’d get more money for spuds,
Instead of wearing patches,
We’d dress up in new duds.

From the east and west and north and south
Like a swarm of bees we come;
The migratory workers
Are worse off than a bum.
We go to Mr. Farmer
And ask him what he’ll pay;
He says, “You gypsy workers
Can live on a buck a day.”

[Refrain]

We don’t ask for luxuries
Or even a feather bed,
But we’re bound to raise the dickens
While our families are underfed.
Now the winter is on us
And the cotton picking is done,
What are we going to live on
While we’re waiting for spuds to come?

Now if you will excuse me
I’ll bring my song to an end.
I’ve got to go and chuck a crack
Where the howling wind comes in.
The times are going to better
And I guess you’d like to know—
I’ll tell you all about it,
I’ve joined the C. I. O.

Source: Hunter, Lester. “I’d Rather Not Be on Relief.” Shafter FSA Camp, CA, 1938. Charles L. Todd and Robert Sonkin Migrant Workers Collection, AFC 1985/001: st045. American Folklife Center. Library of Congress. <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.afc/afcts.st045>.

Name _____

Date _____

“I’d Rather Not Be on Relief”

How do the words of Hunter’s poem reflect the realities faced by Dust Bowl migrants? Cite at least two different lines as examples.

The speaker of this poem complains that migrant farmworkers “go around all dressed in rags / While the rest of the world goes neat.” Think back to what you read about the circumstances faced by farmers, industrial workers, and white-collar workers during the Great Depression. How accurate is the comparison that the speaker draws, and why?

What does this poem suggest about the experiences of Americans during the early Great Depression, and how might that suggestion support or challenge President Herbert Hoover’s approach to federal relief?

The speaker of the poem expects better times to follow now that he has “joined the C. I. O.” What does that claim reveal about the economic choices made by Dust Bowl migrants?

In what ways does the speaker’s reluctance to rely on government relief reflect continuity with American cultural values? How does the speaker’s eventual joining of the CIO reflect change?

The End of Laissez-Faire

Background: John Maynard Keynes (/kaynz/), a British economist and writer, is widely considered one of the greatest economic thinkers of the twentieth century. Keynes opposed the laissez-faire approach, arguing that increased government spending and borrowing were key to lifting a country's economy from a depression. This idea became important in the early New Deal programs of the Great Depression as well as in later adjustments to government support of the economy. In this excerpt from his 1926 book *The End of Laissez-Faire*, Keynes describes what he considers to be shaky assumptions underlying laissez-faire economics.

Economists, like other scientists, have chosen the hypothesis from which they set out, and which they offer to beginners, because it is the simplest, and not because it is the nearest to the facts. Partly for this reason, but partly, I admit, because they have been biased by the traditions of the subject, they have begun by assuming a state of affairs where the ideal distribution of productive resources can be brought about through individuals acting independently by the method of trial and error in such a way that those individuals who move in the right direction will destroy by competition those who move in the wrong direction. . . .

The beauty and the simplicity of such a theory are so great that it is easy to forget that it follows not from actual facts, but from an incomplete hypothesis introduced for the sake of simplicity. Apart from other objections . . . , the conclusion that individuals acting independently for their own advantage will produce the greatest aggregate of wealth, depends on a variety of unreal assumptions to the effect that the processes of production and consumption are in no way organic, that there exists a sufficient foreknowledge of conditions and requirements, and that there are adequate opportunities of obtaining this foreknowledge. . . .

Yet, besides this question of fact, there are other considerations, familiar enough, which rightly bring into the calculation the cost and character of the competitive struggle itself, and the tendency for wealth to be distributed where it is not appreciated most. . . .

Many of the greatest economic evils of our time are the fruits of risk, uncertainty, and ignorance. It is because particular individuals, fortunate in situation or in abilities, are able to take advantage of uncertainty and ignorance, and also because for the same reason big business is often a lottery, that great inequalities of wealth come about. . . . I believe that the cure for these things is partly to be sought in the deliberate control of the currency and of credit by a central institution, and partly in the collection and dissemination on a great scale of data relating to the business situation.

Source: Keynes, John Maynard. *The End of Laissez-Faire*. London: Hogarth Press, 1926, pp. 28, 32–33, 47–48.

Name _____

Date _____

The End of Laissez-Faire

According to Keynes, what is one major assumption that proponents of laissez-faire economics have made? Does this assumption always hold true? Provide an example.

Think back to what you learned about Adam Smith and the invisible hand in Unit 1. What do you think Keynes would say about this concept?

Imagine that you were one of Roosevelt’s advisers and wanted to use Keynesian economics to help justify the New Deal. What points from this excerpt would you raise, and how would they help your argument?

How do Keynes’s ideas, as expressed here, relate to the cause and solutions of the “Roosevelt recession” of 1937–38?

Imagine you are an economic historian analyzing this text alongside New Deal policies. How might Keynes’s ideas help explain the Great Depression–era rationale behind government programs like the FDIC or Social Security?

Franklin D. Roosevelt Defends Lend-Lease

Background: As World War II progressed, the Allies began to have difficulty paying cash for weapons and supplies. The United States, still formally neutral, sympathized with the Allied cause well before it eventually entered the war. In response to the Allies' financial woes, President Roosevelt asked Congress in 1940 to pass the Lend-Lease Act. In 1941, a similar arrangement would be made between the United States and the Soviet Union. In this December 1940 press conference, Roosevelt presents a nontechnical description of how the proposed lend-lease system would work.

Now, what I am trying to do is to eliminate the dollar sign. That is something brand new in the thoughts of practically everybody in this room, I think—get rid of the silly, foolish old dollar sign.

Well, let me give you an illustration: Suppose my neighbor's home catches fire, and I have a length of garden hose four or five hundred feet away. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him to put out his fire. Now, what do I do? I don't say to him before that operation, "Neighbor, my garden hose cost me \$15; you have to pay me \$15 for it." What is the transaction that goes on? I don't want \$15—I want my garden hose back after the fire is over. All right. If it goes through the fire all right, intact, without any damage to it, he gives it back to me and thanks me very much for the use of it. But suppose it gets smashed up—holes in it—during the fire; we don't have to have too much formality about it, but I say to him, "I was glad to lend you that hose; I see I can't use it any more, it's all smashed up." He says, "How many feet of it were there?" I tell him, "There were 150 feet of it." He says, "All right, I will replace it." Now, if I get a nice garden hose back, I am in pretty good shape.

In other words, if you lend certain munitions and get the munitions back at the end of the war, if they are intact, haven't been hurt—you are all right; if they have been damaged or have deteriorated or have been lost completely, it seems to me you come out pretty well if you have them replaced by the fellow to whom you have lent them.

I can't go into details; and there is no use asking legal questions about how you would do it, because that is the thing that is now under study; but the thought is that we would take over not all, but a very large number of, future British orders; and when they came off the line, whether they were planes or guns or something else, we would enter into some kind of arrangement for their use by the British on the ground that it was the best thing for American defense, with the understanding that when the show was over, we would get repaid sometime in kind, thereby leaving out the dollar mark in the form of a dollar debt and substituting for it a gentleman's obligation to repay in kind. I think you all get it.

Source: Roosevelt, Franklin D. "Press Conference." December 17, 1940. The American Presidency Project, edited by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley. University of California, Santa Barbara. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/209409>.

Name _____

Date _____

Franklin D. Roosevelt Defends Lend-Lease

How does the plan that Roosevelt outlines here represent a departure from American foreign policy of the mid- to late 1930s?

What does Roosevelt mean by “get[ting] rid of the silly, foolish old dollar sign”?

In his messages to the public, Roosevelt was often praised for coming across as personable and accessible and for expressing concepts in a way that ordinary Americans could easily understand. How does Roosevelt’s description of lend-lease illustrate these qualities?

Why does Roosevelt use the garden hose analogy to describe the lend-lease program, and how might this choice of example make his request easier for the American public to understand and accept? How might his opponents counter his argument?

The Double V Campaign

Background: In February 1942, the African American newspaper *Pittsburgh Courier* launched the Double V campaign, encouraging African Americans to fight for democracy abroad and at home. The campaign was picked up by other newspapers in northern cities, including the two Midwestern publications below.

St. Paul (Minnesota) Recorder, March 6, 1942

The Minnesota Negro Defense Committee unanimously endorsed the Double V for Victory, being sponsored by an eastern Negro weekly newspaper, in its meeting in the Hallie Q. Brown House last Saturday night. This campaign which is attracting nation-wide support of liberal whites as well as Negroes has as its purpose the waging of a battle on two fronts until ultimate victory is achieved on both fronts. In this campaign victory is to be achieved against the foreign foes of our nation, the Axis powers, composed of Germany, Japan and Italy and the foes of democracy on the home front such as discrimination and segregation.

Source: "Defense Committee Endorses Courier's Double 'V' Stand." *St. Paul (MN) Recorder*, March 6, 1942, p. 4.

Michigan Chronicle, July 31, 1943

Part of the Double V Campaign is a ten-point pledge . . . :

1. I will do my duty to God and my country.
2. I will exercise my right and privilege to vote.
3. I will do my best on my job by going to work EVERY day and on time.
4. I will cooperate with my management and labor committees for mutual benefits.
5. I will do my duty by taking active part in civic and patriotic affairs.
6. I will protect my health and the health of others.
7. I will not repeat rumors.
8. I will make friends with my fellow workers regardless of color, creed, or national origin.
9. I will dress, and control my speech and vocabulary and temper so as to demand respect always.
10. I will SAVE: Scrap, rubber, stamps, bonds, etc.

Source: "The Double V Begins with Me Pledge Drawn." *The Michigan Chronicle*, July 31, 1943, p. 3.

Name _____

Date _____

The Double V Campaign

What is the “double victory” referred to in these excerpts, and why was it significant for African Americans during World War II?

According to the first excerpt, how do discrimination and segregation affect participation in a democratic society?

Examine the points in the Double V pledge. Which are primarily intended to support the war effort, which focus on combating racial discrimination, and which could apply in both wartime and peacetime?

How do these two sources support or expand on the idea of the Double V Campaign? Are there any differences in focus?

Sterling Tool Advertisement

Background: Wartime production involved the coordination of many civilian-run companies to produce military goods. Car factories and shipyards, among other facilities, were retooled to make military aircraft and vehicles. However, even in wartime, the firms that supplied these factories were keen to turn a profit. Many of them printed advertisements that touted the benefits of their products with an urgent, patriotic theme.



**"OFF THE LINE...
FASTER!
FASTER!
FASTER!"**

EVERY MINUTE that can be saved on the production line is another nail in Adolph's coffin. We will be glad to send an experienced representative to show you how to save time on

die, spar, cowl, propeller sanding, weld clean-up, etc. "Sandy" will do a great job for your production or maintenance department.
"KEEP THEM FLYING!"

615 W. Washington Blvd. • **STERLING TOOL PRODUCTS CO., 387 E. OHIO STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.** • 74 Wellington St., S.W. Toronto, Canada.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Name _____

Date _____

Sterling Tool Advertisement

Examine the various human figures in this advertisement. Which figures represent the Allies? Which represent the Axis?

How does this advertisement use the circumstances of World War II to sell the company's products?

Do you think that private companies have special obligations in wartime—to their country, to their workers, or otherwise? Why or why not?

Compare this advertisement with the Office of War Information posters (“Rosie the Riveter,” “Don’t Let That Shadow Touch Them”) that you saw in Topic 3. How does it differ in its style and its handling of war themes? How is it similar to those posters?

What economic and social factors during World War II might have led Sterling Tool and similar companies to emphasize patriotism in their advertisements?

Order of the Day

Background: This order of June 6, 1944, was distributed to the troops the night before Operation Overlord began. In it, Supreme Allied Commander Dwight D. Eisenhower sought to inspire his forces with the moral and strategic significance of what they were about to do.

Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force!

You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you. In company with our brave Allies and brothers-in-arms on other Fronts, you will bring about the destruction of the German war machine, the elimination of Nazi tyranny over the oppressed peoples of Europe, and security for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened. He will fight savagely.

But this is the year 1944! Much has happened since the Nazi triumphs of 1940–41. The United Nations have inflicted upon the Germans great defeats, in open battle, man-to-man. Our air offensive has seriously reduced their strength in the air and their capacity to wage war on the ground. Our Home Fronts have given us an overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war, and placed at our disposal great reserves of trained fighting men. The tide has turned! The free men of the world are marching together to Victory!

I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle. We will accept nothing less than full Victory!

Good Luck! And let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking.

Source: Eisenhower, Dwight D. D-Day statement to soldiers, sailors, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force, June 6, 1944. Collection DDE-EPRE: Eisenhower, Dwight D: Papers, Pre-Presidential, 1916–1952. Dwight D. Eisenhower Library. National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/general-eisenhowers-order-of-the-day>.

Name _____

Date _____

Order of the Day

Using your knowledge of world history, what does Eisenhower mean by “the Great Crusade”? Why does he use this term?

What were “the Nazi triumphs of 1940–41”? What are two things that had happened since that time that gave Eisenhower confidence in an Allied victory?

Eisenhower uses the phrase “United Nations” about halfway through his order. Yet the international organization known today as the United Nations was created only after the war. What does Eisenhower mean by this phrase, and how can you tell?

Eisenhower cites “the elimination of Nazi tyranny over the oppressed peoples of Europe, and security for ourselves in a free world” as goals of Operation Overlord and the western European campaign generally. How did Operation Overlord help advance those two goals?

The Long Telegram

Background: In 1946, George F. Kennan, an American diplomat based in Moscow in the Soviet Union, sent a telegram to the U.S. government in which he summarized his analysis of Soviet plans for expansion and his suggestions for preventing them. This summary would preview Kennan’s later recommendation for a policy of “firm and vigilant containment,” a strategy that would guide and shape U.S. foreign policy for decades to come.

Part 1: Basic Features of Post War Soviet Outlook, as Put Forward by Official Propaganda Machine . . .

USSR still lives in antagonistic “capitalist encirclement” with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence. . . .

Everything must be done to advance relative strength of USSR as factor in international society. Conversely, no opportunity must be missed to reduce strength and influence, collectively as well as individually, of capitalist powers.

Soviet efforts, and those of Russia’s friends abroad, must be directed toward deepening and exploiting of differences and conflicts between capitalist powers. . . .

Part 5: [Practical Deductions From Standpoint of US Policy]

. . . We have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US there can be no permanent *modus vivendi* [practical compromise], that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure. . . . Problem of how to cope with this force [is] undoubtedly greatest task our diplomacy has ever faced and probably greatest it will ever have to face. . . . It should be approached with same thoroughness and care as solution of major strategic problem in war, and if necessary, with no smaller outlay in planning effort. . . . I would like to record my conviction that problem is within our power to solve—and that without recourse to any general military conflict. . . .

1. Our first step must be to apprehend, and recognize for what it is, the nature of the movement with which we are dealing. . . .
2. We must see that our public is educated to realities of Russian situation. . . .
3. Much depends on health and vigor of our own society. World communism is like malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue. . . .
4. We must formulate and put forward for other nations a much more positive and constructive picture of sort of world we would like to see than we have put forward in past. It is not enough to urge people to develop political processes similar to our own. Many foreign peoples, in Europe at least, are tired and frightened by experiences of past, and are less interested in abstract freedom than in security. They are seeking guidance rather than responsibilities. We should be better able than Russians to give them this. . . .
5. Finally we must have courage and self-confidence to cling to our own methods and conceptions of human society. After all, the greatest danger than can befall us in coping with this problem of Soviet communism, is that we shall allow ourselves to become like those with whom we are coping.

Source: Kennan, George F. Telegram to U.S. secretary of state, February 22, 1946. In *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946*, vol. 6, *Eastern Europe; the Soviet Union*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969, pp. 696–698, 706–709.

Name _____

Date _____

The Long Telegram

According to Kennan, what is the current Soviet outlook? What does this suggest about his motivations for making the recommendations he does in this telegram?

In another communication from around the same time, Kennan suggests, “The main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.” How does the excerpt of the telegram here support this strategy and explain its necessity?

Kennan describes the impending Cold War as the “greatest task our diplomacy has ever faced and probably [the] greatest it will ever have to face.” How does he predict the United States will overcome the strength of Soviet ideologies and strategy, and how does this prediction further reflect his claim that the competition between the two superpowers will be lengthy?

Recall from Topic 1 the Iron Curtain speech that Winston Churchill delivered in 1946, the same year that Kennan wrote and sent this telegram. Compare how each person describes the impending crisis and presents possible solutions.

Joseph McCarthy on Communism

Background: On February 9, 1950, just three years into his first term as a U.S. senator, Joseph McCarthy delivered a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, alleging that more than two hundred communists worked for the State Department. This unfounded claim made McCarthy a national figure. McCarthy went on to publicly accuse, investigate, and interrogate federal employees before falling out of public favor after the Army–McCarthy hearings in 1954.

Five years after a world war has been won, men’s hearts should anticipate a long peace, and men’s minds should be free from the heavy weight that comes with war. But this is not such a period—for this is not a period of peace. This is a time of the “cold war.” This is a time when all the world is split into two vast, increasingly hostile armed camps—a time of a great armaments race. . . .

Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time. And, ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down—they are truly down. . . .

At war’s end we were physically the strongest nation on earth and, at least potentially, the most powerful intellectually and morally. Ours could have been the honor of being a beacon in the desert of destruction, a shining living proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity.

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been selling this Nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer—the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in Government we can give.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been worst. . . .

. . . In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the most important government departments, is thoroughly infested with Communists.

I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy.

Source: McCarthy, Joseph. “First Speech Delivered in Senate by Senator Joe McCarthy on Communists in Government; Wheeling Speech.” February 20, 1950. In *Major Speeches and Debates of Senator Joe McCarthy Delivered in the United States Senate, 1950–1951*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, [1952?], pp. 7–9, 12.

Name _____

Date _____

Joseph McCarthy on Communism

How does McCarthy characterize the post–World War II period?

How does McCarthy frame the Cold War? How does his framing differ from that of Winston Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech that you read in Topic 1?

What claim does McCarthy make about communism in the United States?

What specific evidence does McCarthy cite to support his claim about communists in the government?
How credible is the evidence he presents to support his claims?

How can this document help a person understand McCarthyism, and what are the limitations of this source?

Soviet Statement on Friendship Between the Soviet Union and Other Socialist States

Background: In October 1956, protests in Hungary led to the Hungarian Revolution, a democratic uprising during which revolutionaries deposed the premier and installed Imre Nagy, who then demanded that Nikita Khrushchev remove Soviet troops and allow free elections. Khrushchev issued this formal statement to address the growing unrest in Eastern Europe. The declaration reaffirmed and justified the Warsaw Pact (also known as the Warsaw Treaty Organization, formed in 1955 by the Soviet Union and seven Eastern European countries) and Soviet dominance over the countries within its orbit.

The principles of peaceful coexistence, friendship, and cooperation among all states have always been and still form the unshakable foundation of the foreign relations of the U.S.S.R. This policy finds its most profound and consistent expression in the relationship with socialist countries. United by the common ideal of building a socialist society and the principles of proletarian [relating to the labor class] internationalism, the countries of the great commonwealth of socialist nations can build their relations only on the principle of full equality, respect of territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in one another's domestic affairs. . . .

In the military sphere, the Warsaw Treaty is an important foundation for mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Its participants took upon themselves appropriate political and military obligations, including obligations to adopt agreed measures essential for strengthening their defense potential, so as to protect the peaceful labors of their people, guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers and territories, and insure defense against possible aggression. . . .

The Soviet Government expresses confidence that the peoples of the socialist countries will not permit foreign and internal reactionary forces to undermine the basis of the people's democratic regimes, won and consolidated by the heroic struggle and toil of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia [intellectuals] of each country.

They will make all efforts to remove all obstacles that lie in the path of further strengthening the democratic basis of the independence and sovereignty of their countries, to develop further the socialist basis of each country, its economy and culture, for the sake of the constant growth of the material welfare and the cultural level of all the workers. They will consolidate the fraternal unity and mutual assistance of the socialist countries for the strengthening of the great cause of peace and socialism.

Source: "Text of Soviet Statement of October 30." *The Department of State Bulletin*, November 12, 1956, pp. 745–746.

Name _____

Date _____

**Soviet Statement on Friendship Between the Soviet Union and
Other Socialist States**

According to Khrushchev, what unites the Soviet nations?

Why might Khrushchev's statement be interpreted as contradictory?

Who do you think Khrushchev means when he references "foreign and internal reactionary forces"?

Why is Khrushchev's reference to the Warsaw Treaty significant?

In the last two paragraphs, Khrushchev claims that the peoples of socialist countries will voluntarily defend their governments, independence, and socialist systems. How could critics argue that this statement is propaganda or not reflective of reality?

Dwight D. Eisenhower's Farewell Address

Background: Dwight D. Eisenhower's farewell address, delivered on January 17, 1961, marked the culmination of his two-term presidency. In his address, Eisenhower offered profound insights and warnings about the challenges facing the nation, not as a criticism of U.S. defense policy, but as a call for vigilance.

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States Corporations.

This conjunction [merging] of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Source: Eisenhower, Dwight D. Farewell address, delivered January 17, 1961. Speech Series. Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President, 1953–61. Eisenhower Library, National Archives and Records Administration. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-dwight-d-eisenhowers-farewell-address>.

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Dwight D. Eisenhower's Farewell Address

In the first three paragraphs, what changes does Eisenhower say the U.S. military establishment has undergone?

Based on what you learned in Topic 1, what factors or events do you think led to the growth of the U.S. military and the permanent arms industry?

What does Eisenhower mean when he says, "We must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society"?

What does Eisenhower argue Americans must guard against, and why?

How does Eisenhower describe the U.S. military establishment in 1961 compared to earlier periods such as World War II or the Korean War?

John F. Kennedy's Address on Civil Rights

Background: Although John F. Kennedy promised equal rights to African Americans during his presidential campaign, he was reluctant to become actively involved in the struggle for civil rights after he was elected. Events such as the Birmingham campaign pushed Kennedy to take direct action, exemplified by this speech he delivered to Congress in June 1963.

Last week I addressed to the American people an appeal to conscience—a request for their cooperation in meeting the growing moral crisis in American race relations. I warned of “a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety” in many parts of the country. I emphasized that “the events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or State or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.” “It is a time to act,” I said, “in the Congress, in State and local legislative bodies and, above all, in all of our daily lives.”

In the days that have followed, the predictions of increased violence have been tragically borne out. The “fires of frustration and discord” have burned hotter than ever.

At the same time, the response of the American people to this appeal to their principles and obligations has been reassuring. Private progress—by merchants and unions and local organizations—has been marked, if not uniform, in many areas. Many doors long closed to Negroes, North and South, have been opened. Local biracial committees, under private and public sponsorship, have mushroomed. The Mayors of our major cities, whom I earlier addressed, have pledged renewed action. But persisting inequalities and tensions make it clear that Federal action must lead the way, providing both the Nation's standard and a nationwide solution. In short, the time has come for the Congress of the United States to join with the Executive and Judicial Branches in making it clear to all that race has no place in American life or law.

On February 28, I sent to the Congress a message urging the enactment this year of three important pieces of civil rights legislation:

1. Voting. Legislation to assure the availability to all of a basic and powerful right—the right to vote in a free American election—by providing for the appointment of temporary Federal voting referees while voting suits are proceeding in areas of demonstrated need; by giving such suits preferential and expedited treatment in the Federal courts; by prohibiting in Federal elections the application of different tests and standards to different voter applicants. . . .
2. Civil Rights Commission. Legislation to renew and expand the authority of the Commission on Civil Rights, enabling it to serve as a national civil rights clearing house offering information, advice and technical assistance to any public or private agency that so requests.
3. School Desegregation. Legislation to provide Federal technical and financial assistance to aid school districts in the process of desegregation in compliance with the Constitution.

Other measures introduced in the Congress have also received the support of this administration, including those aimed at assuring equal employment opportunity.

Source: Kennedy, John F. “Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights and Job Opportunities.” June 19, 1963. The American Presidency Project, edited by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley. University of California, Santa Barbara. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/236711>.

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John F. Kennedy's Address on Civil Rights

What was the context for Kennedy's address?

According to Kennedy, how have many Americans responded to his earlier "appeal to conscience"?

Why does Kennedy say that "Federal action must lead the way"? What is he proposing?

What three measures does Kennedy urge Congress to enact?

Recall what you read in Topic 2 about the growing importance of television as a means of communication in the 1960s. How might some of the content in Kennedy’s speech reflect this?

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

Background: Black nationalist activists Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California, in 1966. In a departure from the nonviolent direct action of the Civil Rights Movement, the Black Panther Party advocated for a different approach to effecting change. The 1966 *Black Panther Party Platform and Program* outlines the party's ten key demands and beliefs, four of which are presented in this excerpt.

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living. . . .

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

Source: *Black Panther Party Platform and Program*. Black Panther Party, October 1966.

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Black Panther Party Platform and Program

Based on the source, how was the Black Panther Party similar to the American Indian Movement?

Based on points 2 and 4, what ideology does the Black Panther Party reflect? Considering anti-communist sentiment in the United States during the 1960s, why might some Americans have viewed the Black Panther Party's economic proposals as controversial? Use evidence from the text to support your explanation.

What type of education does the Black Panther Party demand, and why?

How does the Black Panther Party’s call for self-determination (point 1) reflect continuity or change in the struggle for civil rights compared to earlier movements, such as the NAACP or the Civil Rights Movement?

Compare the Black Panther Party’s demands for education (point 5) with previous efforts in the Civil Rights Movement. How does this platform propose a different approach to addressing inequality in education?

Speech on Impeachment

Background: Barbara Jordan was the first African American woman elected to the Texas state legislature and the first African American elected to the U.S. Congress from a state in the Deep South during the twentieth century. As a member of the House Judiciary Committee, she delivered a compelling argument for Nixon’s impeachment on July 24, 1974.

The nature of impeachment is a narrowly channeled exception to the separation of powers maxim [doctrine], the Federal Convention of 1787 said that. It limited impeachment to high crimes and misdemeanors and discounted and opposed the term “maladministration.” . . .

Impeachment criteria: James Madison, from the Virginia Ratification Convention. “If the President be connected in any suspicious manner with any person and there be grounds to believe that he will shelter him, he may be impeached.”

We have heard time and time again that the evidence reflects payment to the defendants of money. The President had knowledge that these funds were being paid and that these were funds collected for the 1972 Presidential campaign.

We know that the President met with Mr. Henry Petersen 27 times to discuss matters related to Watergate and immediately thereafter met with the very persons who were implicated in the information Mr. Petersen was receiving and transmitting to the President. The words are, “if the President be connected in any suspicious manner with any person and there be grounds to believe that he will shelter that person, he may be impeached.” . . .

Beginning shortly after the Watergate break-in and continuing to the present time the President has engaged in a series of public statements and actions designed to thwart the lawful investigation by Government prosecutors. Moreover, the President has made public announcements and assertions bearing on the Watergate case which the evidence will show he knew to be false. . . .

James Madison again at the Constitutional Convention: “A President is impeachable if he attempts to subvert the Constitution.”

The Constitution charges the President with the task of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed, and yet the President has counseled his aides to commit perjury, willfully disregarded the secrecy of grand jury proceedings, concealed surreptitious entry, attempted to compromise a Federal judge while publicly displaying his cooperation with the processes of criminal justice.

Source: *Debate on Articles of Impeachment: Hearings of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Pursuant to H. Res. 803. 93rd Cong., 2d Sess. 111–113 (1974).* Statement of Barbara Jordan, Representative, 18th Cong. Dist., Texas.

Statement by President George W. Bush on PEPFAR

Background: In 2003, George W. Bush formed the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and pledged \$15 billion over five years to provide HIV and AIDS treatment around the world. Four years later, after being elected to a second term, Bush asked Congress to approve an additional \$30 billion in PEPFAR funding from the United States over the five years to come. At the time, the program operated in fifteen countries: Botswana, Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Guyana, Haiti, Kenya, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam, and Zambia. Bush gave this speech in 2007.

Welcome to the Rose Garden. Today, I’m joined by some very determined people who are battling one of the worst epidemics of modern times: the spread of HIV/AIDS. . . .

The U.S. and our citizens have tackled HIV/AIDS aggressively. Many HIV-positive Americans are able to lead productive lives. The story has been quite different elsewhere, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.

When I took office, an HIV diagnosis in Africa’s poorest communities was usually a death sentence. Parents watched their babies die needlessly because local clinics lacked effective treatments. The story of a mother of Kenya affected me deeply when she couldn’t afford drugs, except for one person in her family. So she forgave [sic] her own treatment to save her son. . . .

The United States has responded vigorously to this crisis. In 2003, I asked Congress to approve an emergency plan for AIDS relief. Our nation pledged \$15 billion over five years for HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment and care in many of the poorest nations on Earth. In the years since, thanks to the support of the United States Congress and the American people, our country has met this pledge. This level of assistance is unprecedented, and the largest commitment by any nation to combat a single disease in human history.

This investment has yielded the best possible return: saved lives. To date, the emergency plan has supported treatment for 1.1 million people infected with HIV. This is a promising start, yet without further action, the legislation that funded this emergency plan is set to expire in 2008. Today I ask Congress to demonstrate America’s continuing commitment to fighting the scourge of HIV/AIDS by reauthorizing this legislation now. I ask Congress to double our initial commitment and approve an additional \$30 billion for HIV/AIDS prevention, for care, and for treatment over the next five years.

. . . America will work with governments, the private sector, and faith- and community-based organizations around the world to meet measurable goals: to support treatment for nearly 2.5 million people, to prevent more than 12 million new infections, and to support care for 12 million people, including more than 5 million orphans and vulnerable children. . . .

The statistics and dollar amounts I’ve cited in the fight against HIV/AIDS are significant. But the scale of this effort is not measured in numbers. This is really a story of the human spirit and the goodness of human hearts. Once again, the generosity of the American people is one of the great untold stories of our time. Our citizens are offering comfort to millions who suffer, and restoring hope to those who feel forsaken. . . .

I’m honored that you were here today. I’m honored to be representing a nation that cares deeply about the suffering of others. I look forward to working with Congress on this great and noble effort.

May God bless you all. May God continue to bless the United States.

Source: Bush, George W. “Statement by President Bush on PEPFAR.” May 30, 2007. U.S. Department of State Archive. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/gac/rl/pr/85745.htm>.

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Statement by President George W. Bush on PEPFAR

What evidence does Bush use to support his claim that the PEPFAR initiative has been successful?

What evidence does Bush use to support his claim that the United States plays an important role in PEPFAR's success?

How do Bush's goals for PEPFAR demonstrate "soft power," or the use of diplomacy, development aid, and cultural influence to achieve foreign policy goals?

How does Bush describe the U.S. effort to combat HIV and AIDS in the United States?

What are some possible counterarguments to Bush's claim that PEPFAR strengthened America's influence around the world? How might critics view the program differently?

Based on Bush's remarks, how did the United States respond to HIV/AIDS at home compared to how it responded in other countries? What similarities and differences can you identify, and what might explain those differences?

Address on Signing the USA PATRIOT Act

Background: President George W. Bush introduced the USA PATRIOT Act in a speech on October 26, 2001. This legislation enhanced national security measures in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, granting broader authority to intelligence agencies and law enforcement to prevent future acts of terrorism within the United States.

Today we take an essential step in defeating terrorism, while protecting the constitutional rights of all Americans. With my signature, this law will give intelligence and law enforcement officials important new tools to fight a present danger. . . .

The changes, effective today, will help counter a threat like no other our Nation has ever faced. We've seen the enemy and the murder of thousands of innocent, unsuspecting people. They recognize no barrier of morality. They have no conscience. The terrorists cannot be reasoned with. . . .

But one thing is for certain: These terrorists must be pursued; they must be defeated; and they must be brought to justice. And that is the purpose of this legislation. . . .

. . . The bill before me takes account of the new realities and dangers posed by modern terrorists. It will help law enforcement to identify, to dismantle, to disrupt, and to punish terrorists before they strike.

For example, this legislation gives law enforcement officials better tools to put an end to financial counterfeiting, smuggling, and money laundering. Secondly, it gives intelligence operations and criminal operations the chance to operate not on separate tracks but to share vital information so necessary to disrupt a terrorist attack before it occurs. . . .

Surveillance of communications is another essential tool to pursue and stop terrorists. The existing law was written in the era of rotary telephones. This new law that I sign today will allow surveillance of all communications used by terrorists, including e-mails, the Internet, and cell phones. . . .

. . . Under this new law, warrants are valid across all districts and across all States.

And finally, the new legislation greatly enhances the penalties that will fall on terrorists or anyone who helps them. . . . We are enacting new and harsh penalties for possession of biological weapons. We're making it easier to seize the assets of groups and individuals involved in terrorism. The Government will have wider latitude in deporting known terrorists and their supporters. The statute of limitations on terrorist acts will be lengthened, as will prison sentences for terrorists.

. . . This bill met with an overwhelming—overwhelming—agreement in Congress because it upholds and respects the civil liberties guaranteed by our Constitution.

This legislation is essential not only to pursuing and punishing terrorists but also preventing more atrocities in the hands of the evil ones. This Government will enforce this law with all the urgency of a nation at war. The elected branches of our Government and both political parties are united in our resolve to find and stop and punish those who would do harm to the American people.

Source: Bush, George W. "Remarks on Signing the USA PATRIOT ACT of 2001." October 26, 2001. The American Presidency Project, edited by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley. University of California, Santa Barbara. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/213409>.

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Address on Signing the USA PATRIOT Act

According to Bush, what is the purpose of the USA PATRIOT Act? Why does he believe it is necessary?

According to Bush, how will the USA PATRIOT Act help U.S. law enforcement prevent terrorist acts? How will it help U.S. intelligence operations prevent terrorist acts?

According to the text, how does the USA PATRIOT Act adapt to late twentieth-century advancements in technology?

Why do you think critics of the USA PATRIOT Act argued that it violated Americans' privacy rights, such as the Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable searches and seizures?

What evidence does Bush give to support the claim that the USA PATRIOT Act has strong bipartisan backing in Congress? Why do you think Bush wanted to emphasize this claim?

Some critics argue that the USA PATRIOT Act weakened civil liberties. Based on this document, what counterclaims might Bush make?

The 9/11 Commission Report, “Reflecting on a Generational Challenge”

Background: In July 2004, the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States—also known as the 9/11 Commission—investigated and delivered a comprehensive report on the 9/11 attacks and the U.S. response. The report also offered policy suggestions for navigating the post-9/11 world.

The nation has committed enormous resources to national security and to countering terrorism. Between fiscal year 2001, the last budget adopted before 9/11, and the present fiscal year 2004, total federal spending on defense (including expenditures on both Iraq and Afghanistan), homeland security, and international affairs rose more than 50 percent, from \$354 billion to about \$547 billion. The United States has not experienced such a rapid surge in national security spending since the Korean War. . . .

Now is the time for . . . reflection and reevaluation. The United States should consider *what to do*—the shape and objectives of a strategy. Americans should also consider *how to do it*—organizing their government in a different way. . . .

Because the Muslim world has fallen behind the West politically, economically, and militarily for the past three centuries, and because few tolerant or secular Muslim democracies provide alternative models for the future, Bin Ladin’s message finds receptive ears. It has attracted active support from thousands of disaffected young Muslims and resonates powerfully with a far larger number who do not actively support his methods. The resentment of America and the West is deep, even among leaders of relatively successful Muslim states. . . .

Our enemy is twofold: al Qaeda, a stateless network of terrorists that struck us on 9/11; and a radical ideological movement in the Islamic world, inspired in part by al Qaeda, which has spawned terrorist groups and violence across the globe. The first enemy is weakened, but continues to pose a grave threat. The second enemy is gathering, and will menace Americans and American interests long after Usama Bin Ladin and his cohorts are killed or captured. Thus our strategy must match our means to two ends: dismantling the al Qaeda network and prevailing in the longer term over the ideology that gives rise to Islamist terrorism.

Islam is not the enemy. It is not synonymous with terror. Nor does Islam teach terror. America and its friends oppose a perversion of Islam, not the great world faith itself. Lives guided by religious faith, including literal beliefs in holy scriptures, are common to every religion, and represent no threat to us.

Other religions have experienced violent internal struggles. With so many diverse adherents, every major religion will spawn violent zealots. Yet understanding and tolerance among people of different faiths can and must prevail.

Source: National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2004, pp. 361–363.

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The 9/11 Commission Report, “Reflecting on a Generational Challenge”

According to the text, what changes took place in U.S. national security spending between 2001 and 2004? What caused these changes?

Based on your knowledge of the September 11 attacks and their aftermath in the United States, why do you think the report recommends that Americans consider “organizing their government in a different way”?

According to the text, why might some young Muslims have been drawn to support bin Laden?

According to the text, what are the two threats or “enem[ies]” the United States faces? How are the threats different?

Why do you think the report states that “Islam is not the enemy”?

How and why does the report compare Islam to other world religions?

Compare the 9/11 Commission’s explanation of terrorism’s causes to President Bush’s justification for the USA PATRIOT Act. How do their perspectives on how to prevent terrorism differ?

In what ways did American ideas about freedom and security stay the same after 9/11, and in what ways did they change?

Milton Friedman Interview, “On Freedom and Free Markets”

Background: Milton Friedman was among the United States’ leading economists in the second half of the twentieth century. He believed in the effectiveness of free markets, discouraged government intervention in the economy, and argued that economic freedom was necessary for political freedom. Friedman served as an unofficial economic adviser to President Ronald Reagan as the president developed the program known as Reaganomics. In this excerpt from an interview Friedman gave to the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), he explains some of his views. The interview references Marxists, people who believe in the economic and political theories of German philosopher Karl Marx. According to these theories, the means of production used to create goods and services (such as land and factories) should be collectively owned or controlled by society rather than by individual capitalists. Some strands emphasize Marx’s prediction that private property would eventually disappear under communism, while others focus more on critiques of capitalism and class conflict. Additionally, Friedman references black markets, which are economic transactions that violate official government regulations and laws. Examples of black markets include illegal trades of weapons and drugs and illegal sales of goods that are rationed during wartime.

INTERVIEWER: Why are free markets and freedom inseparable?

MILTON FRIEDMAN: Freedom requires individuals to be free to use their own resources in their own way, and modern society requires cooperation among a large number of people. The question is, how can you have cooperation without coercion? If you have a central direction you inevitably have coercion [the use of threats or force to persuade someone to do something]. The only way that has ever been discovered to have a lot of people cooperate together voluntarily is through the free market. And that’s why it’s so essential to preserving individual freedom.

INTERVIEWER: Marxists say that property is theft. Why, in your view, is private property so central to freedom?

MILTON FRIEDMAN: Because the only way in which you can be free to bring your knowledge to bear in your particular way is by controlling your property. If you don’t control your property, if somebody else controls it, they’re going to decide what to do with it, and you have no possibility of exercising influence on it.

The interesting thing is that there’s a lot of knowledge in this society, but, as Friedrich Hayek emphasized so strongly, that knowledge is divided. I have some knowledge; you have some knowledge; he has some knowledge. How do we bring these scattered bits of knowledge back together? And how do we make it in the self-interest of individuals to use that knowledge efficiently?

The key to that is private property, because if it belongs to me, you know, there’s an obvious fact. Nobody spends somebody else’s money as carefully as he spends his own. Nobody uses somebody else’s resources as carefully as he uses his own.

So if you want efficiency and effectiveness, if you want knowledge to be properly utilized, you have to do it through the means of private property.

INTERVIEWER: Tell me why you can see the black market as a positive thing.

MILTON FRIEDMAN: Well, the black market was a way of getting around government controls. It was a way of enabling the free market to work. It was a way of opening up, enabling people. You want to trade with me, and the law won’t let you. But that trade will be mutually beneficial to both of us. The most important single central fact about a free market is that no exchange takes place unless both parties benefit. The big

difference between government coercion and private markets is that government can use coercion to make an exchange in which A benefits and B loses. But in the market, if A and B come to a voluntary agreement, it's because both of them are better off. And that's what the black market does, is to get around these artificial government restrictions.

Now, obviously you'd like a world in which you obey the law. The fact that the black market involves breaking the law is something against it. It's an undesirable feature. But this only exists when there are bad laws. And nobody, nobody believes that obeying every law is an ultimate moral principle. There comes a point, if you look back at the history of law obedience—think of conscientious objection during wars—I think you will see that everybody agrees that there is a point at which there is a higher law than the legislative law.

Source: Friedman, Milton. Interview. Commanding Heights. PBS, October 1, 2000. https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/shared/miniextlo/int_miltonfriedman.html.

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Milton Friedman Interview, “On Freedom and Free Markets”

What do you think Friedman means by “cooperation without coercion”? According to Friedman, why is a free market necessary for this kind of cooperation?

Why does Friedman believe that having private property makes people use resources more effectively?

How do you think people can “use [their] knowledge efficiently” by controlling their private property and resources? Provide an example.

Why does Friedman support black markets?

What does Friedman believe is the most important fact about a free market? Based on this fact, how do government controls harm the free market, according to Friedman?

Which counterclaim does Friedman identify about black markets? How does he respond to this counterclaim?

How do Friedman's arguments in favor of free markets and limited government intervention compare to the economic policies of the New Deal in the 1930s? In what ways would Friedman likely support or oppose these government programs, and why?

Address to the Nation on the Economy

Background: In 1981, President Ronald Reagan delivered his address to the nation on the economy, outlining his economic policies and proposing solutions to tackle the nation’s fiscal challenges. This speech marked the beginning of Reagan’s transformative economic agenda. In it, he references his plan to create “accelerated depreciation allowances” for businesses, which are tax-saving methods that encourage businesses to invest in new equipment.

Good evening.

I’m speaking to you tonight to give you a report on the state of our Nation’s economy. I regret to say that we’re in the worst economic mess since the Great Depression.

A few days ago I was presented with a report I’d asked for, a comprehensive audit, if you will, of our economic condition. You won’t like it. I didn’t like it. But we have to face the truth and then go to work to turn things around. And make no mistake about it, we can turn them around.

I’m not going to subject you to the jumble of charts, figures, and economic jargon of that audit, but rather will try to explain where we are, how we got there, and how we can get back. First, however, let me just give a few “attention getters” from the audit.

The Federal budget is out of control, and we face runaway deficits of almost \$80 billion for this budget year that ends September 30th. That deficit is larger than the entire Federal budget in 1957, and so is the almost \$80 billion we will pay in interest this year on the national debt. . . .

Now, we’ve just had 2 years of back-to-back double-digit inflation—13.3 percent in 1979, 12.4 percent last year. The last time this happened was in World War I.

In 1960 mortgage interest rates averaged about 6 percent. They’re 2½ times as high now, 15.4 percent.

The percentage of your earnings the Federal Government took in taxes in 1960 has almost doubled.

And finally there are 7 million Americans caught up in the personal indignity and human tragedy of unemployment. If they stood in a line, allowing 3 feet for each person, the line would reach from the coast of Maine to California. . . .

It’s time to recognize that we’ve come to a turning point. We’re threatened with an economic calamity of tremendous proportions, and the old business-as-usual treatment can’t save us. Together, we must chart a different course.

We must increase productivity. That means making it possible for industry to modernize and make use of the technology which we ourselves invented. That means putting Americans back to work. And that means above all bringing government spending back within government revenues, which is the only way, together with increased productivity, that we can reduce and, yes, eliminate inflation. . . .

On February 18th, I will present in detail an economic program to Congress embodying the features I’ve just stated. It will propose budget cuts in virtually every department of government. It is my belief that these actual budget cuts will only be part of the savings. As our Cabinet Secretaries take charge of their departments, they will search out areas of waste, extravagance, and costly overhead which could yield additional and substantial reductions.

Now, at the same time we're doing this, we must go forward with a tax relief package. I shall ask for a 10-percent reduction across the board in personal income tax rates for each of the next 3 years. Proposals will also be submitted for accelerated depreciation allowances for business to provide necessary capital so as to create jobs. . . .

Now, in all of this we will, of course, work closely with the Federal Reserve System toward the objective of a stable monetary policy. . . .

We can leave our children with an unrepayable massive debt and a shattered economy, or we can leave them liberty in a land where every individual has the opportunity to be whatever God intended us to be. All it takes is a little common sense and recognition of our own ability. Together we can forge a new beginning for America.

Thank you, and good night.

Source: Reagan, Ronald. "Address to the Nation on the Economy." February 5, 1981. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum. National Archives. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/address-nation-economy-february-1981>.

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Address to the Nation on the Economy

Which economic problems does Reagan believe the country faces?

Why do you think Reagan draws comparisons to the U.S. economy in World War I and the Great Depression to explain the current economy?

According to Reagan, how does his economic program help the government save money?

How does Reagan's economic program intend to help businesses earn more profits and create jobs?

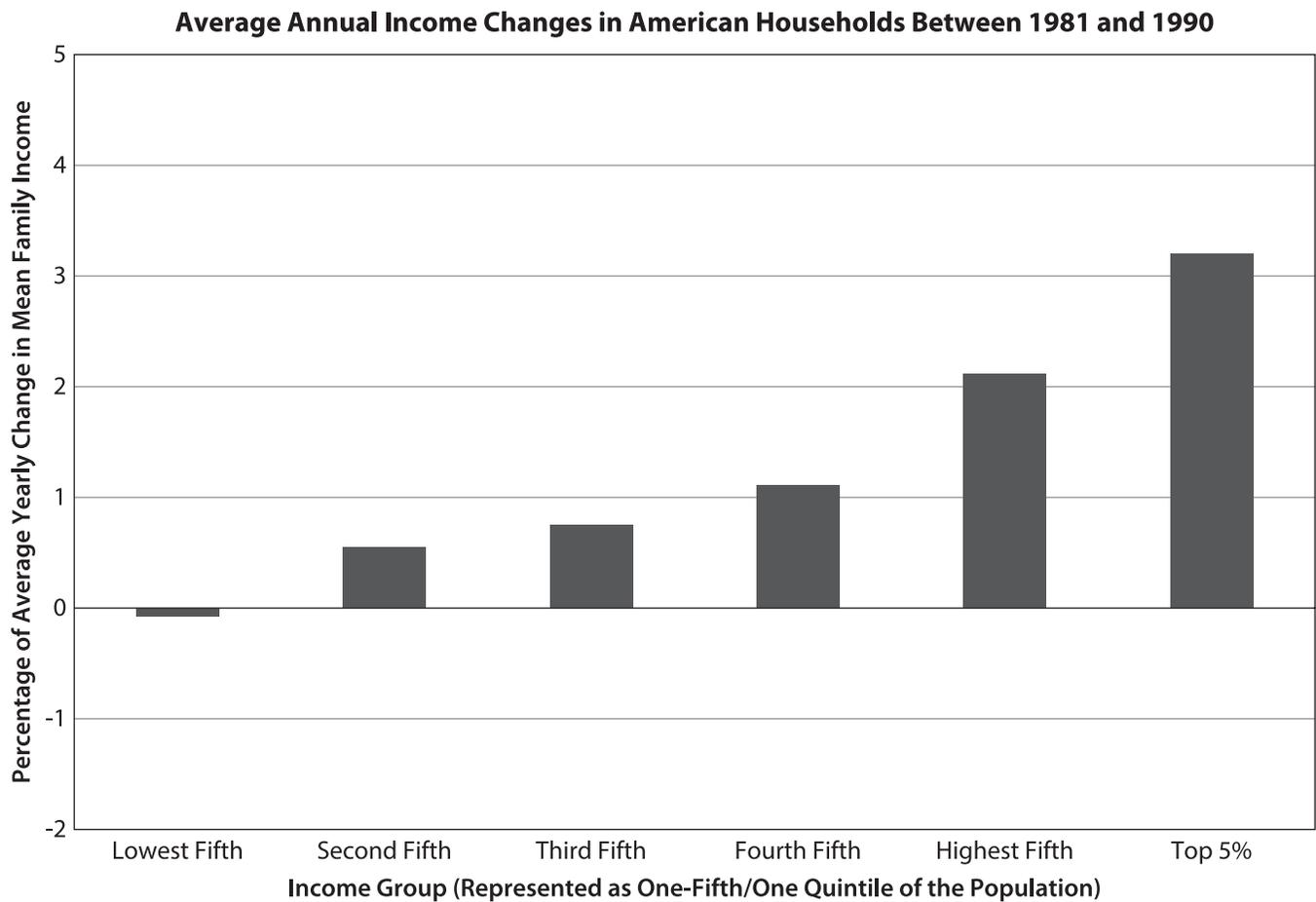
Do you think a program like Reagan’s would give Americans greater economic freedom to “cooperate together voluntarily” and use their resources efficiently the way Milton Friedman describes? If so, how? If not, why not?

How do Reagan’s ideas reflect Milton Friedman’s concepts of free markets and individual economic freedom?

Some critics argued that Reagan’s tax cuts would mostly benefit the wealthy and not reduce unemployment. How might Reagan respond to this counterclaim?

Average Annual Income Changes in American Households Between 1981 and 1990

Background: Ronald Reagan’s economic policies began taking effect in 1981 when he signed the Economic Recovery Tax Act into law. This lowered tax rates across the board but especially for top earners. His administration also oversaw cuts to government spending on social welfare programs. This chart, created using data collected by the Pew Research Center, shows how average annual incomes in American households were affected in 1981–90, during Reagan’s two terms as president. It divides households into groups based on their income levels. Each bar on the chart represents one-fifth, or one quintile—about 20 percent—of the U.S. population.



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Average Annual Income Changes in American Households Between 1981 and 1990

According to the chart, which income groups experienced the largest gains in average annual income, and which experienced the smallest gains (or experienced losses)?

How might Reagan's tax cuts and spending policies have contributed to the differences in income growth among these groups?

Compare the income changes of the lowest-income and highest-income groups. What does this suggest about economic inequality during this period?

Besides Reagan's policies, what other factors might have influenced income changes during the 1980s? Consider elements like inflation, unemployment, or economic recovery from recession.

What are some limitations of using this chart to fully understand the economic effects of Reagan's policies? How might other sources provide additional insight?

Subject Matter Experts

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Alphabet agencies depicted in a cartoon parody of President Roosevelt's New Deal using alphabet cards of the sort used to teach children to read. / Shoemaker, Vaughn (1902–91) / American / Universal History Archive / UIG / Bridgeman Images: 138

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Arrival of immigrants at Ellis Island, New York c. 1910 / Tallandier / Bridgeman Images: 71a

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Caufield, James A. / Library of Congress: 50

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Cliff Dwellers, 1913 (oil on canvas) / Bellows, George Wesley (1882–1925) / American / Los Angeles County Museum of Art, CA, USA / Bridgeman Images: 69

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'Library The New Holiday', advertisement for 'United States Lines, SS Leviathan', 1920s (colour litho) / American School, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / The Stapleton Collection / Bridgeman Images Congress: 132

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Nast, Thomas / Library of Congress: 47

Newly arrived immigrants undergoing medical examination on Ellis Island, New York, c.1910 (b/w photo) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark American Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 72a

North Wind Picture Archives / Alamy Stock Photo: 72d

Old Books Images / Alamy Stock Photo: Cover C

Photo 12 / Alamy Stock Photo: 106

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Poster advertising Buffalo Bill's Wild West Fair in Madison Square Garden (colour litho) / American School / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 57

Stamp Collection / Alamy Stock Photo: Cover E

The man with the Muck Rake, from The Pilgrims Progress published by John F Shaw & Co, c.1900's (litho) / Dudley, Robert Ambrose (1867–1951) / British / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 83

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USA / China: Chinese labourers engaged to work on the American Transcontinental Railroad system, 1880 (photo) / Unknown photographer, (19th century) / Pictures from History / Bridgeman Images: 72c

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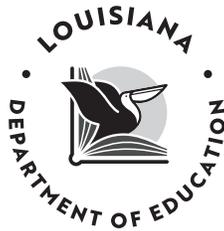
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