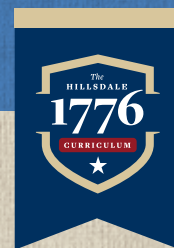


GRADES
9-12

GRADES 9-12 | 1492-PRESENT



Hillsdale College K-12 Curriculum

American History

COMPLETE LESSON PLANS

HIGH SCHOOL

American History

8 units | 45-50-minute classes

OVERVIEW

Unit 1 | The British Colonies of North America12-16 classes

LESSON 1 The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America**LESSON 2** 1492–1630 Exploration and Settlement**LESSON 3** 1630–1732 The Colonies in Profile**LESSON 4** 1607–1763 Major Events in the Colonies

Unit 2 | The American Founding15-19 classes

LESSON 1 1763–1776 Self–Government or Tyranny**LESSON 2** 1776 The Declaration of Independence**LESSON 3** 1776–1783 The War of Independence**LESSON 4** 1783–1789 The United States Constitution

Unit 3 | The Early Republic

15-19 classes

LESSON 1	1789–1801	The New Government
LESSON 2	1801–1815	Prospects, Uncertainties, and War
LESSON 3	1815–1829	The American Way
LESSON 4	1829–1848	Manifest Destiny

Unit 4 | The American Civil War

14-18 classes

LESSON 1	1848–1854	The Expansion of Slavery
LESSON 2	1854–1861	Toward Civil War
LESSON 3	1861–1865	The Civil War
LESSON 4	1865–1877	Reconstruction

Unit 5 | The Turn of the Century

13-16 classes

LESSON 1	1877–1901	The Gilded Age
LESSON 2	1901–1914	The Progressive Era
LESSON 3	1914–1919	The Great War

Unit 6 | The Interwar Years & World War II

14-17 classes

LESSON 1	1919–1929	The Roaring Twenties
LESSON 2	1929–1939	The Great Depression
LESSON 3	1939–1945	World War II

Unit 7 | Post-War America

Coming Soon!

LESSON 1 1945–1953 The Start of the Cold War

LESSON 2 1953–1964 The American Dream

LESSON 3 1964–1974 Tumult: Foreign and Domestic

Unit 8 | Recent American History

Coming Soon!

UNIT 1

The British Colonies of North America

1492–1763

45–50-minute classes | 12–16 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

LESSON 1	The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America	2–3 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1492–1630 Exploration and Settlement	2–3 classes	p. 16
LESSON 3	1630–1732 The Colonies in Profile	2–3 classes	p. 28
LESSON 4	1607–1763 Major Events in the Colonies	4–5 classes	p. 36
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment		p. 45
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources		p. 59

Why Teach the British Colonies of North America

Christopher Columbus’s discovery of what was then termed “The New World” is one of the most consequential events in all of recorded history. It was as if another half of Earth was being opened to the peoples of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the changes that followed this momentous discovery were immense. Students should be especially aware of the profound effects of the initial contact of European explorers with the indigenous peoples of North America. They should understand the ways of life characteristic of Native American tribes, the exploits of European explorers and settlers, and the triumphs

and tragedies that defined the relationships between settlers and natives. Students should also study closely the manner in which the British colonies of North America were established, since those first settlements would be the seedbed of our country. Our unique American heritage began here, on these coasts, among scattered settlements of men and women pursuing economic independence or religious freedom, leaving behind their familiar lives to seek liberty and opportunity at what to them was the edge of the world. With the promise of freedom at these far reaches also came untold hardships and daily dangers. The American story begins with those few who braved these risks for the freedom to pursue what all human beings desire to attain: *happiness*.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. America's varied and wondrous geography has played a crucial role in many of America's successes.
2. The discovery, exploration, and settlement of the Western Hemisphere was one of the most consequential series of events in human history.
3. The contact between indigenous North American and European civilizations resulted in both benefits and afflictions for natives and colonists alike.
4. The British colonies of North America were unique, and their circumstances gradually shaped the character of the colonists into something unprecedented: *the American*.
5. The freedom afforded to the American colonists resulted in a degree of successful self-government unknown to the rest of the world in 1763.

What Teachers Should Consider

Imagine two more continents, an eighth and a ninth, with different terrain, untouched resources, seemingly limitless lands, and complete openness to any sort of political regime. This is the vision teachers might consider adopting in preparing students to learn American history. In other words, one can adopt an outlook similar to that of the people who began the first chapter in the story of America. Such an outlook will help students to see the origins of America as something that was fluid and not at all inevitable.

In the same way the explorers, settlers, and indigenous Native Americans keenly fixed their attention on the contours of the North American landscape, so should students of American history at the outset of their studies. A close study of American geography sets the stage on which Americans of every generation would act out their lives.

Europeans' exploration and settlement of the Western Hemisphere is an extraordinary era in terms of historical impact, but it also contains engaging stories of intrepid discoverers and of the conditions they found and helped to shape. It is important to find the proper balance in conveying the story of that era. Students ought to step into the lives of these explorers and settlers and understand not only their motivations for undertaking such hazardous trips and ways of living but also their experiences on the Atlantic and on the fringes of an unknown continent. They should also think carefully and honestly about the interactions between Native Americans, explorers, and settlers. They will encounter a mixed picture. At times, they will see cooperation, care, and mutual respect; at other times they will see all the duplicity and

injustice that human nature is capable of. They will see these traits exhibited by all parties at various moments and in different circumstances.

Teachers should also focus on making clear the differences between England's North American colonies and those of other emerging New World empires, such as Spain, France, and Portugal. They should bring out what was unique among the English settlers, from the form of their colonies' settlements to the social and economic ventures of the colonists themselves, as well as their varied relationships to the mother country. Each English colony may be taught separately, each offering a distinct social and economic profile, while a final lesson may be devoted to studying the major events and movements in shared colonial American history. Together, students should come to see that an unplanned experiment was unfolding in the British colonies of North America: one that was shaping a unique society and citizenry, one that would be equipped for great accomplishments in the coming centuries.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

Albion's Seed, David Hackett Fischer
Voyagers to the West, Bernard Bailyn
Peripheries and Center, Jack P. Greene
American Slavery, American Freedom, Edmund Morgan
African Founders, David Hackett Fischer
The Formative Years, 1607–1763, Clarence Ver Steeg
The Roots of American Order, Russell Kirk
Freedom Just Around the Corner, Walter McDougall
The French and Indian War, Walter Borneman
American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

Letter to Raphael Sanchez, Christopher Columbus
Letter to King Ferdinand II, Christopher Columbus
Laws of Virginia
The Mayflower Compact
“A Modell of Christian Charity,” John Winthrop
Fundamental Orders of Connecticut
Preface to the Frame of Government of Pennsylvania
An Act for Freedom of Conscience in Pennsylvania
Magna Carta
Act of the General Court of Massachusetts
English Bill of Rights
Second Treatise of Government, John Locke
Albany Plan of Union

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND QUIZZES

Lesson 1 — The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America

2–3 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the geography of what would become the United States of America, including its physical contours, climate, advantages for civilization, and its Native American inhabitants, as well as the present-day political map of the United States.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages xi–xiv, 2–7
See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 1–7
Pages 1–5

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lectures 1 and 2
Lecture 1

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages xi–xiv, 2–7, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 1–5) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Topographic Geography

Atlantic Ocean
Caribbean Sea
San Salvador
Bahamas
Puerto Rico
U.S. Virgin Islands
Bering Strait
St. Lawrence River
Appalachian Mountains
Acadia National Park

Mount Washington
Green Mountains
Lake Champlain
Adirondack Mountains
Finger Lakes
Lake Ontario
Niagara River
Niagara Falls
Lake Erie
Charles River

Cape Cod
Nantucket
Mohegan Bluffs
Dinosaur Trackway
Long Island Sound
Long Island
Manhattan Island
Hudson River
Catskill Mountains
Whitesbog
Ganoga Falls
Allegheny River
Allegheny Mountains
Great Cypress Swamp
Assateague Island
District of Columbia
Potomac River
Chesapeake Bay
James River
Blue Ridge Mountains
Shenandoah Valley
Seneca Rocks
Outer Banks
The Sandhills
Great Smoky Mountains
Stone Mountain
Lake Okeechobee
The Everglades
Straits of Florida
Florida Keys
Gulf of Mexico
Noccalula Falls
Mississippi River
Mississippi Delta
Lake Pontchartrain
Ohio River
Ohio River Valley
Great Serpent Mound
Detroit/St. Clair Rivers
Lake St. Clair
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Straits of Mackinac
Michigan's Lower Peninsula
Sleeping Bear Dunes
Indiana Dunes

Cave-in-Rock
Michigan's Upper Peninsula
Lake Superior
Apostle Islands
Great Lakes
Mammoth Caves
Cumberland Gap
Tennessee River
49th Parallel
Lake of the Woods
Theodore Roosevelt National Park
Badlands
Great Plains
Maquoketa Caves
Platte River
Chimney Rock
Missouri River
Onondaga Cave
Little Jerusalem (Kansas)
Arkansas River
Hot Springs National Park
Great Salt Plains
Red River
Rio Grande
Rocky Mountains
Continental Divide
Glacier National Park
Yellowstone National Park
Old Faithful
Snake River
Cassia Silent City of Rocks
Colorado Dunes
Bryce Canyon
Arches National Park
Great Salt Lake
Lake Tahoe
Valley of Fire
Hoover Dam
Oklahoma Panhandle
Texas Panhandle
Big Bend
Colorado Canyon
Carlsbad Caverns
White Sands
Colorado River
Grand Canyon

Gadsden Purchase
 Puget Sound
 Columbia River
 Mount Rainier
 Mount St. Helens
 Olympic National Park
 Hall of Marshes
 Thor's Well
 Crater Lake
 San Francisco Bay
 Sierra Nevada
 San Joaquin Valley
 Big Sur
 Sequoia National Park
 Yosemite National Park

Death Valley
 Mojave Desert
 Pacific Ocean
 Yukon River
 Mount McKinley/Denali
 Bering Sea
 Bering Strait
 Hawaiian Islands
 Maui
 Oahu
 Kilauea Volcano
 American Samoa
 Guam
 Northern Mariana Islands

Political Geography

Virginia
 Richmond
 Arlington
 Charlottesville
 Massachusetts
 Boston
 Plymouth
 Salem
 New Hampshire
 Concord
 Portsmouth
 Maryland
 Annapolis
 Baltimore
 Connecticut
 Hartford
 Rhode Island
 Providence
 Delaware
 Dover
 Wilmington
 North Carolina
 Raleigh
 Charlotte
 South Carolina
 Columbia
 Charleston
 New Jersey
 Trenton

New York
 Albany
 New York City
 Brooklyn
 Buffalo
 Pennsylvania
 Harrisburg
 Philadelphia
 Pittsburgh
 Georgia
 Atlanta
 Savannah
 District of Columbia
 Washington
 Vermont
 Montpelier
 Burlington
 Kentucky
 Frankfort
 Louisville
 Tennessee
 Nashville
 Memphis
 Ohio
 Columbus
 Cleveland
 Cincinnati

Louisiana

Baton Rouge
New Orleans

Indiana

Indianapolis

Mississippi

Jackson

Illinois

Springfield
Chicago

Alabama

Montgomery
Mobile

Maine

Augusta
Portland

Missouri

Jefferson City
St. Louis
Springfield
Kansas City

Arkansas

Little Rock
Bentonville

Michigan

Lansing
Detroit
Grand Rapids

Florida

Tallahassee
Tampa
Miami
Jacksonville
Orlando
St. Augustine

Texas

Austin
Dallas
Houston
Lubbock
San Antonio

Iowa

Des Moines

Wisconsin

Madison
Green Bay

California

Sacramento
Los Angeles
San Diego
San Francisco
San Jose

Minnesota

St. Paul
Minneapolis
Duluth

Oregon

Salem
Portland

Kansas

Topeka
Kansas City

West Virginia

Charleston

Nevada

Carson City
Las Vegas

Nebraska

Lincoln
Omaha

Colorado

Denver
Colorado Springs

North Dakota

Bismarck

South Dakota

Pierre
Rapid City

Montana

Helena

Washington

Olympia
Seattle

Idaho

Boise

Wyoming

Cheyenne

Utah

Salt Lake City

Oklahoma

Oklahoma City
Tulsa

New Mexico
 Santa Fe
 Albuquerque
 Arizona
 Phoenix
 Tucson
 Alaska
 Juneau
 Anchorage
 Hawaii
 Honolulu

New England Region
 Mid-Atlantic Region
 Southern Region
 Midwest Region
 Great Lakes States
 Plains States
 Rocky Mountain States
 Southwestern Region
 Four Corners
 Pacific Northwest

Terms and Topics

glaciers
 continental shelf
 land bridge
 Mayas
 Aztecs
 Incas
 Hopewell
 Adena
 Apache
 Cherokee
 Cheyenne
 Chippewa
 Choctaw
 Creek
 Delaware
 Hopi
 Huron
 Lakota
 Mohawk
 Mohican
 Navajo
 Oneida
 Ottawa

Ojibwa
 Pueblo
 Potawatomie
 Powhatan
 Seminole
 Shawnee
 Sioux
 Susquehanna
 urban
 cities
 suburbs
 towns
 rural
 Welland Canal
 Erie Canal
 Brooklyn Bridge
 Tennessee Valley Authority
 Florida State Road A1A
 Mackinac Bridge
 Soo Locks
 Golden Gate Bridge
 Interstate Highway System

Images

Maps
 Famous or exemplar landscapes, landmarks, bodies of water, present-day cities, and other geographic features
 Illustrations of indigenous peoples, civilizations, and life
 Photographs of Aztec, Maya, Inca, Hopewell, and Ancestral Pueblo ruins

STORY FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Christopher Columbus's crew on their voyage and sighting land

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What words best describe the topography of the United States?
- What resources and advantages does this land afford for the flourishing of a developed civilization? How does it compare to other places in the world?
- What are the various regions, and what are the topographical features that define each of them?
- How have Americans distributed themselves across the continent in the present day? What accounts for this distribution, in both the past and the present?
- Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?
- What kinds of civilizations did different groups of indigenous peoples establish in different parts of the Americas?
- How did European and indigenous cultures differ from one another? Is there evidence of conflict among indigenous tribes?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Every story has a setting, and the true story of history is no different. To tell and to teach this story effectively requires first introducing students to the stage on which Americans would act. Thus, American history should begin with a study of American geography. This inaugural lesson does not seek to inundate students with facts to memorize (though they will learn many). Rather, it seeks to transport them to the different places of America, not through an online virtual map but through the use of their own imaginations. Geography instruction is an excellent way to awaken and exercise the imaginations of students, priming them for all the other journeys which this course will ask their minds to undertake. Every history lesson will involve a similar setting of the stage in the students' imaginations, and this lesson establishes that precedent. Of course, the lesson also gives students the "lay of the land" for the entire study of American history, beginning with an immersive trip through the country's magnificent and diverse landscape and then mapping it onto the modern political map of their country. This geography lesson can be full of simple questions about what students observe, training them in the skill of careful discernment of detail. In addition, the collaborative effort of mapping out the country is an excellent way to build rapport, to learn names, and to ease into the school year. At the end of the lesson, the class may return to the virgin topography of the United States and place the various indigenous civilizations on it, learning the smattering of their history that has survived, and then return to the Atlantic and to the Spanish caravels and carracks just over the eastern horizon.

Teachers might best plan and teach *The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America* with emphasis on the following approaches:

- The year of teaching history may begin with a number of brief conversations, introductions, procedures, and assessments of students' prior knowledge of the historical period. It can include discussing the meaning of history and why we study it. It should help students to see that the

reasons for studying history are various. Knowing the history of one's country is an essential component of good citizenship. But history also can have value as a form of reflection on human nature and on the requirements of a good society. And like any subject, knowing history is good for its own sake, i.e., for the enjoyment and pleasure that comes with knowing. Being made aware of their motivations may allow students to ascend from "Because I have to" to this highest reason as the year proceeds.

- Begin by telling a story that will encourage students to use their imaginations and set the precedent for the way class will normally be taught. The story of Christopher Columbus's crew sighting land is an excellent example. The story may be picked up when Columbus's three ships are already en route. Paint the scene. Provide descriptions of the ship. Help students get a sense of what sailing was like in those days, and the dangers it involved. Draw out the sounds and smells onboard the ships. Introduce the kind of men on board, the letters and instructions they had with them, and what they may have been thinking from moment to moment. Talk about their captain: his appearance, thoughts, and comportment. Share the story of how recently the crew had nearly mutinied against him, and how he quelled their fears. Describe the sudden appearance of a large flock of birds the previous day. Finally, bring students to the very early morning of October 12, 1492, after the view from the ship's rail had not changed for weeks, when the call came from the masts, "La tierra!" Land!
- Next should come a lesson on the geography of what would become the United States. First go backwards and talk about the geological changes that shaped the continent over time using maps readily available online.
- Treat the physical topography of the United States, following the path that settlers would travel from the Atlantic seaboard westward to the Pacific Ocean. Introduce landmarks, bodies of water, and other physical characteristics, moving from east to west. The items listed under "Topographic Geography" follow in roughly this order. This list includes several more obscure natural landmarks to ensure that each state has at least one of its natural wonders highlighted. Students should not be expected to recall all of these (the sample "Study Guide" scales back this list considerably). The goal is instead to make sure students are at least aware of these landmarks during the class period in order to develop an appreciation for the beauty and diversity of their country's landscape.
- Call upon students' imaginations by describing the settings of what you introduce with vivid language that engages all their senses. Place them in particular climates with the correct weather depending on the season, including types of natural disasters to which an area is subject. Record all this information with the class on a physical map handed out to them and on its projection on the board. As the class proceeds from coast to coast, label the map together. Ask plenty of questions in the process. For review, project images of key areas discussed on the map and have students try to identify what is being projected. Show a map that reflects this topography, such as a raised relief map, and the distribution of natural resources and future trade routes connected with these resources.
- Emphasize with students the tremendous advantages America's land offers to human flourishing. America had excellent and untouched soils for cultivation, temperature and rainfall averages were ideal, and timber was plentiful. Native plants and animals suitable for human consumption were abundant, while imported livestock thrived. The virgin forests provided all the fuel needed for fires, heating, and cooking, as well as for building. Waterways were plentiful and mostly navigable; their importance cannot be overstated, and students should appreciate that the colonial-era Atlantic world imagined the world primarily in terms of water flow, especially in

North America. Most of the country had mild winters with long, warm growing seasons and few areas subject to drought. As for security from foreign powers, the United States would have two massive oceans separating it from most of the rest of the world.

- After thoroughly covering topography, transition to the modern political map with a new projected map and a corresponding political map handout. In teaching the political map, proceed in the order in which the first thirteen states were settled as colonies, and then in the order in which the remaining thirty-seven became states in the Union. Note special topographical, population, and trade characteristics of each state, including capitals, major cities, and special attractions or landmarks. Review the topography, weather, climate, and seasons in the process. Discuss how population is distributed in the states and across the country, and then group the states into different regions.
- Show students images from each state. In order not to stereotype, show an image of a major city, a rural scene, and a beautiful natural landmark or feature from each state, highlighting the diversity abundant not only in America as a whole but also within individual states. And help students to appreciate that in terms of land area, American states are about the size of most countries in the world.
- Show a map that reflects population density using color, and one that shows the majority ancestry of Americans based on *counties* to see how immigrants and their descendants have settled across the United States. Mark general population trends over history as citizens and immigrants have shifted from place to place. Include a map that shows America's Interstate Highway System, major airports, and major ports. Note the historic prominence of railroads.
- After covering the modern political United States, return to the topographical map and place the indigenous tribes onto the map of North America and into the environments in which the various tribes lived. The diversity of tribes is astounding, and highlighting several communities, particularly on the eastern seaboard, will put students in the right historical context and assist with teaching the events in subsequent lessons.
- Show the range of different Western Hemisphere civilizations through the millennia prior to Christopher Columbus, including their ways of life, customs, beliefs, and interactions between different tribes or civilizations. In conjunction with state and local history, explore the history and traditions of historical Native Americans from the school's locality or state.
- Conclude this first lesson by reminding students that to Columbus, his crew, and the peoples of Europe, Africa, and Asia in 1492 (and for millennia before), none of this was known to them, and discovering the entirety of the New World would take hundreds of years, even after Columbus's voyages.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Complete the topographical map of the United States together as a class and study it for a future map assessment.

Assignment 2: Complete the political map of the United States together as a class and study it for a future map assessment.

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 1.1

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages xi-xiv, 2-7

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Why did the author title his book “Land of Hope” with respect to American history?
2. According to the author, should it be surprising to discover that some great people in history also had great flaws? Why or why not?
3. Why, according to the author, is it difficult to determine when to begin teaching a historical topic?
4. Name one indigenous group that was in North or South America prior to the arrival of Europeans.
5. Name one example of Europeans imagining an ideal civilization across the Atlantic in “the west.”

Lesson 2 — Exploration and Settlement

1492–1630

2–3 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the European exploration of North America and the first English settlement efforts at Roanoke, Jamestown, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 7–13, 20–28

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 7–9, 13–14, 20–22,
24–25, 27–28

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 5–6, 10–14

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The Great American Story

Lecture 2

American Heritage

Lecture 2

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 7–13 and either complete the reading questions handout in the *Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 12–14) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 20–28, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 12–14) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate the Laws of Virginia and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 4: Students read and annotate excerpts from John Winthrop's "A Modell of Christian Charity" and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON**Geography & Places**

Genoa
 San Salvador/Watling Island
 “The New World”
 La Florida
 St. Augustine
 Virginia
 Roanoke

Chesapeake Bay
 Jamestown
 Cape Cod
 Plymouth
 Massachusetts Bay
 Boston

Persons

Leif Erikson
 Ferdinand and Isabella
 Christopher Columbus
 Ponce de Leon
 Amerigo Vespucci
 John Smith
 Pocahontas

Thomas Gates
 Lord De La Warr
 John Rolfe
 William Bradford
 Miles Standish
 Massasoit
 John Winthrop

Terms and Topics

Silk Road
 Renaissance
 humanism
 caravel
 dry magnetic compass
 astrolabe
 merchants
 nation-states
Niña, Pinta, and Santa María
 Taíno
 “Indians”
 conquistadors
 Columbian Exchange
 smallpox
 mercantilism
 privateers
 Spanish Armada
 joint-stock companies

Virginia Company
 indentured servants
 Powhatan
 “Starving Time”
 freehold
 tobacco
 House of Burgesses
 Separatist Puritans
 Pilgrims
Mayflower
 commoner
 religious freedom
 state of nature
 social contract
 rule of law
 self-government
 Wampanoag
 Puritans

Primary Sources

Letter to Raphael Sanchez, Christopher Columbus
 Letter to King Ferdinand II, Christopher Columbus
 Laws of Virginia
 The Mayflower Compact

“A Modell of Christian Charity,” John Winthrop

To Know by Heart

“Today these parts of the earth have been explored more extensively than a fourth part of the world.... and that has been discovered by Amerigo Vespucci.... I can see no reason why anyone would object to calling this fourth part Amerige, the land of Amerigo, or America, after the man of great ability who discovered it.” —Martin Waldseemüller

“We must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us.” —John Winthrop

Timeline

1453	Fall of Constantinople
Oct. 12, 1492	Columbus lands on San Salvador Island
1507	First use of the name “America” on a map
1517	Martin Luther publishes his <i>Ninety-Five Theses</i>
1585–90	Roanoke Colony
1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada
1607	Jamestown settled
1619	Africans disembark at Jamestown; first meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses
1620	Pilgrims settle Plymouth
1630	Puritans settle Massachusetts Bay
1632	Establishment of Maryland

4th Thursday in November Thanksgiving Day

Images

Historical figures and events
 World map prior to Columbus
 Caravel and carrack
 Maps of Columbus’s voyages and other exploration
 Dress of Native Americans, explorers, and settlers
 Waldseemüller and Ringmann map
 Illustrated map of Jamestown
Mayflower
 Mayflower Compact facsimile
 First Thanksgiving

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Christopher Columbus’s account of making landfall
- Christopher Columbus’s voyages and interactions with natives
- Christopher Columbus’s death in poverty and believing he had failed
- The Lost Colony of Roanoke
- John Smith’s account of the founding of Jamestown
- The “Starving Time” at Jamestown

- Pocahontas, John Smith, and John Rolfe
- Excerpts from the diary of John Rolfe
- John Twine's account of the first meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses
- The arrival of Africans at Jamestown
- The voyage of the *Mayflower*
- Excerpts from William Bradford's *Of Plimoth Plantation*
- William Bradford's account of going ashore at Plymouth
- The first winter at Plymouth
- Accounts of the First Thanksgiving by Edward Winslow and William Bradford

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What events "unsettled" European civilization and influenced the decision to explore the seas beyond Europe? How so?
- How was exploration connected to the ideas and circumstances of the Renaissance?
- What technologies allowed for farther sailing on the oceans?
- What was Christopher Columbus's theory?
- What were some of the ways in which Christopher Columbus's voyages changed the world?
- In which ways was Christopher Columbus successful, and in which did he fail?
- From where do we get the name "America"?
- How did most European monarchs explore, settle, and manage their claimed possessions in the New World? How was England's approach different?
- What were the characteristics of the settlers in England's first successful colonies?
- What motivated settlers to establish Jamestown?
- What problems did Jamestown's settlers create and face? How did they manage to succeed?
- What two things happened in Jamestown in 1619?
- What motivated the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth? What were their goals?
- Why did the Pilgrims draft and sign the Mayflower Compact?
- What is so extraordinary about the Mayflower Compact?
- How did the First Thanksgiving come about? Why?
- How were the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay distinct from the Pilgrims at Plymouth?
- What kind of governments did settlers establish in New England?
- Based on John Winthrop's writings, how did the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay envision their lives and the task before them in North America?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 73: The colonists came to America for many reasons. Name one.
 - Question 74: Who lived in America before the Europeans arrived?
 - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World was one of the signal achievements of the age of exploration. The ideas of Renaissance humanism fostered confidence in the capacities of man and led monarchs to sponsor expensive and risky voyages to the uncharted waters and lands an ocean away. Enterprising commoners braved the seas and these wild lands for their own fortunes and opportunity. Nearly one hundred years would pass before the English would attempt a permanent settlement in North

America and another two decades before they found any success. Yet while Jamestown was founded chiefly on economic motives, the next two decades would see the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies founded, at least in part for religious and cultural ends. What was common to all these efforts was the desire for freedom to better their conditions—both the quality of earthly life and the preparation for eternal life. Put differently, they desired the freedom to seek happiness, made available to the common man in ways that had no parallel in the Old World.

Teachers might best plan and teach Exploration and Settlement with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Begin the teaching of American history by helping students gain historical perspective. Using the following reference points, ask them to compare today's way of life with life in the centuries prior to the 1600s.
 - a political body based on natural rights and their equal protection
 - ability to believe and act on one's beliefs without fear of arrest—or worse
 - ability to go about daily life without fear of being injured, killed, or having property taken
 - ability to possess the tools necessary to protect one's food, shelter, family, and life
 - ability to put one's thoughts into print without fear of arrest—or worse
 - ability to receive an education paid for, in part, by one's neighbors
 - ability to speak one's mind without fear of arrest—or worse
 - ability to vote for those who determine by law what one may or may not do
 - acquisition of clothing, food, and shelter
 - communication by internet, text, phone, mail
 - control of one's ideas and inventions unless willingly shared with another
 - criticism or protest against those in power without fear of arrest—or worse
 - electricity, plumbing, heating, cooling
 - family structure
 - legal presumption of innocence when accused of a crime
 - literacy and numeracy
 - possession of one's own land for food and shelter
 - religious practices
 - risk of disease and injury
 - slavery
 - the distance of one's physical travels
 - the role of most men in family life and the community (working at home or out of doors; defending the family and community)
 - the role of most women in family life and the community (working at home indoors; caring for the family and neighbors)
 - the rule of law
 - travel by plane, car, boat, horse and buggy, walking
 - trial by a jury of one's neighbors
 - trial for crimes effected quickly and publicly
- Offer students some background on the reasons why Europeans began exploring in the first place. If students have previously studied European history, then a brief review will be sufficient. For

this course, students should generally understand the Renaissance idea of humanism and the confidence it offered European governments and merchants to leverage the full capacities of man. Humanism intersected with other cultural currents: trade interests in Asia, Muslim control of land routes, newly emerging and competing monarchs, growing prosperity among an expanding middle class, and new maritime technology. Riding these currents, those inspired by humanist ideas turned to the seas in search of what was beyond, first along the African coast, and then across the Atlantic. A review of explorers who predated Christopher Columbus may be helpful.

- Relay to students the background to Christopher Columbus. Of important note is the attention he gave to new theories of navigation and the size, but not the shape, of the world.
- Of Columbus's first voyage, help students to imagine what he was doing and what his crew was undertaking as well. It was far from certain that they would find the route Columbus sought, or that they would survive trying. Even then, Columbus was confident of his theories and of his ability.
- Share the stories of each of Columbus's four voyages, marking the gradual decline in success, based on the stated goals of each trip.
- Consider Columbus's specific actions and what they might suggest about his overall character. On the one hand, he was intrepid and determined in pursuit of his theories. He was also a mariner of great skill. Read with students letters in which he claims to have initially secured the respectful treatment of the natives his crew encountered, mindful that we do not have an account from the natives themselves. On the other hand, he was sometimes an incompetent leader whom his men did not listen to or respect, particularly when he took to imposing severe punishments and permitting cruel actions against certain native groups. Columbus's importance in American history is that he established the first enduring links between the Old and New Worlds, initiating European civilization's influence on the Western Hemisphere.
- Use this opportunity to address with students the history of interactions between the indigenous peoples of North and South America and European explorers and settlers. Of paramount importance is that students not paint with too broad of a brush. The relationships varied widely. Many interactions and relationships were mutually respectful and cooperative. Others were brutal and unjust. Often the relations between the same groups ebbed and flowed between friendship and conflict over time. Ask why misunderstandings, duplicity, and conflict between very different peoples and cultures—and between fallible individuals of all sorts—might arise.
- In addition to conflicts, discuss how the indigenous people's lack of acquired immunity to diseases—notably smallpox, which most Europeans had been conditioned to survive—was a leading cause of the decline in the Native American population.
- Highlight the later years of Columbus's life, including his removal as commander in Spanish-claimed territories, his shipwreck and stranding on Jamaica for a year, and Spain's unwillingness to commission any further expeditions under his command. Columbus died as an abject failure in the eyes of the world and likely in his own eyes, as he never did find a passage to Asia yet also did not understand that what he had discovered was another half of planet Earth. Note how his sailings along the isthmus of Panama left him, unknowingly, just a few dozen miles from the vast Pacific Ocean, the existence of which he knew nothing.
- Explain that Italian mapmaker Amerigo Vespucci, after joining an outfit to the Western Hemisphere, asserted only after Columbus's death that what Columbus had discovered were not parts of Asia but entirely "new" continents. German mapmakers Latinized and feminized his name into "America" on one of their first maps depicting the New World.

- Review other explorations between Columbus and the beginning of English settlement efforts in the late 1500s. Study Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida and the eventual settlement at St. Augustine, marking the first European presence in the future United States. Students need not study all of these events in detail, but they should grasp the overall strategy that Spain, Portugal, and even France adopted toward exploring and settling the New World, namely, a top-down, economically motivated approach under the direct centralized control of their respective monarchies. It will be important to contrast this approach with that of the English in the next lesson. Have students study maps of the Western Hemisphere and the domains these various powers had claimed for their respective crowns. It should also be noted that, as revealed in the history of exploration by Hernando Cortés and Francisco Pizarro, there was often a gulf between the monarchs' directives to deal with natives justly and humanely and the ability to enforce such restraints across an ocean.
- Trace the paths of various explorers into the future states of America, particularly in Florida and the West. The presence of Catholic missionaries is of special note, highlighting one motivation for exploration.
- Explain how the conflicts between Protestants and Catholics for the English throne, England's relative distance from continental Europe, and its growing naval strength delayed its interests in exploration beyond the commissioning of voyages by John Cabot. The English largely contented themselves through much of the sixteenth century with preying on Spanish ships returning from the New World with spices and bullion.
- Recount the first English effort to establish a permanent settlement in North America in the colony of Roanoke, which famously disappeared with barely a trace after a brief four-year existence.
- Set up the founding of Jamestown as emblematic of one important motivation for the English to establish a colony: material opportunity for the lower classes. Land ownership by common folk was extremely rare in almost all of Europe, and economic mobility itself was a relatively new and rare phenomenon. The organizers and settlers of Jamestown embodied the enterprising spirit that would come to define emigrants from England to North America, and, for that matter, millions of immigrants throughout America's history. This degree of opportunity for the ordinary person was unprecedented. It partly explains why so many European commoners left what was familiar and risked the greater likelihood of an earlier death to pursue it. The Jamestown settlers exemplified the idea of pursuing "the American dream."
- Help students to appreciate the several periods when Jamestown was on the verge of failing and the many deaths incurred despite its eventual success. Of particular note was Jamestown's original experiment with a form of communism. This collectivism, plus rampant disease, helped produce a disastrous first year and a half for the fledgling settlement. John Smith's requirement that settlers earn their bread by their work and his guarantee of private property ownership, along with some much-needed assistance from the local Native Americans, not only saved the settlement but also became quintessentially American traits, both in law and in the character of the people. But even this near disaster paled in comparison to what was known as the "Starving Time," in which failure was averted only by a return to the rule of law under Lord De La Warr. Read with students the Laws of Virginia to discuss the rule of law at Jamestown. The turning point for Jamestown was the successful cultivation of tobacco by John Rolfe. While not the gold many settlers had originally envisioned, the crop would both shore up Jamestown's existence and spread the news among the English and other Europeans that opportunities were present and realizable in English Virginia.

- Consider how the year 1619 at Jamestown offers a profound insight into colonial America:
 - On the one hand, it was in 1619 that the first enslaved Africans, having been taken from a Portuguese slave ship en route to Mexico by an English privateer, landed at Jamestown.
 - On the other hand, it was also in 1619 at Jamestown that the Virginia House of Burgesses first convened, marking the beginning of representative self-government in the colonies. This self-government would flourish for more than 150 years as the British colonists of North America largely governed themselves and developed the thoughts, practices, and habits of a self-governing people.
- Show how the founding of Plymouth was emblematic of the other important motivation for Englishmen to establish a colony: religion. In the wake of the Protestant Reformation, the Christian world was divided, with various forms of strife and severe restrictions on religious belief and practice. In England, these divisions were within Protestantism itself, with Puritans wishing to purify the Church of England of remaining Catholic trappings and Separatist-Puritans (whom we call *Pilgrims*) seeking to establish a new, true Church of England. It was this latter group that sought not only the freedom to practice their form of Anglicanism but also to re-found the Church in the New World. This band of settlers had the marks of a utopian mindset, even when the English crown required a number of prisoners to embark with them on the *Mayflower*. And unlike the all-male group that originally settled Jamestown, the *Mayflower*'s passengers included dozens of families.
- Spend some time with the Mayflower Compact, signed off the coast of Cape Cod before the settlers went ashore. Emphasize the English tradition of the rule of law and of forms of democratic expression traced back at least to the Magna Carta. While it would still be decades before Thomas Hobbes and John Locke formulated the idea of the social contract, these Pilgrims made the social contract a reality. That is, facing a lawless wilderness (a state of nature) with families to protect and ex-convicts in their midst, the Pilgrims resorted to that English tradition of self-government under the rule of law—a social contract among themselves—with God as its ultimate judge. Both the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620 and the convening of the Virginia House of Burgesses down the coast at Jamestown in 1619, the first two successful English settlements, almost immediately practiced self-government. Self-government under law was therefore present at the very inception of America, a fact that makes America unique.
- Note the terrible first winter the Pilgrims suffered at Plymouth, and how the Wampanoag Indians truly saved those who did survive. The next year, with the help of the Wampanoag, was a tremendous success, which Pilgrims and Native Americans together celebrated, and for which they gave thanks to God in what is considered America's First Thanksgiving (notwithstanding a similar celebration in Spanish Florida in the previous century). Share accounts of this festive Thanksgiving from Edward Winslow and William Bradford.
- Finally, discuss the founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony and the leadership of its first governor, John Winthrop. Like the Pilgrims, these Puritans were fierce critics of the Church of England. And like the Pilgrims, they saw the founding of a colony in New England as a sort of religious utopia. Unlike the Pilgrims, however, the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay sought not to separate from the Church of England but to establish a community that would help purify and correct the Church of England while remaining a part of it. As evident in Winthrop's "A Modell of Christian Charity," *New England* would convert *Old England* by its example. This settlement around Boston would be more of a theocracy than even its neighbor on Cape Cod. Together with Jamestown and Plymouth, the English had a beachhead in the New World, and the news spread far and wide across the Atlantic.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment: Explain the ways in which the settlers of England's first three successful settlements in North America were similar and different, being mindful of their motivations, their characteristics, and the challenges they faced once in the New World (1–2 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 1.2

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 7-13

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. After whom was America named?
2. Complete this sentence from the text: “The settlement of America had its origins in the _____ of Europe.”
3. What does the “Silk Road” Asia have to do with European exploration of the Atlantic?
4. Which country under Prince Henry the Navigator took the lead in first exploring the Atlantic along the west coast of Africa?
5. Which Italian navigator landed on what he called “San Salvador Island” in 1492?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 1.3

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 20-28

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which nation's colonization of the New World in the sixteenth century was marked for its heavy-handed administration and its brutality toward the indigenous population?
2. What naval victory shifted the balance of power in Europe and set England on the ascent?
3. What was the first successful English colony in the New World?
4. What became the historical name for the individuals who founded Plymouth Colony?
5. Who wrote that the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay would be like "a city upon a hill"?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 1 | Formative Quiz

Covering Lessons 1–2
10–15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What words best describe the topography of the United States?
2. Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?
3. What kinds of civilizations did different groups of indigenous peoples establish in different parts of the Americas?
4. What events “unsettled” European civilization and influenced the decision to explore the seas beyond Europe? How so?
5. In what ways was Christopher Columbus successful, and in what ways did he fail?
6. What motivated settlers to establish Jamestown?
7. Why did the Pilgrims draft and sign the Mayflower Compact?

Lesson 3 — The Colonies in Profile

1630–1732

2–3 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about each of the thirteen colonies that would become the United States of America, including their foundings, topography, law, and economies, as well as the presence of indentured servitude and slavery.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 28–30

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 22–23

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 14–15

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 2

American Heritage

Lecture 2

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 28–30, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 14–15) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, the Preface to the Frame of Government for Pennsylvania, and An Act for Freedom of Conscience from Pennsylvania and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

New Hampshire

Charles Town

Maryland

New Sweden

Connecticut

New Jersey

Rhode Island

Hudson River

Delaware

Manhattan Island

Carolina

New Amsterdam

New York
 Pennsylvania
 Philadelphia
 Georgia
 New England Colonies
 Middle Colonies
 Southern Colonies

West Indies
 Jamaica
 Barbados
 The Congo
 Gold Coast
 Anomabu

Persons

Lord Baltimore
 Thomas Hooker
 Roger Williams
 Henry Hudson
 Peter Stuyvesant

William Penn
 Jacques Marquette
 James Oglethorpe
 Anne Bradstreet
 Olaudah Equiano

Terms and Topics

proprietary charter
 royal charter
 Harvard College
 public education
 Catholics
 Toleration Act
 Fundamental Orders
 of Connecticut
 religious freedom
 township
 county
 piracy
 Quakers
 self-government
 colonial assemblies
 colonial governors

Roman Republic
 mercantilism
 free market
 Navigation Acts
 militia
 Triangle Trade
 indentured servitude
 chattel slavery
 Asante Empire
 Fante
 slave ships
 Middle Passage
 individualism
 aristocracy

Primary Sources

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut
 Preface to the Frame of Government of Pennsylvania
 An Act for Freedom of Conscience in Pennsylvania

Timeline

1607	Jamestown founded
1620	Pilgrims found Plymouth
1630	Puritans found Massachusetts Bay
1664	English seize New Amsterdam from the Dutch
1732	James Oglethorpe founds Georgia

Images

Historical figures and events
Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
Map of the Triangle Trade
Blueprint of a slave ship
Depictions of indentured servants and then slaves in the colonies

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- The establishment of each of the colonies
- Roger Williams's statements and efforts to establish religious toleration in Rhode Island
- Lord Baltimore's efforts to establish a Catholic colony with religious freedom
- The successful English takeover of New Amsterdam from the Dutch
- Adriaen van der Donck's account of Peter Stuyvesant's governance in New York
- James Oglethorpe's attempts and failure to establish a debtors' haven in Georgia
- Accounts from the Salem Witch Trials
- Select poems from Anne Bradstreet, particularly "To My Dear and Loving Husband"
- Anthony and Mary Johnson's accumulation of significant property
- Selections from Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*
- The lives and accomplishments of Cuffee Slocum and Paul Cuffe in New England
- Jean Bion's account of life on a French slave ship

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What factors (geographic, demographic, climatological, etc.) contributed to differences between the colonies of England, France, and Spain?
- How may the English approach to settlement and colonization be best described?
- In what ways did the settlers and later colonists express a hope for renewal and restoration in the New World?
- What is meant by historian Daniel Boorstin's observation that "the colonies were a disproving ground for utopias"?
- What were the main religious beliefs of the colonists, based on their various churches?
- What was unique about religion in the colonies and in the eyes of the law?
- What were the roles of literacy and learning among the colonists?
- What is meant by self-government? How might it be said that the colonists governed themselves?
- What was distinctive about property ownership in the colonies?
- How did the various colonial economies function?
- What was indentured servitude? How is it similar to and different from slavery?
- What are the origins of slavery in world history?
- How were Africans first enslaved, before being brought to the Western Hemisphere?
- What was it like to be an African on the Middle Passage and then a slave in the New World?
- How were African slaves distributed in the New World? What proportions of Africans were taken to which parts?
- How did slavery gradually expand and become sanctioned in law?
- How and why did slavery in the eighteenth century supplant the indenture system of the seventeenth century?

- What were the chief characteristics of the “American” colonists? What gave them these characteristics?
- In what sense was there an “unofficial aristocracy” in the colonies? What made it “unofficial” and how was it distinct from the aristocracies of Europe?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 14: Many documents influenced the U.S. Constitution. Name one.
 - Question 73: The colonists came to America for many reasons. Name one.
 - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Teaching the histories of each colony helps students to understand and appreciate the humble origins of the future United States. It is also very revealing. Students can see in the early histories of many colonies the beginnings of traits that would eventually be hallmarks of American society, law, and citizenry.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Colonies in Profile with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Try to teach the colonies in the order in which they were founded (i.e., as listed above in “Geography and Places”). A map may be projected and distributed to students for reference as the lesson proceeds from colony to colony.
- Compare with students the basic structural differences between French, Spanish, and English colonies; i.e., the native fur trade (France), tributary native labor and precious metals (Spain), and settlement agriculture (England). There are mostly accidental historical reasons for why these three powers’ empires developed as they did, and these factors then had determinative long-term consequences.
- Note the seemingly haphazard approach the English took to colonization, largely shaped by the monarch and parliamentary politics in England at the time of each colonial settlement. For one, colonization was decentralized, and most of the original colonies were established as private property ventures, often sanctioned by the crown but really in the possession of private individuals through joint-stock companies. These were then populated not with government officials or hired agents but with men of all ranks who were also seeking their own opportunity, freedom, and plot of land. Both of these features accounted for the lack of an overall master plan for colonizing North America and marked important departures from the approaches taken by Spain, Portugal, and France. This lack of a plan would become a problem later when England would seek to centralize the administration of the colonies, largely in an effort to raise revenue and enforce the sovereignty of Parliament.
- Help students to understand the importance of these traits. Not only did the English approach to colonization trend toward greater independence from the monarchy, it also attracted and encouraged individuals and families who were independent-minded and determined. What the settlers did not bring with them from Europe were the legal class distinctions that defined the aristocratic and monarchical nations they left behind. These individuals (except for their British governors) were common people who immigrated to America seeking their freedom and to better their station in life. The rugged individualism, practice of personal independence, work ethic, and ingenuity to succeed would become well-known American characteristics and in some cases would result in the formation of new colonies by separation from an existing colony, as was the case in New England.

- Spend time on what it meant to make a living and survive in the daunting wilderness and how such perseverance shaped the character and mind of the colonists. This would include looking at lifestyles and kinds of work done in the colonies, the type of self-reliance necessary for such lives, and the ways in which Christian religious beliefs contributed to how communities functioned.
- Consider how strongly matters of religious faith defined colonial culture, largely because so many came to America to escape the religious persecutions or limitations of the Old World. From the Pilgrims and the Puritans to Roman Catholics and Jews, a wide variety of faiths (most of them Christian and many of whom were intolerant of one another in the Old World) permeated colonial settlements, and their adherents increasingly came to respect one another as neighbors. Establishing this religious freedom in law, moreover, was widespread and exceptional compared to the rest of the world, even while events such as the persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts still occurred.
- Note also for the students that the diversity of religious belief was accompanied by the diversity of immigrants. New York and Rhode Island, for example, were well known for the number of people who had migrated there from many countries other than the British Isles.
- Help students appreciate that colonial America was highly literate and that the leading members of colonial society and government were educated in classical thought, ancient and contemporary history, and philosophy and politics (including thinkers of the moderate Enlightenment). Such high levels of literacy and learning were unheard of anywhere else in the world. Important factors that contributed to this high degree of literacy among the people was the insistence on being able to read the Bible, broad support for education, and collegiate preparation.
- Emphasize with students the degree of self-government that the colonists exercised. Include in this discussion the meaning of self-government. In brief, the colonists largely governed their own internal affairs (rule over local matters, including taxation, as opposed to international trade and security) through local legislatures and governance structures chosen by the people. This was partly due to the English tradition of legislative authority and the rule of law, the loose and decentralized pattern of British colonial settlements and rule compared to other empires. Another factor at play here was the great distance between London and the American eastern seaboard, which led to long periods of “benign neglect” of the colonies and the further development of local institutions of self-government. While all of the colonies would eventually become official royal colonies with royal governors, colony-wide legislative bodies were prolific, as were local governments such as townships, counties, and cities. Unlike almost every place in the world at that time and in history, the people were to a large extent ruling themselves. Read with students the various examples of self-government as enacted by colonial legislatures, such as the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, the Preface to the Frame of Government of Pennsylvania, and an Act for Freedom of Conscience in Pennsylvania.
- Outline for students the near universal ownership of firearms among the colonists for self-defense, for hunting, and, when necessary, for the common self-defense.
- Discuss how private property opportunities and protections enabled commoners to earn their livelihood in freedom and contributed to the characteristics of Americans as industrious and independent.
- Explain to students the several kinds of trade and vocational trades present in the various colonies. Farming was, of course, the main livelihood, but manufacturing, fishing, whaling, shipbuilding, and other trades (particularly in New England) rapidly emerged as key colonial contributions. Trade was principally with England, but the British colonies of North America developed robust trade among one another and with the colonies of other nations as well.

- Share with students the complex patterns of relationship between the colonists and Native Americans. The relationships ran the gamut from friendly to violent, varying widely depending on the tribe involved, with misunderstandings and clashes of cultures and languages. Disagreements abounded over the concepts of communal versus private property. Violent clashes occurred along the edges of the colonial frontier, and cross-frontier retaliations by both sides were not uncommon. Colonists could be caught in conflicts between various Native American tribes, and likewise, Native Americans were often caught in conflicts between European powers. Systematic displacement of Native Americans was usually limited to localities during this period (such as after King Philip's War in southern New England and through the Indian slave trade on the South Carolina frontier). Displacement over time was primarily due to devastation from disease and gradual, individual settlement westward.
- Mention that a number of colonists criticized some of the ways that colonial governments dealt with Native Americans. These also condemned and sought to remove slavery from their colonies. Arguments for justice toward Native Americans and Africans often cited Christian religious beliefs and moral philosophy.
- Review with students the emergence of chattel slavery during the Renaissance in Europe and through colonization, then address slavery in what would become the future United States. When teaching students about the history of slavery in the British colonies of North America, be mindful of the following:
 - Help students to understand why a full understanding of the human person, of equality, and of justice all make slavery an evil action and practice, violating the principle that all people are equal in their humanity and possession of natural rights. Therefore, no one person may automatically infringe on the humanity or rights of another unless some initial violation of another's rights has occurred.
 - Discuss with students how racism is the belief that some people are superior or inferior to others based on race, racial characteristics, or ancestry, how racism arises from a failure to recognize the equal dignity and value of each human being, and how racism manifests itself through the voluntary acts of individual people, both private words and actions and public speech and actions, such as laws and regulations.
 - Discuss the history of slavery in world history, from ancient times through the middle ages and in different places worldwide, leading up to the transatlantic slave trade. Portugal first began using African slaves on their sugar plantations off the west African coast, manifesting the chattel and race-based aspects of slavery in European colonies. The slave trade gradually made its way to the various colonies established throughout the Western Hemisphere, particularly with the cultivation of sugar cane in the Caribbean.
 - Ask students to imagine the Middle Passage and the barbarities of slavery and the slave trade. Overall, of the nearly 11 million Africans who survived being brought to the Western Hemisphere, around 3 percent, or about 350,000, were brought to the North American continent, with the rest going to other colonies in the Caribbean and South America.
 - As mentioned in the previous lesson, the first Africans were brought to Jamestown by an English privateer who had captured a Portuguese slave ship en route from Africa, likely headed for Portugal's South American colonies.
 - Discuss the similarities and differences between slavery and indentured servitude. Indentured servitude was a common way for those who could not afford passage or to establish themselves in the New World to tie themselves to a sponsor for a number of

years, offering free labor in exchange for passage across the Atlantic and shelter in the colonies. Oftentimes indentured servitude was sometimes little different from slavery, as shown in transcripts from court cases of indentured servants claiming relief from a cruel master.

- It would be several decades before a law emerged in the southern colonies that concerned African colonists in particular or the practice of slavery. In 1662, forty-three years after the arrival of the first Africans at Jamestown, Virginia's commanding general determined that a child born to an enslaved woman would also be a "servant for life," and in 1668, corporal punishment for slaves was permitted in law. These appear to be the first laws regarding slavery in colonial America.
- The transatlantic slave trade grew with the sugar cane plantations of the Caribbean as far back as the early 1500s—plantations which also happened to become England's most valuable colonies. At the same time, the source of labor shifted away from indigenous peoples, European convicts, and indentured servants to slaves. Although slavery was more widespread in the southern colonies (to grow tobacco and rice) and almost universal in England's Caribbean sugar plantations, few laws explicitly prohibited the practice in most colonies, at least at certain times in their histories. Consider also the early abolitionist efforts of some colonists, the Quakers, for example.
- Show students maps of the colonies around 1630, 1700, and 1730 that illustrate the real extent of settlement. They should see that the colonists mostly resided only along the Atlantic coast, still hardly a foothold compared to the vastness of the continental interior, the extent of which they did not yet fathom.
- Reflect with students on the unique American character that emerged among the free British colonists in North America. The harshness and risk of settling the New World gave them a certain grit and determination, along with an enterprising mind and innovative skill set. The universal demand for trade skills and farming in establishing a new civilization placed the vast majority of colonists within what we would call today the "working class." In New England especially, colonists' Protestantism made them widely literate for the sake of reading the Bible, skeptical of human sources of authority, and focused on individual improvement. At the same time, it made them highly idealistic, with many seeking to re-found Christendom. For many colonists, previous persecution granted them a deeper and more passionate sense of justice, of right and wrong. It also made them highly attuned to the politics on which freedom depended. A certain rugged, enterprising, and justice-loving individualism defined the colonists.
- Explain how a sort of unofficial aristocracy emerged throughout the colonies, but an aristocracy open to promotion by the meritorious; that is, based on merit, talent, and virtue instead of mere heredity. This unofficial class of leading citizens was also modeled more on the English gentleman rather than on the courts of continental Europe. Their stations in life ranged from planters in the south, where the aristocratic element was most prevalent, to clergy, merchants, professors, and manufacturers in the north. And in general, all of them were highly learned.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment: Explain what it was about the American colonies that made them historically exceptional; that is, the *exception* compared to the rest of the world and the normal course of human history (1–2 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 1.4

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 28-30

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which colony was founded as a haven for religious dissenters, breaking away from Massachusetts Bay Colony?
2. Pennsylvania was established by _____ for members of his religious group, the Quakers.
3. Historian Daniel Boorstin characterized the colonies as “a disproving ground for _____.”

Lesson 4 — Major Events in the Colonies

1607–1763

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the major events and movements in colonial America and further study the ideas and experiences that were shaping the colonists during what Edmund Burke called the period of “salutary neglect.”

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages 14–20, 31–42
See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 15–19, 29–32
Pages 12 and 20

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lectures 2 and 3
Lectures 2 and 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 14–20, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 12 and 20) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 31–42, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 12 and 20) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate excerpts from John Locke’s *Second Treatise of Government* and from the Albany Plan of Union and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Appalachian Mountains
Allegheny Mountains

Ohio River Valley
The Great Lakes

Lake Champlain
Canada
Nova Scotia
St. Lawrence River
Niagara Falls
Mississippi River

New Orleans
Detroit
Quebec
Montreal
Potomac River
Duquesne

Persons

Thomas Hobbes
John Locke
William Blackstone
Montesquieu
Jonathan Edwards
George Whitefield

George III
William Pitt
George Washington
Edward Braddock
Benjamin Franklin

Terms and Topics

Beaver Wars
King Philip's War
The Old French War
Queen Anne's War
Navigation Acts
English Civil War
The Enlightenment
Bacon's Rebellion
Glorious Revolution
English Bill of Rights
"salutary neglect"
representation
self-government
township

The Great Awakening
Methodists
Baptists
Poor Richard's Almanac
French and Indian War
Iroquois Confederacy
"Rules of Civility"
Battle of Jumonville Glen
Albany Congress
rifle
Fort Duquesne
Treaty of Paris

Primary Sources

Magna Carta
Act of the General Court of Massachusetts
English Bill of Rights
Second Treatise of Government, John Locke
Albany Plan of Union

To Know by Heart

Selections from Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*.

Selections from George Washington's "Rules of Civility & Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation," such as:

- "Be not apt to relate news if you know not the truth thereof."
- "Undertake not what you cannot perform but be careful to keep your promise."

- “Speak not evil of the absent for it is unjust.”
- “Think before you speak, pronounce not imperfectly nor bring out your words too hastily but orderly & distinctly.”
- “When you see a Crime punished, you may be inwardly Pleased; but always shew Pity to the Suffering Offender.”
- “Use no Reproachfull Language against any one neither Curse nor Revile.”

Timeline

1688	Glorious Revolution; English Bill of Rights
1730s	The Great Awakening
1754–63	The French and Indian War

Images

Historical figures and events
 Dress of colonists from different periods and places
 Uniforms and munitions of soldiers in the various wars
 Depictions of battles and battlefields, including strategy and tactics, such as the Siege of Louisbourg
 Colonial assembly buildings
 Depictions of Great Awakening gatherings and revival scenes

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- A sermon by Jonathan Edwards
- George Washington and the cherry tree (legend)
- George Washington’s time as a surveyor
- George Washington’s first battles in the Virginia militia, including his survival and Braddock’s death
- John Winslow’s account of the Acadians during the French and Indian War
- Benjamin Franklin’s autobiography

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What was it like to wage war in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
- How did each colony reflect English government and legal developments during the seventeenth century?
- What did the colonists learn from the English Civil War?
- Which ancient and Enlightenment figures and ideas influenced the leading colonists?
- What were John Locke’s ideas on natural law, natural rights, and the social contract? To what extent had these already been reflected in English law and, therefore, in colonial law?
- What is “salutary neglect”? In what senses were the colonists neglected and how was this neglect actually beneficial to them?
- What did self-government look like in the colonies?
- Who was permitted to vote, in general, in the colonies? How does this practice compare to the present day? How does it compare to the world at that time and in previous centuries?
- How had the ideas of the Protestant Reformation shaped the colonists’ religious beliefs?

- How did the Great Awakening affect religious belief and especially practice among the colonists?
- How did the Great Awakening contribute to a greater sense of unity between the colonies?
- What were the causes of the French and Indian War?
- What were the major battles and moments in the French and Indian War?
- In what ways did the French and Indian War foster a greater unity among the colonies?
- What was the Albany Plan of Union? What did it reveal about the relationships among the colonies?
- Why did the British defeat the French in the French and Indian War?
- How did the Treaty of Paris reshape North America?
- What challenges and opportunities did the British and the British colonists face with the changes wrought by the Treaty of Paris?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 13: What is the rule of law?
 - Question 85: Benjamin Franklin is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Having learned about the establishment and characteristics of each colony, students should consider the major influences and events that shaped colonial history. These include, of course, events that occurred within the colonies themselves, but also certain ideas and events in Europe that had significant influence on the colonists, too. Treatment of the Enlightenment and the English Civil War does not need to be extensive in an American history class, but students should understand how these events affected and informed the colonists. Once the lesson enters the eighteenth century, special focus should be placed on the events that created in the colonists a sense of independence from Great Britain and of greater dependence on one another, even as they themselves did not fully recognize or articulate these trends. In general, this lesson should help students see what the colonists and colonies had become before they learn about the American founding.

Teachers might best plan and teach Major Events in the Colonies with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Review with students the relationships between Native Americans and the settlers. Note the variety of relationships and circumstances over time, helping students to recognize how much time colonial history spans. Disease was the main factor that sent the Native Americans into decline. When significant conflict did occur, it often involved an entangling of rivalries among Native American tribes and those of European powers and their colonies. In light of such conflicts, American colonists in particular were well versed in defending themselves with their own arms and in locally assembled citizen militias.
- Teach students about the various wars that occurred in the New World, either between settlers and Native Americans or with colonies of other countries. A lot of detail is not necessary, but students should appreciate that these wars were significant for those who were endangered by them and left largely to their own defenses. Students should also be introduced to the style, strategy, and tactics of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century warfare, particularly as waged in North America.

- For a time, it was the Puritans who wound up in power in England. As Englishmen, the colonists followed the events of strife from across the ocean. Discuss with students the English Civil War, which involved and influenced some of the main political thought of the colonists, as well as the Glorious Revolution a few decades later. These political developments informed the colonists and drew their careful attention to political considerations.
- Read and discuss with students the Magna Carta and the English Bill of Rights to show that there is a long history of understanding that a “fundamental law” exists above, and that regardless of particular political institutions (such as the King or Parliament), that fundamental law grants rights and liberties. Read also Act of the General Court of Massachusetts that demonstrated the influence of English law and events in England on concepts of self-government in the colonies.
- Review or discuss the intellectual influences on the Americans, particularly those who were the colonists’ unofficial aristocracy. In addition to a Judeo-Christian faith tradition and Greco-Roman philosophy and law, the Enlightenment also influenced leading colonists. Students should understand some of the Enlightenment’s main principles and thinkers. In addition to the English Enlightenment’s influence on Britain’s North American colonists in general, Enlightenment ideas on politics were of special interest to a people governing themselves and carefully observing political events taking place back in England.
- Read with students some of the emblematic thought of John Locke—especially the social contract theory and his arguments on the supremacy of the legislature—that leading colonists would entertain in the mid-eighteenth century.
- Consider with students the English statesman Edmund Burke’s idea that the colonists in British North America enjoyed a relationship of “salutary neglect” with respect to the English government. They were “neglected” in the sense that they were a month away by sea from England, which meant poor communication and the near impossibility of governing directly. The English also largely overlooked their colonies in North America, sometimes viewing the colonists merely as poor tradesmen, former criminals, religious radicals, and commoners of no noble birth. Compared to England’s Caribbean colonies, they were also far less profitable. England’s preoccupation with rivals Spain and France and her own civil war also left English kings and Parliament with relatively little thought to give the colonies. The mercantilist restrictions on trade, moreover, were seldom fully enforced or even capable of being completely enforced, and the colonies largely traded freely with the world.
- Help students understand why this relationship of neglect was not, in Burke’s view, a disadvantage but actually healthy for the colonists. Overall, the colonists were still protected, especially on the seas, by the English. At the same time, however, they were not regulated or administratively directed beyond the general forms of governance; e.g., a royal governor and a local legislature. The colonists were largely free to take the enterprising, individualist spirit of common English settlers and, forced by necessity, to innovate and work hard to pursue livelihoods and security within their own spheres. Laws, moreover, could not wait for a two- or three-month lapse in communication. Colonists were both permitted and forced by circumstances to practice the elements of English law they had brought with them, including a recognition of certain rights and the limits of authority. The colonists had ample talent and opportunity to govern themselves: they had education and a group of leading colonists who were learned in classical thought; they had the English rule of law tradition; and they had general Enlightenment ideas. This tradition of self-government would allow for many generations of practice in self-rule as a feature of daily life. The colonists, therefore, were both used to and deeply

practiced in locally governing themselves, replete with the ideas and habits that this process cultivated.

- Briefly spend time reviewing the institutional forms that self-government took in the colonies. In general, representation by election determined the composition of the various colonial assemblies, beginning with the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1619. That representative self-government was the norm in the colonies was astonishing compared to the rest of the world and human history. The creation of the township was also a uniquely colonial American establishment, and the participation by the average colonist in local government was widespread.
- Students should gain a clear perspective on voting in America and in human history. In brief, this privilege has been exceptionally rare, making the American citizen's right to vote a remarkable achievement. And nearly all of the groundbreaking moments in this achievement occurred in American history. The American colonies, for instance, were one of the few places where most ordinary male citizens of European descent were permitted to vote. Even though still restricted to those of European descent who maintained some property, this expansion of the right to vote in the American colonies was a consequential development in world history—a significant step toward universal suffrage. As *Land of Hope* puts it, “A greater proportion of the American population could participate in elections and have a role in selecting their representatives than anyplace else on the planet.”
- Clarify for students that each colony originally did not see itself as part of a shared English colonial political state. Although their own proprietary charters were eventually replaced with royal charters, each colony viewed itself as its own separate entity, only loosely bound to the others by a common mother country and overall shared culture. This view would persist up to the eve of the Revolution.
- Share with students one of the greatest contributors both to the unification of the colonies and to religious belief in America: the Great Awakening. Combine this discussion with *Land of Hope's* account of the Protestant Reformation (pages 14–20) to understand the roots of American religion and settlement. The Great Awakening cultivated a distinctly American experience and a distinctly American sort of religious belief and practice. The presence of the Great Awakening throughout the colonies provided the separate and distinct colonies with something they could hold in common. At the same time, it awakened a passion for right moral conduct and justice that could be attached to any cause. Read with students excerpted sermons from Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, helping students to be attentive to these kinds of historical effects.
- Teach students about the various conflicts in which the British colonists of North America found themselves. Spend some time in particular with the French and Indian War. Of special note here is the presence of a young George Washington and the Virginia militia fighting alongside the British regulars. This is a good opportunity to introduce Washington, including his boyhood biography and his exploits in the war, and especially his actions during the attack on General Braddock. The French and Indian War was also important for providing the colonists another shared experience, this time amidst the adversities of war, and for demonstrating increased cooperation and a sense of unity, as evidenced by the Albany Congress. The Albany Plan for Union may be read to see the forerunners of unification and independence in the coming decade. This is also a good place to introduce the architect of the Albany congress and plan, Benjamin Franklin, including teaching about his biography up to this juncture and reading selections from *Poor Richard's Almanac*. In addition to fostering advances toward and experiences in united

action, the French and Indian War is also of great importance for understanding the circumstances that would lead to the American Revolution.

- Share with students maps showing the transfer of territory to the British Empire through the Treaty of Paris. Discuss with students what this meant for the relative power of Great Britain and France and the new challenges and opportunities inherent in such a sudden change of territory and power.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how the English law tradition and the developments and final outcomes of the English Civil War shaped the colonists' views and practice of self-government (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain how England neglected the colonists and how this neglect was actually salutary (1–2 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 1.5

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 4

Land of Hope, Pages 14-20

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What does the author argue to be the first major disruption to European civilization that would influence the future British colonies in North America?
2. Who was the monk who first successfully broke with the Roman Catholic Church?
3. Who was John Calvin?
4. Which leader led the English Reformation?
5. What happened within the Church of England in the years following its initial break with the Roman Catholic Church?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 1.6

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 4

Land of Hope, Pages 31-42

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was different about how England went about colonization?

2. What issues plagued England during the 1600s?

3. What war between England and France in North America resulted from disputes over control of the Ohio River Valley and the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains?

4. What religious phenomenon occurred in the colonies in the 1730s?

5. What philosophical phenomenon that originated in Europe found fertile ground among the colonies' leading citizens?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Unit 1 Test — Study Guide

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

Oct. 12, 1492	Columbus lands on San Salvador Island
1585–90	Roanoke Colony
1607	Jamestown settled
1619	Africans disembark at Jamestown; first meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses
1620	Pilgrims settle Plymouth
1630	Puritans settle Massachusetts Bay
1688	Glorious Revolution; English Bill of Rights
1730s	The Great Awakening
1754–63	The French and Indian War

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Genoa	Boston	Allegheny Mountains
San Salvador/Watling's Island	Hudson River	Ohio River Valley
"The New World"	Manhattan Island	The Great Lakes
La Florida	New England Colonies	Lake Champlain
St. Augustine	Middle Colonies	Canada
Virginia	Southern Colonies	Mississippi River
Roanoke	West Indies	New Orleans
Chesapeake Bay	Jamaica	Detroit
Jamestown	Barbados	Quebec
Cape Cod	The Congo	Montreal
Plymouth	Gold Coast	Potomac River
Massachusetts Bay	Anomabu	Duquesne
	Appalachian Mountains	

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

Ferdinand and Isabella	Pocahontas	Miles Standish
Christopher Columbus	Thomas Gates	Massasoit
Ponce de Leon	Lord De La Warr	John Winthrop
Amerigo Vespucci	John Rolfe	Lord Baltimore
John Smith	William Bradford	Thomas Hooker

Roger Williams
Henry Hudson
Peter Stuyvesant
William Penn
James Oglethorpe
Anne Bradstreet
Olaudah Equiano

Thomas Hobbes
John Locke
William Blackstone
Montesquieu
Jonathan Edwards
George Whitefield
Edmund Burke

George III
William Pitt
George Washington
Edward Braddock
Benjamin Franklin

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

glaciers
continental shelf
land bridge
Mayas
Aztecs
Incas
Hopewell
Silk Road
Renaissance
humanism
nation-states
Taíno
Columbian Exchange
smallpox
mercantilism
joint-stock companies
Virginia Company
indentured servants
Powhatan
“Starving Time”
tobacco

House of Burgesses
Separatist Puritans
Pilgrims
Mayflower
state of nature
social contract
self-government
Wampanoag
Puritans
proprietary charter
royal charter
Harvard College
public education
Toleration Act
Fundamental Orders
of Connecticut
religious freedom
county
township
Quakers
colonial assemblies

colonial governors
Navigation Acts
militia
Triangle Trade
chattel slavery
Asante Empire
Middle Passage
King Philip’s War
English Civil War
The Enlightenment
Bacon’s Rebellion
Glorious Revolution
English Bill of Rights
“salutary neglect”
representation
Roman Republic
The Great Awakening
French and Indian War
Albany Congress
Treaty of Paris

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well-prepared.

Letter to Raphael Sanchez, Christopher Columbus
Letter to King Ferdinand II, Christopher Columbus
Laws of Virginia
The Mayflower Compact
“A Modell of Christian Charity,” John Winthrop
Fundamental Orders of Connecticut

Preface to the Frame of Government of Pennsylvania
An Act for Freedom of Conscience in Pennsylvania
Magna Carta
English Bill of Rights
Second Treatise of Government, John Locke

TO KNOW BY HEART

Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“We must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us.” —John Winthrop

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Christopher Columbus’s voyages and interactions with natives
- The “Starving Time” at Jamestown
- Pocahontas, John Smith, and John Rolfe
- The voyage of the Mayflower
- Accounts of the First Thanksgiving by Edward Winslow and William Bradford
- Roger Williams’s statements and efforts to establish religious toleration in Rhode Island
- Select poems from Anne Bradstreet, particularly “To My Dear and Loving Husband”
- Jean Bion’s account of life on a French slave ship
- George Washington and the cherry tree (legend)
- George Washington’s time as a surveyor
- George Washington’s first battles in the Virginia militia, including his survival and Braddock’s death
- Benjamin Franklin’s autobiography

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America

- ☐ What resources and advantages does North America afford for the flourishing of a developed civilization? How does it compare to other places in the world?
- ☐ How have Americans distributed themselves across the continent in the present day? What accounts for this distribution, in both the past and the present?
- ☐ Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?
- ☐ What kinds of civilizations did different groups of indigenous peoples establish in different parts of the Americas?

- ☐ How did European and indigenous cultures differ from one another? Is there evidence of conflict among indigenous tribes?

Lesson 2 | Exploration and Settlement

- ☐ What events “unsettled” European civilization and influenced the decision to explore the seas beyond Europe? How so?
- ☐ How was exploration connected to the ideas and circumstances of the Renaissance?
- ☐ What was Christopher Columbus’s theory?
- ☐ What were some of the ways in which Christopher Columbus’s voyages changed the world?
- ☐ In which ways was Christopher Columbus successful, and in which did he fail?
- ☐ From where do we get the name “America”?
- ☐ How did most European monarchs explore, settle, and manage their claimed possessions in the New World? How was England’s approach different?
- ☐ What motivated settlers to establish Jamestown?
- ☐ What two things happened in Jamestown in 1619?
- ☐ What motivated the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth? What were their goals?
- ☐ Why did the Pilgrims draft and sign the Mayflower Compact?
- ☐ What is so extraordinary about the Mayflower Compact?
- ☐ Based on John Winthrop’s writings, how did the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay envision their lives and the task before them in North America?

Lesson 3 | The Colonies in Profile

- ☐ What factors (geographic, demographic, climatological, etc.) contributed to differences between the colonies of England, France, and Spain?
- ☐ How may the English approach to settlement and colonization be best described?
- ☐ In what ways did the settlers and later colonists express a hope for renewal and restoration in the New World?
- ☐ What is meant by historian Daniel Boorstin’s observation that “the colonies were a disproving ground for utopias”?
- ☐ What were the main religious beliefs of the colonists, based on their various churches?
- ☐ What was unique about religion in the colonies and in the eyes of the law?
- ☐ What were the roles of literacy and learning among the colonists?
- ☐ What is meant by self-government? How might it be said that the colonists governed themselves?
- ☐ What was distinctive about property ownership in the colonies?
- ☐ What was indentured servitude? How is it similar to and different from slavery?
- ☐ What are the origins of slavery in world history?
- ☐ How were Africans first enslaved, before being brought to the Western Hemisphere?
- ☐ What was it like to be an African on the Middle Passage and then a slave in the New World?
- ☐ How did slavery gradually expand and become sanctioned in law?
- ☐ How and why did slavery in the eighteenth century supplant the indenture system of the seventeenth century?
- ☐ What were the chief characteristics of the “American” colonists? What gave them these characteristics?

- ☐ In what sense was there an “unofficial aristocracy” in the colonies? What made it “unofficial” and how was it distinct from the aristocracies of Europe?

Lesson 4 | Major Events in the Colonies

- ☐ How did each colony reflect English government and legal developments during the seventeenth century?
- ☐ What did the colonists learn from the English Civil War?
- ☐ Which ancient and Enlightenment figures and ideas influenced the leading colonists?
- ☐ What were John Locke’s ideas on natural law, natural rights, and the social contract? To what extent had these ideas already been reflected in English law and, therefore, in colonial law?
- ☐ What is “salutary neglect”? In what senses were the colonists neglected, and how was this neglect actually beneficial to them?
- ☐ What did self-government look like in the colonies?
- ☐ Who was permitted to vote, in general, in the colonies? How does this practice compare to the present day? How does it compare to the world at that time and in previous centuries?
- ☐ How did the Great Awakening affect religious belief and especially practice among the colonists?
- ☐ How did the Great Awakening contribute to a greater sense of unity between the colonies?
- ☐ What were the causes of the French and Indian War?
- ☐ In what ways did the French and Indian War foster a greater unity among the colonies?
- ☐ What was the Albany Plan of Union? What did it reveal about the relationships among the colonies?
- ☐ Why did the British defeat the French in the French and Indian War?
- ☐ How did the Treaty of Paris reshape North America?
- ☐ What challenges and opportunities did the British and the British colonists face with the changes wrought by the Treaty of Paris?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 1 | Test — The British Colonies of North America

TIMELINE

Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

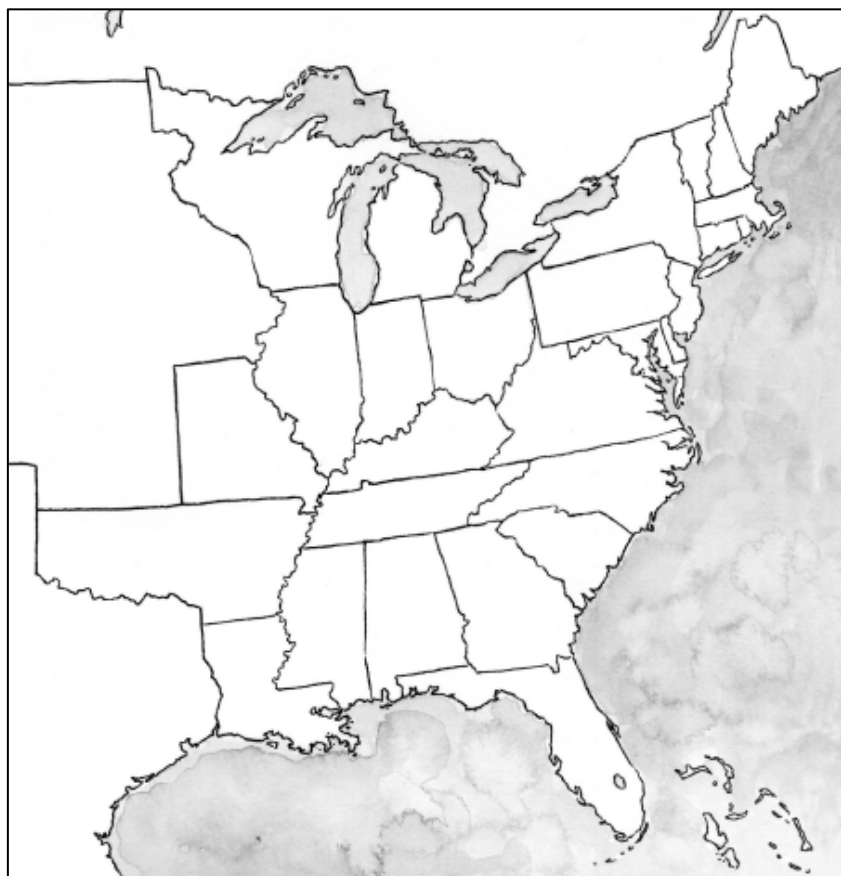
Oct. 12, 1492 _____
 1585–90 _____
 1607 _____
 1619 _____
 1620 _____
 1630 _____
 1688 _____
 1730s _____
 1754–63 _____

- A. Africans disembark at Jamestown; first meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses
- B. Columbus lands on San Salvador Island
- C. Glorious Revolution; English Bill of Rights
- D. Jamestown settled
- E. Pilgrims settle Plymouth
- F. Puritans settle Massachusetts Bay
- G. Roanoke Colony
- H. The French and Indian War
- I. The Great Awakening

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Label with dots and/or circle:

St. Augustine
 Roanoke
 Chesapeake Bay
 Jamestown
 Cape Cod
 Plymouth
 Boston
 Hudson River
 Manhattan Island
 West Indies
 Appalachian Mountains
 Ohio River Valley
 The Great Lakes
 Lake Champlain
 Mississippi River
 New Orleans
 Detroit
 Quebec
 Montreal
 Duquesne



Map courtesy of A Student Workbook for Land of Hope.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank.

2. The year after Christopher Columbus died, an Italian naval observer sailing for Portugal came to realize and claim that what Columbus had discovered and subsequent explorers explored was not merely outlying islands of Asia but in fact an entirely new continent, the size of which was still unknown. The Latin feminine form of the first name of this person found its way onto a map of the New World. Thus was “America” named after _____.
3. Lasting only four years and disappearing without a trace, the _____ in present-day North Carolina was England’s rather late and first attempt to colonize the New World.
4. England’s second attempt at colonization nearly failed on two occasions, and the settlers had a fraught relationship with the local Powhatan tribe. The eventual success of _____ came largely from John Rolfe’s successful cultivation of _____, which was exported to Europe at a great profit.
5. The Separatist Puritans had little hope for a satisfactory removal of Catholic remnants within the Church of England. Not tolerated in England, these _____ were dismissed on a religious journey to Virginia under the leadership of William Bradford. Instead of settling in Virginia, however, their old wine ship, the _____, landed far to the north on the North American coast at Cape Cod.
6. Having disagreed multiple times with the Puritan rule in and around Boston and with special zeal for religious toleration and the treatment of Native Americans, _____ sought refuge from the Narragansett Native Americans and founded the colony Providence Plantations (Rhode Island) based on religious freedom.
7. Originally founded by the Dutch, _____ was seized by the British in 1664. This meager but ideal harbor town at the mouth of the Hudson River, with commerce moving between Manhattan Island and Long Island, would become the largest city in the Americas.
8. Pennsylvania was named after its founder, who received the lands for this “Bread Colony” as payment for debt from the king to his father upon the latter’s death. “Penn’s Woods” was intended as a haven for Quakers, and its inhabitants practiced religious freedom under its founder and leader named _____.
9. Although founded by Catholic-convert John Calvert, Lord of Baltimore, Ireland, and intended as a refuge for persecuted Catholics from England, _____ very quickly had a minority of Catholics. Before they became a minority, however, they prudently passed laws allowing for religious tolerance.
10. With an economy based on the large plantation farming of tobacco, indigo, and rice, the _____ colonies developed an aristocratic society and culture of leisure dependent upon a lower class of slaves and yeoman farmers.

11. The British colonies in North America were part of a trade pattern that included England, Caribbean colonies, and African colonies. The American colonies exported cod, ships, lumber, rum, iron, whale oil, tobacco, indigo, and other raw materials to England, and they imported guns, clothes, furniture, paper, and tea from England and slaves from Africa. Historians named this trade system after the shape its trade routes made on a map of the Atlantic: the _____.
12. As the colonists settled farther west, they gradually removed the Native Americans from their ancestral grounds through sheer numbers, by spreading diseases that the Native Americans were not used to, and through outright warfare. Native Americans often resisted, as was the case in the Pequot War in Connecticut and Opechancanough's Massacre at Jamestown. Had it not been for longstanding Native American rivalries and disunion, they may have successfully expelled colonists from Boston itself during _____'s War in 1675–76.
13. The colonists' relationship with England left them both free to establish their own governmental structures and in need of doing so. While the emergence of government institutions did not follow any set pattern, such institutions were all based on the English law tradition, they developed organically, and they epitomized American rule by the people, called _____.
14. Power struggles often arose within colonial governments between the elected assemblies and the royally appointed _____. There thus emerged a long pattern of colonial power challenging and usually proving superior to English authority within the colonies, partly due to claims of power originating from the people themselves.
15. Local self-government was widespread among the colonies but assumed different forms, depending on the region. In the Middle and Southern colonies, the county, situated with a central meeting town and a courthouse, was a powerful judiciary institution; in New England, a new arrangement called a _____ spread the population of a town over thirty-six square miles. These institutions trained common colonists in political participation and patriotism.
16. Agreed to in 1215 by King John and the English barons, the _____, or "Great Charter," was the first English pronouncement of the rule of law. Together with the Mayflower Compact and the English _____, which concluded the Glorious Revolution, the colonists drew many ideas and much language from these principal English legal precedents.
17. The philosophy of the British Enlightenment thinker _____ defined an increasingly popular idea in England and in the colonies: that of a _____ that would allot power in a political body beholden to the people in order to preserve and protect the natural rights human beings equally enjoyed by virtue of their humanity.
18. Of the ancient Greek and Roman political philosophers, the American aristocracy was influenced far more by the ancient _____, especially regarding their understanding that a republic ultimately rests on the virtue of its citizens.

19. Considered the “friend of the colonies,” _____ was a member of the English Parliament from Ireland who championed continuity, tradition, prudence, moderation, and compromise toward the colonies, whose neglect by England, he believed, was responsible for the colonists’ successful governance of themselves.
20. As the population of the colonies doubled every generation, westward expansion beyond the Appalachian Mountains brought the British into conflict not only with Native Americans but also with the French in Canada, especially over who controlled the very fertile and wild lands west of the Appalachians known as the _____ River Valley.
21. This area beyond the Appalachians was first charted by a sixteen-year-old surveyor-aristocrat from Virginia named _____. His experience mapping and camping in the uncharted wilderness motivated him at age nineteen to join the Virginia militia, in which he rose to the rank of Major General.
22. To gain a secure alliance with the Iroquois Confederacy and to foster inter-colony cooperation during the French and Indian War, the seven most northern colonies met at the _____ under the direction of the accomplished printer, thinker, statesman, and inventor from Philadelphia named Benjamin Franklin. While their plan for union was not adopted by the colonies, it was the first instance of united action among the several American colonies, and it became a model for future colonial cooperation.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in the missing words and identify the source.

23. “We must consider that we shall be as a _____. The eyes of all people are upon us.”

Source: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

24. George Washington’s first battles in the Virginia militia, including his survival and Braddock’s death

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

25. What resources and advantages does North America afford for the flourishing of a developed civilization? How does it compare to other places in the world?
26. How did European and indigenous cultures differ from one another? Is there evidence of conflict among indigenous tribes?
27. What events “unsettled” European civilization and influenced the decision to explore the seas beyond Europe? How so?
28. What were some of the ways in which Christopher Columbus’s voyages changed the world?
29. How did most European monarchs explore, settle, and manage their claimed possessions in the New World? How was England’s approach different?
30. What two things happened in Jamestown in 1619?
31. In what ways did the settlers and later colonists express a hope for renewal and restoration in the New World?
32. What is meant by historian Daniel Boorstin’s observation that “the colonies were a disproving ground for utopias”?

33. What was unique about religion in the colonies and in the eyes of the law?
34. What were the roles of literacy and learning among the colonists?
35. What was distinctive about property ownership in the colonies?
36. How did slavery gradually expand and become sanctioned in law?
37. What were the chief characteristics of the “American” colonists? What gave them these characteristics?
38. In what sense was there an “unofficial aristocracy” in the colonies? What made it “unofficial,” and how was it distinct from the aristocracies of Europe?
39. Which ancient and Enlightenment figures and ideas influenced the leading colonists?
40. What is “salutary neglect”? In what senses were the colonists neglected, and how was this neglect actually beneficial to them?
41. What did self-government look like in the colonies?
42. Why did the British defeat the French in the French and Indian War?
43. How did the Treaty of Paris reshape North America?

Unit 1 | Writing Assignment — The British Colonies of North America

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 500–800-word essay answering this question:

To what extents and in which ways was the settlement and establishment of European civilization in the thirteen colonies the exception in human history up until the eighteenth century?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Christopher Columbus

Thomas Gates

The Pilgrims

John Winthrop

Colonists of the Connecticut River Colony

William Penn

First Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly

John of England

Great and General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony

Parliament of England

John Locke

Delegates of Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts,
New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island Colonies

ADMIRAL CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

To King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile

LETTER

February 15, 1493
The *Niña* | The Atlantic Ocean

BACKGROUND

Christopher Columbus informed King Ferdinand II of the discoveries on his first voyage in this letter from early 1493.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Christopher Columbus find on his voyage?
2. How does Columbus describe the islands?
3. How do the Native Americans treat Columbus and his crew?
4. What is the culture of the Native Americans as described by Columbus?
5. Why does Columbus believe his voyage was important?

Christopher Columbus, "Letter to King Ferdinand II," American Studies at the University of Virginia, <https://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/HNS/Garden/columbus.html>.

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SIR: Since I know that you will be pleased at the great victory with which Our Lord has crowned my voyage, I write this to you, from which you will learn how in thirty-three days I passed from the Canary Islands to the Indies, with the fleet which the most illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, gave to me. There I found very many islands,
5 filled with innumerable people, and I have taken possession of them all for their Highnesses, done by proclamation and with the royal standard unfurled, and no opposition was offered to me.

To the first island which I found I gave the name "San Salvador," in remembrance of the Divine Majesty, Who had marvellously bestowed all this...To the second, I gave the name
10 the island of "Santa Maria de Concepcion," to the third, "Fernandina," to the fourth, "Isabella," to the fifth island, "Juana," and so each received from me a new name.

When I came to Juana, I followed its coast to the westward, and I found it to be so extensive that I thought that it must be the mainland, the province of Cathay. And since there were neither towns nor villages on the seashore, but small hamlets only, with the
15 people of which I could not have speech because they all fled immediately, I went forward on the same course, thinking that I could not fail to find great cities or towns. At the end of many leagues, seeing that there was no change and that the coast was bearing me northwards, which I wished to avoid, since winter was already approaching and I proposed to make from it to the south, and as, moreover, the wind was carrying me
20 forward, I determined not to wait for a change in the weather and retraced my path as far as a remarkable harbour known to me. From that point, I sent two men inland to learn if there were a king or great cities. They travelled three days' journey, finding an infinity of

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small hamlets and people without number, but nothing of importance. For this reason, they returned.

I understood sufficiently from other Indians, whom I had already taken, that this

land was nothing but an island, and I therefore followed its coast eastward for one

5 hundred and seven leagues to the point where it ended. From that point, I saw another island, distant about eighteen leagues from the first, to the east, and to it I at once gave the

name "Espanola." I went there and followed its northern coast, as I had followed that of Juana, to the eastward for one hundred and eighty-eight great leagues in a straight

line. This island and all the others are very fertile to a limitless degree, and this island is

10 extremely so. In it there are many harbours on the coast of the sea, beyond comparison with others that I know in Christendom, and many rivers, good and large, which is

marvellous. Its lands are high; there are in it many sierras and very lofty mountains, beyond comparison with that of Tenerife. All are most beautiful, of a thousand shapes; all

are accessible and are filled with trees of a thousand kinds and tall, so that they seem to

15 touch the sky. I am told that they never lose their foliage, and this I can believe, for I saw them as green and lovely as they are in Spain in May, and some of them were flowering,

some bearing fruit, and some at another stage, according to their nature. The nightingale was singing and other birds of a thousand kinds, in the month of November, there where

I went. There are six or eight kinds of palm, which are a wonder to behold on account of

20 their beautiful variety, but so are the other trees and fruits and plants. In it are marvellous pine groves; there are very wide and fertile plains, and there is honey; and there are birds

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of many kinds and fruits in great diversity. In the interior, there are mines of metals, and the population is without number.

Espanola is a marvel. The sierras and the mountains, the plains, the champaigns, are so lovely and so rich for planting and sowing, for breeding cattle of every kind, for building
5 towns and villages. The harbours of the sea here are such as cannot be believed to exist unless they have been seen, and so with the rivers, many and great, and of good water, the majority of which contain gold. In the trees, fruits and plants, there is a great difference from those of Juana. In this island, there are many spices and great mines of gold and of other metals.

10 The people of this island and of all the other islands which I have found and of which I have information, all go naked, men and women, as their mothers bore them, although some of the women cover a single place with the leaf of a plant or with a net of cotton which they make for the purpose. They have no iron or steel or weapons, nor are they fitted to use them. This is not because they are not well built and of handsome stature, but
15 because they are very marvellously timorous. They have no other arms than spears made of canes, cut in seeding time, to the ends of which they fix a small sharpened stick. Of these they do not dare to make use, for many times it has happened that I have sent ashore two or three men to some town to have speech with them, and countless people have come out to them, and as soon as they have seen my men approaching, they have
20 fled, a father not even waiting for his son. This is not because ill has been done to any one of them; on the contrary, at every place where I have been and have been able to have speech with them, I have given to them of that which I had, such as cloth and many other

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things, receiving nothing in exchange. But so they are, incurably timid. It is true that, after they have been reassured and have lost this fear, they are so guileless and so generous with all that they possess, that no one would believe it who has not seen it. They refuse nothing that they possess, if it be asked of them; on the contrary, they invite any one to

5 share it and display as much love as if they would give their hearts. They are content with whatever trifle of whatever kind that may be given to them, whether it be of value or valueless. I forbade that they should be given things so worthless as fragments of broken crockery, scraps of broken and lace tips, although when they were able to get them, they fancied that they possessed the best jewel in the world...They took even the pieces of the

10 broken hoops of the wine barrels and, like savages, gave what they had, so that it seemed to me to be wrong and I forbade it. I gave them a thousand handsome good things, which I had brought, in order that they might conceive affection for us and, more than that, might become Christians and be inclined to the love and service of Your Highnesses and of the whole Castilian nation, and strive to collect and give us of the things which they

15 have in abundance and which are necessary to us.

They do not hold any creed nor are they idolaters; but they all believe that power and good are in the heavens and were very firmly convinced that I, with these ships and men, came from the heavens, and in this belief they everywhere received me after they had mastered their fear. This belief is not the result of ignorance, for they are, on the contrary,

20 of a very acute intelligence and they are men who navigate all those seas, so that it is amazing how good an account they give of everything. It is because they have never seen people clothed or ships of such a kind.

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As soon as I arrived in the Indies, in the first island which I found, I took some of the natives by force, in order that they might learn and might give me information of whatever there is in these parts. And so it was that they soon understood us, and we them, either by speech or by signs, and they have been very serviceable. At present, those I bring
5 with me are still of the opinion that I come from Heaven, for all the intercourse which they have had with me. They were the first to announce this wherever I went, and the others went running from house to house, and to the neighbouring towns, with loud cries of, "Come! Come! See the men from Heaven!" So all came, men and women alike, when their minds were set at rest concerning us, not one, small or great, remaining behind, and
10 they all brought something to eat and drink, which they gave with extraordinary affection.

In all the islands, they have very many canoes, which are like rowing fustas, some larger and some smaller; some are greater than a fusta of eighteen benches. They are not so broad, because they are made of a single log of wood, but a fusta would not keep up with
15 them in rowing, since their speed is an incredible thing. In these they navigate among all those islands, which are innumerable, and carry their goods. I have seen one of these canoes with seventy or eighty men in it, each one with his paddle.

In all these islands, I saw no great diversity in the appearance of the people or in their manners and language. On the contrary, they all understand one another, which is a very
20 curious thing, on account of which I hope that their Highnesses will determine upon their conversion to our holy faith, towards which they are very inclined.

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I have already said how I went one hundred and seven leagues in a straight line from west to east along the seashore of the island of Juana, and as a result of this voyage I can say that this island is larger than England and Scotland together, for, beyond these one hundred and even leagues, there remain to the westward two provinces to which I have
5 not gone. One of these provinces they call "Avan," and there people are born with tails. These provinces cannot have a length of less than fifty or sixty leagues, as I could understand from those Indians whom I have and who know all the islands.

The other island, Espanola, has a circumference greater than all Spain from Collioure by the seacoast to Fuenterrabia in Vizcaya, for I voyaged along one side for one hundred and
10 eighty-eight great leagues in a straight line from west to east. It is a land to be desired and, when seen, never to be left. I have taken possession of all for their Highnesses, and all are more richly endowed than I know how or am able to say, and I hold all for their Highnesses, so that they may dispose of them as they do of the kingdoms of Castile and as absolutely. But especially, in this Espanola, in the situation most convenient and in the
15 best position for the mines of gold and for all trade as well with the mainland here as with that there, belonging to the Grand Khan, where will be great trade and profit, I have taken possession of a large town, to which I gave the name "Villa de Navidad," and in it I have made fortifications and a fort, which will now by this time be entirely completed. In it I have left enough men for such a purpose with arms and artillery and provisions for more
20 than a year, and a fusta, and one a master of all seacraft, to build others, and I have established great friendship with the king of that land, so much so, that he was proud to call me "brother" and to treat me as such. And even were he to change his attitude to one

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of hostility towards these men, he and his do not know what arms are. They go naked, as I have already said, and they are the most timorous people in the world, so that the men whom I have left there alone would suffice to destroy all that land, and the island is without danger for their persons, if they know how to govern themselves.

- 5 In all these islands, it seems to me that all men are content with one woman, and to their chief or king they give as many as twenty.

It appears to me that the women work more than do the men. I have been able to learn if they hold private property; it seemed to me to be that all took a share in whatever any one had, especially of eatable things.

- 10 In these islands I have so far found no human monstrosities, as many expected, but on the contrary the whole population is very well tried, nor are they negroes as in Guinea, but their hair is flowing and they are not born where there is intense force in the rays of the sun... In these islands, where there are high mountains, the cold was severe this winter, but they endure it, being used to it and with the help of meats which they
- 15 consume with many and extremely hot spices. Thus I have found no monsters, nor had a report of any, except in an island "Carib," which is the second at the coming into the Indies, and which is inhabited by people who are regarded in all the islands as very fierce and who eat human flesh. They have many canoes with which they range through all the islands of India and pillage and take whatever they can. They are no more malformed
- 20 than are the others, except that they have the custom of wearing their hair long like women, and they use bows and arrows of the same cane stems, with a small piece of wood

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at end, owing to their lack of iron which they do not possess. They are ferocious among these other people who are cowardly to an excessive degree, but I make no more account of them than of the rest. These are they who have intercourse with the women of "Matini-
no," which is the first island met on the way from Spain to the Indies, in which there is
5 not a man. These women engage in no feminine occupation, but use bows and arrows of cane, like those already mentioned, and they arm and protect themselves with plates of copper, of which they have much.

In another island, which they assure me is larger than Espanola, the people have no hair. In it there is incalculable gold, and from it and from the other islands I bring with
10 me Indians as evidence.

In conclusion, to speak only of what has been accomplished on this voyage, which was so hasty, their Highnesses can see that I will give them as much gold as they may need, if their Highnesses will render me very slight assistance; presently, I will give them spices and cotton, as much as their Highnesses shall command; and mastic, as much as they
15 shall order to be shipped and which, up to now, has been found only in Greece, in the island of Chios, and the Seignory sells it for what it pleases; and aloe, as much as they shall order to be shipped; and slaves, as many as they shall order, and who will be from the idolaters. I believe also that I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and I shall find a thousand other things of value, which the people whom I have left there will have
20 discovered, for I have not delayed at any point, so far as the wind allowed me to sail, except in the town of Navidad, in order to leave it secured and well established, and in truth I should have done much more if the ships had served me as reason demanded.

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This is enough. And thus the eternal God, Our Lord, gives to all those who walk in His way triumph over things which appear to be impossible, and this was notably one. For, although men have talked or have written of these lands, all was conjectural, without ocular evidence, but amounted only to this, that those who heard for the most part
5 listened and judged rather by hearsay than from even a small something tangible. So that, since Our Redeemer has given the victory to our most illustrious King and Queen, and to their renowned kingdoms, in so great a matter, for this all Christendom ought to feel delight and make great feasts and give solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity, with many solemn prayers for the great exaltation which they shall have in the turning of so many
10 peoples to our holy faith, and afterwards for the temporal benefits, because not only Spain but all Christendom will have hence refreshment and gain.

This is an account of the facts, thus abridged.

Done in the caravel, on the Canary Islands, on the fifteenth day of February, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-three.

15 At your orders.

THE ADMIRAL.

ADMIRAL CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS**To Lord Raphael Sanchez**

LETTER

March 14, 1493
Lisbon, Portugal

BACKGROUND

After discovering the islands of India, Christopher Columbus addressed this letter to Lord Raphael Sanchez, the Treasurer to the King and Queen of Spain.

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Knowing that it will afford you pleasure to learn that I have brought my undertaking to a successful termination, I have decided upon writing you this letter to acquaint you with all the events which have occurred in my voyage, and the discoveries which have resulted from it.

- 5 Thirty-three days after my departure from Cadiz I reached the Indian sea, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our most illustrious Monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the blessed Saviour (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached
- 10 this as well as the other islands; to each of these I also gave a name, ordering that one should be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion, another Fernandina, the third Isabella, the fourth Juana, and so with all the rest respectively.

As soon as we arrived at that, which as I have said was named Juana, I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large and apparently

Christopher Columbus, "Letter to Lord Raphael Sanchez," Fordham University, Internet Modern History Source Book, <https://faculty.fiu.edu/~harveyb/colum.html>. [Original Source: *Writings of Christopher Columbus: Descriptive of the Discovery and Occupation of the New World*, Paul Leicester Ford, ed. (New York: C. L. Webster, 1892), 33-51.]

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without termination, that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay. Seeing, however, no towns or populous places on the sea coast, but only a few detached houses and cottages, with whose inhabitants I was unable to communicate, because they fled as soon as they saw us, I went further on, thinking that in
5 my progress I should certainly find some city or village. At length, after proceeding a great way and finding that nothing new presented itself, and that the line of coast was leading us northwards (which I wished to avoid, because it was winter, and it was my intention to move southwards; and because moreover the winds were contrary), I resolved not to attempt any further progress, but rather to turn back and retrace my
10 course to a certain bay that I had observed, and from which I afterwards dispatched two of our men to ascertain whether there were a king or any cities in that province. These men reconnoitered the country for three days, and found a most numerous population, and great numbers of houses, though small, and built without any regard to order: with which information they returned to us.

15 In the mean time I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized, that that country was certainly an island: and therefore I sailed towards the east, coasting to the distance of three hundred and twenty- two miles, which brought us to the extremity of it; from this point I saw lying eastwards another island, fifty-four miles distant from Juana, to which I gave the name of Espanola: I went thither, and steered my course eastward as I had done
20 at Juana, even to the distance of five hundred and sixty-four miles along the north coast.

This said island of Juana is exceedingly fertile, as indeed are all the others; it is surrounded with many bays, spacious, very secure, and surpassing any that I have ever seen; numerous large and healthful rivers intersect it, and it also contains many very lofty mountains. All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by a diversity of
25 scenery; they are filled with a great variety of trees of immense height, and which I believe to retain their foliage in all seasons; for when I saw them they were as verdant and luxuriant as they usually are in Spain in the month of May,--some of them were blossoming, some bearing fruit, and all flourishing in the greatest perfection, according to

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their respective stages of growth, and the nature and quality of each: yet the islands are not so thickly wooded as to be impassable. The nightingale and various birds were singing in countless numbers, and that in November, the month in which I arrived there. There are besides in the same island of Juana seven or eight kinds of palm trees, which, like all the other trees, herbs, and fruits, considerably surpass ours in height and beauty. The pines also are very handsome, and there are very extensive fields and meadows, a variety of birds, different kinds of honey, and many sorts of metals, but no iron.

In that island also which I have before said we named Espanola, there are mountains of very great size and beauty, vast plains, groves, and very fruitful fields, admirably adapted for tillage, pasture, and habitation. The convenience and excellence of the harbours in this island, and the abundance of the rivers, so indispensable to the health of man, surpass anything that would be believed by one who had not seen it. The trees, herbage, and fruits of Espanola are very different from those of Juana, and moreover it abounds in various kinds of spices, gold, and other metals.

The inhabitants of both sexes in this island, and in all the others which I have seen, or of which I have received information, go always naked as they were born, with the exception of some of the women, who use the covering of a leaf, or small bough, or an apron of cotton which they prepare for that purpose. None of them, as I have already said, are possessed of any iron, neither have they weapons, being unacquainted with, and indeed incompetent to use them, not from any deformity of body (for they are well-formed), but because they are timid and full of fear. They carry however in lieu of arms, canes dried in the sun, on the ends of which they fix heads of dried wood sharpened to a point, and even these they dare not use habitually; for it has often occurred when I have sent two or three of my men to any of the villages to speak with the natives, that they have come out in a disorderly troop, and have fled in such haste at the approach of our men, that the fathers forsook their children and the children their fathers. This timidity did not arise from any loss or injury that they had received from us; for, on the contrary, I gave to all I approached whatever articles I had about me, such as cloth and many other things, taking

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nothing of theirs in return: but they are naturally timid and fearful. As soon however as they see that they are safe, and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing any thing he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary inviting us to ask them. They exhibit
5 great love towards all others in preference to themselves: they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return. I however forbade that these trifles and articles of no value (such as pieces of dishes, plates, and glass, keys, and leather straps) should be given to them, although if they could obtain them, they imagined themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world.

10 It even happened that a sailor received for a leather strap as much gold as was worth three golden nobles, and for things of more trifling value offered by our men, especially newly coined blancas, or any gold coins, the Indians would give whatever the seller required; as, for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton, with which commodity they were already acquainted. Thus they bartered, like
15 idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars; which I forbade as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the King and Queen, our Princes and all Spaniards, and that I
20 might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting, and delivering to us such things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed.

They practice no kind of idolatry, but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and indeed all good things, are in heaven, and that I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors, and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside
25 their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighbouring islands give an admirable description of everything they observed; but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours.

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On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they knew respecting the country; which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us, for in a short time, either by gestures and signs, or by words, we were enabled to
5 understand each other. These men are still travelling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven; and on our arrival at any new place they published this, crying out immediately with a loud voice to the other Indians, "Come, come and look upon beings of a celestial race": upon which both women and men, children and adults, young men and
10 old, when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness...

...In all these islands there is no difference of physiognomy, of manners, or of language, but they all clearly understand each other, a circumstance very propitious for the
15 realization of what I conceive to be the principal wish of our most serene King, namely, the conversion of these people to the holy faith of Christ, to which indeed, as far as I can judge, they are very favourable and well-disposed...

...These provinces extend to a hundred and fifty-three miles in length, as I have learnt from the Indians whom I have brought with me, and who are well acquainted with the
20 country. But the extent of Espanola is greater than all Spain from Catalonia to Fontarabia, which is easily proved, because one of its four sides which I myself coasted in a direct line, from west to east, measures five hundred and forty miles. This island is to be regarded with especial interest, and not to be slighted; for although as I have said I took possession of all these islands in the name of our invincible King, and the government of them is
25 unreservedly committed to his said Majesty, yet there was one large town in Espanola of which especially I took possession, situated in a remarkably favourable spot, and in every way convenient for the purposes of gain and commerce.

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To this town I gave the name of Navidad del Senor, and ordered a fortress to be built there, which must by this time be completed, in which I left as many men as I thought necessary, with all sorts of arms, and enough provisions for more than a year. I also left them one caravel, and skilful workmen both in ship-building and other arts, and engaged
5 the favor and friendship of the King of the island in their behalf, to a degree that would not be believed, for these people are so amiable and friendly that even the King took a pride in calling me his brother. But supposing their feelings should become changed, and they should wish to injure those who have remained in the fortress, they could not do so, for they have no arms, they go naked, and are moreover too cowardly; so that those who
10 hold the said fortress, can easily keep the whole island in check, without any pressing danger to themselves, provided they do not transgress the directions and regulations which I have given them.

As far as I have learned, every man throughout these islands is united to but one wife, with the exception of the kings and princes, who are allowed to have twenty: the women
15 seem to work more than the men. I could not clearly understand whether the people possess any private property, for I observed that one man had the charge of distributing various things to the rest, but especially meat and provisions and the like. I did not find, as some of us had expected, any cannibals amongst them, but on the contrary men of great deference and kindness. Neither are they black, like the Ethiopians: their hair is
20 smooth and straight: for they do not dwell where the rays of the sun strike most vividly,-- and the sun has intense power there, the distance from the equinoctial line being, it appears, but six-and-twenty degrees. On the tops of the mountains the cold is very great, but the effect of this upon the Indians is lessened by their being accustomed to the climate, and by their frequently indulging in the use of very hot meats and drinks. Thus,
25 as I have already said, I saw no cannibals, nor did I hear of any, except in a certain island called Charis, which is the second from Espanola on the side towards India, where dwell a people who are considered by the neighbouring islanders as most ferocious: and these feed upon human flesh. The same people have many kinds of canoes, in which they cross to all the surrounding islands and rob and plunder wherever they can; they are not

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different from the other islanders, except that they wear their hair long, like women, and make use of the bows and javelins of cane, with sharpened spear-points fixed on the thickest end, which I have before described, and therefore they are looked upon as ferocious, and regarded by the other Indians with unbounded fear; but I think no more of
5 them than of the rest. These are the men who form unions with certain women, who dwell alone in the island Matenin, which lies next to Espanola on the side towards India; these latter employ themselves in no labour suitable to their own sex, for they use bows and javelins as I have already described their paramours as doing, and for defensive
10 armour have plates of brass, of which metal they possess great abundance. They assure me that there is another island larger than Espanola, whose inhabitants have no hair, and which abounds in gold more than any of the rest. I bring with me individuals of this island and of the others that I have seen, who are proofs of the facts which I state.

Finally, to compress into few words the entire summary of my voyage and speedy return, and of the advantages derivable therefrom, I promise, that with a little assistance afforded
15 me by our most invincible sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need, as great a quantity of spices, of cotton, and of mastic (which is only found in Chios), and as many men for the service of the navy as their Majesties may require. I promise also rhubarb and other sorts of drugs, which I am persuaded the men whom I have left in the aforesaid fortress have found already and will continue to find; for I myself have tarried
20 no where longer than I was compelled to do by the winds, except in the city of Navidad, while I provided for the building of the fortress, and took the necessary precautions for the perfect security of the men I left there. Although all I have related may appear to be wonderful and unheard of, yet the results of my voyage would have been more astonishing if I had had at my disposal such ships as I required. But these great and
25 marvellous results are not to be attributed to any merit of mine, but to the holy Christian faith, and to the piety and religion of our Sovereigns; for that which the unaided intellect of man could not compass, the spirit of God has granted to human exertions, for God is wont to hear the prayers of his servants who love his precepts even to the performance of apparent impossibilities. Thus it has happened to me in the present instance, who have

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accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal men had never hitherto attained; for if there have been those who have anywhere written or spoken of these islands, they have done so with doubts and conjectures, and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables.

- 5 Therefore let the king and queen, our princes and their most happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and such prosperity. Let processions be made, and sacred feasts be held, and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven in the prospect of the salvation of the souls of so many nations
- 10 hitherto lost. Let us also rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith, as on account of the increase of our temporal prosperity, of which not only Spain, but all Christendom will be partakers.

Such are the events which I have briefly described.

Farewell.

- 15 Lisbon, the 14th of March.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,

Admiral of the Fleet of the Ocean.

GOVERNOR SIR THOMAS GATES

For The Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, &c.

EXCERPTS OF GOVERNOR'S ORDERS

1610

Jamestown, Colony of Virginia

BACKGROUND

Sir Thomas Gates arrived at Jamestown during the Starving Time, finding only 60 of the 240 original settlers in James Fort alive. Appointed by the Virginia Company as Governor of the colony of Virginia, Gates imposed these Laws of Virginia—the first American law code.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the ruler of the colony's "principal care?"
2. What are the duties of the people on the Sabbath?
3. What are the punishments given to those who break these laws?

William Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia, Lawes Diuine, Morall and Martiall, ec.* (London: Walter Burre, 1612), 9-12, 19 in Peter Force, ed. *Tracts and Other Papers Relating to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of Colonies in North America* (Washington, DC: William W. Force, 1844), volume III [modernized].

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Whereas His Majesty, like himself a most zealous prince, has in his own realms a principal care of true religion and reverence to God, and has always strictly commanded his generals and governors, with all his forces wheresoever, to let their ways be like his ends, for the glory of God.

- 5 And forasmuch as no good service can be performed, or war well managed, where military discipline is not observed, and military discipline cannot be kept where the rules or chief parts thereof, be not certainly set down and generally known, have (with the advice and counsel of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, Lieutenant-General) adhered unto the laws divine and orders politic and martial of his lordship (the same exemplified) an addition of such
- 10 others as I have found either the necessity of the present state of the colony to require, or the infancy and weakness of the body thereof as yet able to digest, and do now publish them to all persons in the colony, that they may as well take knowledge of the laws themselves as of the penalty and punishment, which without partiality shall be inflicted upon the breakers of the same.
- 15 First, since we owe our highest and supreme duty, our greatest, and all our allegiance to Him from whom all power and authority is derived and flows as from the first, and only, fountain, and being special soldiers impressed in this sacred cause, we must alone expect our success from Him who is only the blesser of all good attempts, the King of kings, the Commander of commanders, and Lord of hosts, I do strictly command and charge all
- 20 captains and officers, of what quality or nature soever, whether commanders in the field, or in the town, or towns, forts, or fortresses, to have a care that the Almighty God be duly and daily served, and that they call upon their people to hear sermons, as that also they

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diligently frequent morning and evening prayer themselves by their own exemplar and daily life, and duty herein, encouraging others thereunto, and that such who shall often and willfully absent themselves be duly punished according to the martial law in that case provided.

- 5 That no man speak impiously or maliciously against the holy and blessed Trinity, or any of the three persons, that is to say, against God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, or against the known articles of the Christian faith, upon pain of death.

- That no man blaspheme God's holy name, upon pain of death, or use unlawful oaths, taking the name of God in vain, curse, or ban, upon pain of severe punishment for the first offence
- 10 so committed, and for the second, to have a bodkin thrust through his tongue, and if he continue blaspheming of God's holy name, for the third time so offending, he shall be brought to a martial court, and there receive censure of death for his offence.

No man shall use any traitorous words against His Majesty's person or royal authority, upon pain of death.

- 15 No man shall speak any word, or do any act, which may tend to the derision or despite of God's holy word, upon pain of death. Nor shall any man unworthily demean himself unto any preacher or minister of the same, but generally hold them in all reverent regard and dutiful entreaty, otherwise he, the offender, shall openly be whipped three times, and ask public forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation three several Sabbath days.

- 20 Every man and woman duly twice a day upon the first tolling of the bell shall upon the working days repair unto the Church to hear divine service upon pain of losing his or her

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day's allowance for the first omission, for the second to be whipped, and for the third to be condemned to the galleys for six months. Likewise no man or woman shall dare to violate or break the Sabbath by any gaming, public or private, abroad or at home, but duly sanctify and observe the same, both himself and his family, by preparing themselves at home with private prayer, that they may be the better fitted for the public, according to the commandment of God, and the orders of our Church, as also every man and woman shall repair in the morning to the divine service, and catechizing, upon pain for the first fault to lose their provision and allowance for the whole week following, for the second to lose the said allowance, and also to be whipped, and for the third to suffer death.

- 10 All preachers or ministers within this, our colony or colonies, shall in the forts where they are resident after divine service duly preach every Sabbath day in the forenoon, and catechize in the afternoon and weekly say the divine service twice every day, and preach every Wednesday. Likewise every minister where he is resident, within the same fort or fortress, towns or town, shall choose unto him four of the most religious and better disposed as well to inform of the abuses and neglects of the people in their duties and service to God, as also to the due reparation and keeping of the Church handsome and fitted with all reverent observances thereunto belonging. Likewise every minister shall keep a faithful and true record, or church book, of all christenings, marriages, and deaths of such our people as shall happen within their fort or fortresses, towns or town at any time, upon the burden of a neglectful conscience, and upon pain of losing their entertainment.

He that upon pretended malice shall murder or take away the life of any man shall be punished with death.

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No man shall commit the horrible and detestable sins of sodomy, upon pain of death; and he or she that can be lawfully convicted of adultery shall be punished with death. No man shall ravish or force any woman, maid or Indian, or other, upon pain of death, and know that he or she that shall commit fornication, and evident proof made thereof, for their first
5 fault shall be whipped, for their second they shall be whipped, and for their third they shall be whipped three times a week for one month, and ask public forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation.

No man shall be found guilty of sacrilege, which is a trespass as well committed in violating and abusing any sacred ministry, duty, or office of the Church irreverently or profanely, as
10 by being a church robber, to filch, steal, or carry away anything out of the church appertaining thereunto, or unto any holy and consecrated place, to the divine service of God, which no man should do, upon pain of death. Likewise he that shall rob the store of any commodities therein, of what quality soever, whether provisions of victuals, or of arms, trucking stuff, apparel, linen or woolen, hose or shoes, hats or caps, instruments or tools of
15 steel, iron, etc., or shall rob from his fellow soldier or neighbor anything that is his, victuals, apparel, household stuff, tool, or what necessary else soever, by water or land, out of boat, house, or knapsack, shall be punished with death.

He that shall take an oath untruly, or bear false witness in any cause, or against any man whatsoever, shall be punished with death.

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„Every minister or preacher shall every Sabbath day before catechizing read all these laws and ordinances, publicly in the assembly of the congregation, upon pain of his entertainment checked for that week.

THE UNDERSIGNED SUBJECTS OF KING JAMES

Agreement Between
the Settlers of New Plymouth

LAW

November 11, 1620

Mayflower | Off the Coast of Cape Cod, Colony of Virginia

The Mayflower Compact

BACKGROUND

The settlers who traveled to the British possession of Virginia on the *Mayflower* drafted and signed this agreement pertaining to their governance before disembarking in the New World.

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IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage

5 to plant the first Colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Further-
ance of the Ends aforesaid: And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just
and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Officers, from time to time, as shall

10 be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience.

IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape-Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini; 1620.

"The Mayflower Compact," in *History of Plymouth Plantation* by William Bradford, ed. Charles Deane (Boston, 1856), 89-90.

GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP

A Modell of Christian Charity

SPEECH

April 8, 1630

The *Arabella* | The Atlantic Ocean

BACKGROUND

John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, delivered these remarks aboard the *Arabella* toward the end of its voyage across the Atlantic Ocean.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does John Winthrop say God gives different conditions to different people?
2. By what two rules should people treat each other?
3. What are the work, end, and means of the Massachusetts Bay Colony?
4. What does it mean to be “a city on the hill,” according to Winthrop?

“A Model of Christian Charity,” Hanover Historical Texts Collection, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html>
[Original Source: Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1838), 3rd Series 7:31-48.]

A Model hereof.

GOD ALMIGHTY in his most holy and wise providence, hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity; others mean and in submission.

5 *The Reason hereof.*

1 *Reas.* First to hold conformity with the rest of his world, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures, and the glory of his power in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole; and the glory of his greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, so this
10 great king will have many stewards, Counting himself more honored in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his own immediate hands.

2 *Reas.* Secondly that he might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit: first upon the wicked in moderating and restraining them: so that the rich and mighty should not eat up the poor nor the poor and despised rise up against and shake off their
15 yoke. 2ly In the regenerate, in exercising his graces in them, as in the great ones, their love, mercy, gentleness, temperance etc., in the poor and inferior sort, their faith, patience, obedience etc.

3 *Reas.* Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knit more nearly together in the Bonds of brotherly affection. From hence it appears
20 plainly that no man is made more honorable than another or more wealthy etc., out of any particular and singular respect to himself, but for the glory of his creator and the common good of the creature, man. Therefore God still reserves the property of these gifts to himself as Ezek. 16. 17. he there calls wealth, *his gold and his silver*, and Prov. 3. 9. he claims their service as his due, *honor the Lord with thy riches* etc.--All men being thus
25 (by divine providence) ranked into two sorts, rich and poor; under the first are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their own means duly improved;

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and all others are poor according to the former distribution. There are two rules whereby we are to walk one towards another: Justice and Mercy. These are always distinguished in their act and in their object, yet may they both concur in the same subject in each respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of showing mercy to a rich man in some sudden
5 danger or distress, and also doing of mere justice to a poor man in regard of some particular contract etc. There is likewise a double Law by which we are regulated in our conversation towards another; in both the former respects, the law of nature and the law of grace, or the moral law or the law of the gospel, to omit the rule of justice as not properly belonging to this purpose otherwise than it may fall into consideration in some
10 particular cases. By the first of these laws man as he was enabled so with all is commanded to love his neighbor as himself. Upon this ground stands all the precepts of the moral law, which concerns our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy; this law requires two things. First that every man afford his help to another in every want or distress. Secondly, that he perform this out of the same affection which
15 makes him careful of his own goods, according to that of our Savior, (Math.) *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you.* This was practiced by Abraham and Lot in entertaining the angels and the old man of Gibeon. The law of Grace or of the Gospel hath some difference from the former; as in these respects, First the law of nature was given to man in the estate of innocency; this of the Gospel in the estate of regeneracy. 2ly, the
20 former propounds one man to another, as the same flesh and image of God; this as a brother in Christ also, and in the communion of the same Spirit, and so teaches to put a difference between Christians and others. *Do good to all, especially to the household of faith;* upon this ground the Israelites were to put a difference between the brethren of such as were strangers though not of the Canaanites.

25 3ly. The Law of nature would give no rules for dealing with enemies, for all are to be considered as friends in the state of innocency, but the Gospel commands love to an enemy. Proof. *If thine Enemy hunger, feed him; Love your Enemies, do good to them that hate you.* Math. 5. 44.

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This law of the Gospel propounds likewise a difference of seasons and occasions. There is a time when a Christian must sell all and give to the poor, as they did in the Apostles' times. There is a time also when Christians (though they give not all yet) must give beyond their ability, as they of Macedonia, Cor. 2, 6. Likewise community of perils calls
5 for extraordinary liberality, and so does community in some special service for the church. Lastly, when there is no other means whereby our Christian brother may be relieved in his distress, we must help him beyond our ability rather than tempt God in putting him upon help by miraculous or extraordinary means...

...The definition which the Scripture gives us of love is this. *Love is the bond of perfection*,
10 first it is a bond or ligament. 2ly it makes the work perfect. There is no body but consists of parts and that which knits these parts together, gives the body its perfection, because it makes each part so contiguous to others as thereby they do mutually participate with each other, both in strength and infirmity, in pleasure and pain. To instance in the most perfect of all bodies; Christ and his Church make one body; the several parts of this body
15 considered a part before they were united, were as disproportionate and as much disordering as so many contrary qualities or elements, but when Christ comes, and by his spirit and love knits all these parts to himself and each to other, it is become the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world, Eph. 4. 16. *Christ, by whom all the body being knit together by every joint for the furniture thereof, according to the effectual power*
20 *which is in the measure of every perfection of parts, a glorious body without spot or wrinkle*; the ligaments hereof being Christ, or his love, for Christ is love, 1 John 4. 8. So this definition is right. *Love is the bond of perfection.*

From hence we may frame these conclusions.

First of all, true Christians are of one body in Christ, 1 Cor. 12. 12. 13. 17. *Ye are the body*
25 *of Christ and members of their part*...2ly. The ligaments of this body which knit together are love. 3ly. No body can be perfect which wants its proper ligament. 4ly. All the parts of this body being thus united are made so contiguous in a special relation as they must need partake of each other's strength and infirmity, joy, and sorrow, weal, and woe...5ly. This

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sensibleness and sympathy of each other's conditions will necessarily infuse into each part a native desire and endeavor, to strengthen, defend, preserve and comfort the other...

...It rests now to make some application of this discourse, by the present design, which gave the occasion of writing of it. Herein are 4 things to be propounded: first the persons,

- 5 2ly the work, 3ly the end, 4thly the means. 1. For *the persons*. We are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, in which respect only though we were absent from each other many miles, and had our employments as far distant, yet we ought to account ourselves knit together by this bond of love, and, live in the exercise of it, if we would have comfort of our being in Christ. This was notorious in the practice of
- 10 the Christians in former times; as is testified of the Waldenses, from the mouth of one of the adversaries *Aeneas Sylvius* "mutuo ament pere antequam norunt," they use to love any of their own religion even before they were acquainted with them. 2nly for the *work* we have in hand. It is by a mutual consent, through a special overruling providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seek out a place of
- 15 Cohabitation and Consortship under a due form of Government both civil and ecclesiastical. In such cases as this, the care of the public must over sway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but mere civil policy, does bind us. For it is a true rule that particular Estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the public. 3ly The *end* is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord; the comfort and increase of the body of
- 20 Christ, whereof we are members; that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world, to serve the Lord and work out our Salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances. 4thly for the *means* whereby this must be effected. They are twofold, a conformity with the work and end we aim at. These we see are extraordinary, therefore we must not content ourselves with usual
- 25 ordinary means. Whatsoever we did, or ought to have, done, when we lived in England, the same must we do, and more also, where we go. That which the most in their churches maintain as truth in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practice; as in this duty of love, we must love brotherly without dissimulation, we must love one another with a pure heart fervently. We must bear one another's burdens. We must not

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look only on our own things, but also on the things of our brethren. Neither must we think that the Lord will bear with such failings at our hands as he does from those among whom we have lived...

5 When God gives a special commission he looks to have it strictly observed in every article; When he gave Saul a commission to destroy Amalek, He indented with him upon certain articles, and because he failed in one of the least, and that upon a fair pretense, it lost him the kingdom, which should have been his reward, if he had observed his commission. Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into Covenant with Him for this work. We have taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave
10 to draw our own articles. We have professed to enterprise these and those accounts, upon these and those ends. We have hereupon besought Him of favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath he ratified this Covenant and sealed our Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles which
15 are the ends we have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us; be revenged of such a [sinful] people and make us know the price of the breach of such a Covenant.

20 Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity, is to follow the counsel of Micah, *to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God*. For this end, we must be knit together, in this work, as one man. We must entertain each other in brotherly affection. We must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience, and liberality. We must delight in each other; make
25 other's conditions our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, as members of the same body. So shall we *keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace*. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his own people, and will command a

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5 blessing upon us in all our ways. So that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power,
goodness and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the
God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our
enemies; when he shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding
10 plantations, "the Lord make it likely that of *New England*." For we must consider that we
shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal
falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his
present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. We shall
open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's
15 sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers
to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are
a going.

I shall shut up this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithful servant of the
Lord, in his last farewell to Israel, Deut. 30. *Beloved there is now set before us life and good,*
15 *Death and evil, in that we are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love*
one another, to walk in his ways and to keep his Commandments and his Ordinance and
his laws, and the articles of our Covenant with him, that we may live and be multiplied,
and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it. But if our
hearts shall turn away, so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship and serve
20 *other Gods, our pleasure and profits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we*
shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it;

Therefore let us choose life that we, and our seed may live, by obeying His voice and
cleaving to Him, for He is our life and our prosperity.

THE INHABITANTS AND RESIDENTS OF WINDSOR, HARTFORD, AND WETHERSFIELD

The Fundamental Orders

CONSTITUTION

January 14, 1639
Connecticut River Colony

BACKGROUND

After disputes with the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Roger Ludlow and other leading residents along the Connecticut River drafted this frame of government for inhabitants along the river, which was adopted for the community by anonymous leaders in 1639.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. On what is government to be based?
2. How is the government to ensure the rights of individuals?
3. How does one come to be a magistrate?
4. What kinds of limits are placed on the power of the government?

“The Fundamental Orders of 1639,” The Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/order.asp [Original Source: The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies, now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America. Compiled and Edited Under the Act of Congress of June 30 1906 by Francis Newton Thorpe.]

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For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God by the wise disposition of his divine providence so to order and dispose of things that we the Inhabitants and Residents of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the River of Connectecotte and the lands thereunto adjoining; and well knowing where a
5 people are gathered together the word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwealth; and do for ourselves and our successors and such as shall be
10 adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into Combination and Confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also, the discipline of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said Gospel is now practiced amongst us; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such Laws, Rules, Orders and Decrees as shall be made, ordered,
15 and decreed as followeth:

1. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that there shall be yearly two General Assemblies or Courts, the one the second Thursday in April, the other the second Thursday in September following; the first shall be called the Court of Election, wherein shall be yearly
20 chosen from time to time, so many Magistrates and other public Officers as shall be found requisite: Whereof one to be chosen Governor for the year ensuing and until another be chosen, and no other Magistrate to be chosen for more than one year: provided always there be six chosen besides the Governor, which being chosen and sworn according to an Oath recorded for that purpose, shall have the power to administer
25 justice according to the Laws here established, and for want thereof, according to the Rule of the Word of God; which choice shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the Oath of Fidelity, and do cohabit within this Jurisdiction having been admitted Inhabitants by the major part of the Town wherein they live or the major part of such as shall be then present.

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2. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the election of the aforesaid Magistrates shall be in this manner: every person present and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the person deputed to receive them) one single paper with the name of him written in it whom he desires to have Governor, and that he that hath the greatest number of papers
5 shall be Governor for that year. And the rest of the Magistrates or public officers to be chosen in this manner: the Secretary for the time being shall first read the names of all that are to be put to choice and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written upon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank; and every
10 one that hath more written papers than blanks shall be a Magistrate for that year; which papers shall be received and told by one or more that shall be then chosen by the court and sworn to be faithful therein; but in case there should not be six chosen as aforesaid, besides the Governor, out of those which are nominated, than he or they which have the most written papers shall be a Magistrate or Magistrates for the ensuing year, to make up
15 the aforesaid number.

3. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the Secretary shall not nominate any person, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the Magistracy which was not propounded in some General Court before, to be nominated the next election; and to that end it shall be lawful for each of the Towns aforesaid by their deputies to nominate any two whom they
20 conceive fit to be put to election; and the Court may add so many more as they judge requisite.

4. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that no person be chosen Governor above once in two years, and that the Governor be always a member of some approved Congregation, and formerly of the Magistracy within this Jurisdiction; and that all the Magistrates,
25 Freemen of this Commonwealth; and that no Magistrate or other public officer shall execute any part of his or their office before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the court if they be present, and in case of absence by some deputed for that purpose.

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5. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that to the aforesaid Court of Election the several Towns shall send their deputies, and when the Elections are ended they may proceed in any public service as at other Courts. Also the other General Court in September shall be for making of laws, and any other public occasion, which concerns the good of the
5 Commonwealth.

6. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the Governor shall, either by himself or by the Secretary, send out summons to the Constables of every Town for the calling of these two standing Courts one month at least before their several times: And also if the Governor and the greatest part of the Magistrates see cause upon any special occasion to
10 call a General Court, they may give order to the Secretary so to do within fourteen days' warning: And if urgent necessity so required, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies when they meet, or else be questioned for the same; And if the Governor and major part of Magistrates shall either neglect or refuse to call the two
15 General standing Courts or either of them, as also at other times when the occasions of the Commonwealth require, the Freemen thereof, or the major part of them, shall petition to them so to do; if then it be either denied or neglected, the said Freemen, or the major part of them, shall have the power to give order to the Constables of the several Towns to do the same, and so may meet together, and choose to themselves a Moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power which any other General Courts may.

20 7. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that after there are warrants given out for any of the said General Courts, the Constable or Constables of each Town, shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly or by going or sending from house to house, that at a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together to elect and choose certain deputies to be at
25 the General Court then following to agitate the affairs of the Commonwealth; which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted Inhabitants in the several Towns and have taken the oath of fidelity; provided that none be chosen a Deputy for any General Court which is not a Freeman of this Commonwealth...

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8. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield shall have power, each Town, to send four of their Freemen as their deputies to every General Court; and Whatsoever other Town shall be hereafter added to this Jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the Court shall judge meet, a reasonable proportion to the number of Freemen that are in the said Towns being to be attended therein; which deputies shall have the power of the whole Town to give their votes and allowance to all such laws and orders as may be for the public good, and unto which the said Towns are to be bound.

9. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the deputies thus chosen shall have power and liberty to appoint a time and a place of meeting together before any General Court, to advise and consult of all such things as may concern the good of the public, as also to examine their own Elections, whether according to the order, and if they or the greatest part of them find any election to be illegal they may seclude such for present from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the Court; and if it be proved true, the Court may fine the party or parties so intruding, and the Town, if they see cause, and give out a warrant to go to a new election in a legal way, either in part or in whole. Also the said deputies shall have power to fine any that shall be disorderly at their meetings, or for not coming in due time or place according to appointment; and they may return the said fines into the Court if it be refused to be paid, and the Treasurer to take notice of it, and to escheat or levy the same as he does other fines.

10. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that every General Court, except such as through neglect of the Governor and the greatest part of the Magistrates the Freemen themselves do call, shall consist of the Governor, or some one chosen to moderate the Court, and four other Magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies of the several Towns legally chosen; and in case the Freemen, or major part of them, through neglect or refusal of the Governor and major part of the Magistrates, shall call a Court, it shall consist of the major part of Freemen that are present or their deputies, with a Moderator chosen by them: In which said General Courts shall consist the supreme

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power of the Commonwealth, and they only shall have power to make laws or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit of Freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of, to several Towns or persons, and also shall have power to call either Court or Magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor, and may for just causes
5 displace or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offense; and also may deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this Commonwealth, except election of Magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of Freemen.

In which Court the Governor or Moderator shall have power to order the Court, to give liberty of speech, and silence unseasonable and disorderly speakings, to put all things to
10 vote, and in case the vote be equal to have the casting voice. But none of these Courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the Court.

11. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that when any General Court upon the occasions of the Commonwealth have agreed upon any sum, or sums of money to be levied upon the several Towns within this Jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to set
15 out and appoint what shall be the proportion of every Town to pay of the said levy, provided the committee be made up of an equal number out of each Town.

14th January 1639 the 11 Orders above said are voted.

WILLIAM PENN

Preface to the Frame of Government

CONSTITUTION EXCERPT

May 5, 1682
Province of Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

William Penn, Founder of the Province of Pennsylvania, wrote this preface for the colony's first constitution.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. According to William Penn, does God desire a government for mankind?
2. What is the purpose of government?
3. Are the people meant to participate in government?
4. What is the importance of good men to a community?
5. What is the relationship between liberty and obedience?

"Frame of Government of Pennsylvania," The Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/pa04.asp [Original Source: The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies, Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America (Congress: June 30, 1906).]

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When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures, it pleased him to choose man his Deputy to rule it: and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honor and his happiness, and whilst he stood here, all went well; 5 there was no need of coercive or compulsive means; the precept of divine love and truth, in his bosom, was the guide and keeper of his innocency. But lust prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it; and the law, that before had no power over him, took place upon him, and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not live comformable to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction of the just law 10 without, in a Judicial administration.

This the Apostle teaches in divers of his epistles: "The law," says he, "was added because of transgression." In another place, "knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man; but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and prophane, for murderers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, and for 15 man-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons," etc., but this is not all; he opens and carries the matter of government a little further: "let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil: wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, 20 and thou shalt have praise of the same." "He is the minister of God to thee for good." "Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake."

This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends: first, to terrify evil doers: secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world, as good men shall be. So that 25 government seems to me a part of religion itself, a filing sacred in its institution and end. For, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is as such, though a lower, yet an emanation of the same Divine Power, that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the

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other more corporal and compulsive in its operations: but that is only to evil doers; government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness and charity, as a more private society. They weakly err, that think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it: daily experience tells us that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft, and daily necessary, make up much of the greatest part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fell, and will continue among men, on earth, under the highest attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed Second Adam, the Lord from heaven. Thus much of government in general, as to its rise and end.

10 For particular frames and models, it will become me to say little; and comparatively I will say nothing. My reasons are:

First. That the age is too nice and difficult for it; there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. It is true, they seem to agree to the end, to wit, happiness; but, in the means, they differ, as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason, and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

Secondly. I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergences have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government, that shall serve all places alike.

Thirdly. I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men discourse on the subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.

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But lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders that in good hands, [it] would not do well enough; and story tells us, the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great or good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as
5 governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn.

I know some say, let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them: but
10 let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better: for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men, but good men will never want good laws nor suffer ill ones. It is true, good laws have some awe upon-ill ministers, but that is where they have not power to escape or abolish them and the people are generally wise and good: but a loose and depraved people (which is the question) love laws and an
15 administration like themselves. That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it, viz: men of wisdom and virtue, qualities, that because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy than to their parents for their private patrimonies

20 These considerations of the weight of government and the nice and various opinions about it made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame and conditional laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humors and engagements and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

But, next to the power of necessity, (which is a solicitor that will take no denial) this
25 induced me to a compliance, that we have (with reverence to God and good conscience to men) to the best of our skill contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government to the great end of all government; viz., to support power in reverence with the people and to secure the people from the almost of power; that they may be free by

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their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy. Where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions, but where both are
5 wanting, it must be totally subverted; then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

FIRST PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY

An Act for Freedom of Conscience

LAW

December 7, 1682

Province of Pennsylvania | Chester, Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

William Penn, Governor of Pennsylvania, insisted upon this law, which the Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly passed in 1682.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the proper end of government?
2. Why are there laws?
3. What is the freedom of conscience?
4. What are its limits?
5. What are the punishments given for breaking this law?

“Pennsylvania: An Act for Freedom of Conscience,” *Colonial Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary History*, ed. Donald S. Lutz (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1998).

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Whereas the glory of almighty God and the good of mankind is the reason and end of government and, therefore, government in itself is a venerable ordinance of God. And forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the Proprietary and Governor and the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging to make
5 and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty in opposition to all unchristian, licentious, and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Caesar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppression on the one side and insolence and licentiousness on the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the Governor and people of the province
10 and territories aforesaid and their posterity.

Be it, therefore, enacted by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the freemen of this province and counties aforesaid in assembly met and by the authority of the same, that these following chapters and paragraphs shall be the laws of Pennsylvania and the territories thereof.

15 Chap. i. Almighty God, being only Lord of conscience, father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who can only enlighten the mind and persuade and convince the understandings of people, in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind:

Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person now or at any time hereafter
20 living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge one almighty God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and who professes him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and quietly under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice. Nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or
25 ministry whatever contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his, or her, Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection. And if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matters

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of religion, such person shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace and be punished accordingly.

But to the end that looseness, irreligion, and atheism may not creep in under pretense of conscience in this province, be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that,
5 according to the example of the primitive Christians and for the ease of the creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, people shall abstain from their usual and common toil and labor that, whether masters, parents, children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the scriptures of truth at home or frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions.

10 Chap. ii. And be it further enacted by, etc., that all officers and persons commissioned and employed in the service of the government in this province and all members and deputies elected to serve in the Assembly thereof and all that have a right to elect such deputies shall be such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the son of God, the savior of the world, and that are not convicted of ill-fame or unsober and
15 dishonest conversation and that are of twenty-one years of age at least.

Chap. iii. And be it further enacted, etc., that whosoever shall swear in their common conversation by the name of God or Christ or Jesus, being legally convicted thereof, shall pay, for every such offense, five shillings or suffer five days imprisonment in the house of correction at hard labor to the behoove of the public and be fed with bread and water
20 only during that time.

Chap. v. And be it further enacted, etc., for the better prevention of corrupt communication, that whosoever shall speak loosely and profanely of almighty God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, or the scriptures of truth, and is legally convicted thereof, shall pay, for every such offense, five shillings or suffer five days imprisonment in the
25 house of correction at hard labor to the behoove of the public and be fed with bread and water only during that time.

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Chap. vi. And be it further enacted, etc., that whosoever shall, in their conversation, at any time curse himself or any other and is legally convicted thereof shall pay for every such offense five shillings or suffer five days imprisonment as aforesaid.

KING JOHN OF ENGLAND

Magna Carta Libertatum

ROYAL CHARTER

June 15, 1215

The Meadow of Runnymede | Windsor, England

BACKGROUND

Following the loss of English territory in France, England was left weak and vulnerable. In order to regain power, King John attempted to assert total authority over all the barons of England. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted to prevent the potential civil war by drafting the Magna Carta, which was signed by King John.

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JOHN, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, foresters, sheriffs, stewards, servants, and to all his officials and loyal subjects, Greeting.

5 KNOW THAT BEFORE GOD, for the health of our soul and those of our ancestors and heirs, to the honour of God, the exaltation of the holy Church, and the better ordering of our kingdom, at the advice of our reverend fathers...and other loyal subjects:

(1) FIRST, THAT WE HAVE GRANTED TO GOD, and by this present charter have confirmed for us and our heirs in perpetuity, that the English Church shall be free, and
10 shall have its rights undiminished, and its liberties unimpaired. That we wish this so to be observed, appears from the fact that of our own free will, before the outbreak of the

“Magna Carta, 1215,” The National Archives, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/magna-carta/british-library-magna-carta-1215-runnymede> [Translation by the British Library].

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present dispute between us and our barons, we granted and confirmed by charter the freedom of the Church's elections – a right reckoned to be of the greatest necessity and importance to it – and caused this to be confirmed by Pope Innocent III. This freedom we shall observe ourselves, and desire to be observed in good faith by our heirs in perpetuity.

5 TO ALL FREE MEN OF OUR KINGDOM we have also granted, for us and our heirs for ever, all the liberties written out below, to have and to keep for them and their heirs, of us and our heirs: ...

(4) The guardian of the land of an heir who is under age shall take from it only reasonable revenues, customary dues, and feudal services. He shall do this without destruction or
10 damage to men or property. If we have given the guardianship of the land to a sheriff, or to any person answerable to us for the revenues, and he commits destruction or damage, we will exact compensation from him, and the land shall be entrusted to two worthy and prudent men of the same 'fee', who shall be answerable to us for the revenues, or to the person to whom we have assigned them. If we have given or sold to anyone the
15 guardianship of such land, and he causes destruction or damage, he shall lose the guardianship of it, and it shall be handed over to two worthy and prudent men of the same 'fee', who shall be similarly answerable to us.

(5) For so long as a guardian has guardianship of such land, he shall maintain the houses, parks, fish preserves, ponds, mills, and everything else pertaining to it, from the revenues
20 of the land itself. When the heir comes of age, he shall restore the whole land to him, stocked with plough teams and such implements of husbandry as the season demands and the revenues from the land can reasonably bear.

(6) Heirs may be given in marriage, but not to someone of lower social standing. Before a marriage takes place, it shall be made known to the heir's next-of-kin.

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(7) At her husband's death, a widow may have her marriage portion and inheritance at once and without trouble. She shall pay nothing for her dower, marriage portion, or any inheritance that she and her husband held jointly on the day of his death...

5 (8) No widow shall be compelled to marry, so long as she wishes to remain without a husband. But she must give security that she will not marry without royal consent, if she holds her lands of the Crown, or without the consent of whatever other lord she may hold them of.

(9) Neither we nor our officials will seize any land or rent in payment of a debt, so long as the debtor has movable goods sufficient to discharge the debt...

10 (12) No 'scutage' or 'aid' may be levied in our kingdom without its general consent, unless it is for the ransom of our person, to make our eldest son a knight, and (once) to marry our eldest daughter. For these purposes only a reasonable 'aid' may be levied...

15 (13) The city of London shall enjoy all its ancient liberties and free customs, both by land and by water. We also will and grant that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports shall enjoy all their liberties and free customs.

(14) To obtain the general consent of the realm for the assessment of an 'aid' – except in the three cases specified above – or a 'scutage', we will cause the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons to be summoned individually by letter...

20 (16) No man shall be forced to perform more service for a knight's 'fee', or other free holding of land, than is due from it.

(17) Ordinary lawsuits shall not follow the royal court around, but shall be held in a fixed place...

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- (20) For a trivial offence, a free man shall be fined only in proportion to the degree of his offence, and for a serious offence correspondingly, but not so heavily as to deprive him of his livelihood. In the same way, a merchant shall be spared his merchandise, and a villein the implements of his husbandry, if they fall upon the mercy of a royal court. None of these fines shall be imposed except by the assessment on oath of reputable men of the neighbourhood.
- (21) Earls and barons shall be fined only by their equals, and in proportion to the gravity of their offence.
- (22) A fine imposed upon the lay property of a clerk in holy orders shall be assessed upon the same principles, without reference to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice...
- (24) No sheriff, constable, coroners, or other royal officials are to hold lawsuits that should be held by the royal justices...
- (30) No sheriff, royal official, or other person shall take horses or carts for transport from any free man, without his consent.
- (31) Neither we nor any royal official will take wood for our castle, or for any other purpose, without the consent of the owner.
- (32) We will not keep the lands of people convicted of felony in our hand for longer than a year and a day, after which they shall be returned to the lords of the 'fees' concerned...
- (38) In future no official shall place a man on trial upon his own unsupported statement, without producing credible witnesses to the truth of it.
- (39) No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled, or deprived of his standing in any way, nor will we proceed with force

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against him, or send others to do so, except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land.

(40) To no one will we sell, to no one deny or delay right or justice...

(45) We will appoint as justices, constables, sheriffs, or other officials, only men that
5 know the law of the realm and are minded to keep it well...

(51) As soon as peace is restored, we will remove from the kingdom all the foreign knights, bowmen, their attendants, and the mercenaries that have come to it, to its harm, with horses and arms.

(52) To any man whom we have deprived or dispossessed of lands, castles, liberties, or
10 rights, without the lawful judgment of his equals, we will at once restore these. In cases of dispute the matter shall be resolved by the judgment of the twenty-five barons...

(55) All fines that have been given to us unjustly and against the law of the land, and all fines that we have exacted unjustly, shall be entirely remitted or the matter decided by a majority judgment of the twenty-five barons referred to below in the clause for securing
15 the peace together with Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present...

(60) All these customs and liberties that we have granted shall be observed in our kingdom in so far as concerns our own relations with our subjects. Let all men of our kingdom, whether clergy or laymen, observe them similarly in their relations with their own men.

20 (61) SINCE WE HAVE GRANTED ALL THESE THINGS for God, for the better ordering of our kingdom, and to allay the discord that has arisen between us and our barons, and since we desire that they shall be enjoyed in their entirety, with lasting strength, for ever, we give and grant to the barons the following security:

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The barons shall elect twenty-five of their number to keep, and cause to be observed with all their might, the peace and liberties granted and confirmed to them by this charter.

- If we, our chief justice, our officials, or any of our servants offend in any respect against any man, or transgress any of the articles of the peace or of this security, and the offence
- 5 is made known to four of the said twenty-five barons, they shall come to us – or in our absence from the kingdom to the chief justice – to declare it and claim immediate redress. If we, or in our absence abroad the chief justice, make no redress within forty days, reckoning from the day on which the offence was declared to us or to him, the four
- 10 barons shall refer the matter to the rest of the twenty-five barons, who may distrain upon and assail us in every way possible, with the support of the whole community of the land, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, or anything else saving only our own person and those of the queen and our children, until they have secured such redress as they have determined upon. Having secured the redress, they may then resume their normal obedience to us...
- 15 If one of the twenty-five barons dies or leaves the country, or is prevented in any other way from discharging his duties, the rest of them shall choose another baron in his place, at their discretion, who shall be duly sworn in as they were.

- In the event of disagreement among the twenty-five barons on any matter referred to them for decision, the verdict of the majority present shall have the same validity as a
- 20 unanimous verdict of the whole twenty-five, whether these were all present or some of those summoned were unwilling or unable to appear.

The twenty-five barons shall swear to obey all the above articles faithfully, and shall cause them to be obeyed by others to the best of their power.

- We will not seek to procure from anyone, either by our own efforts or those of a third
- 25 party, anything by which any part of these concessions or liberties might be revoked or

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diminished. Should such a thing be procured, it shall be null and void and we will at no time make use of it, either ourselves or through a third party...

(63) IT IS ACCORDINGLY OUR WISH AND COMMAND that the English Church shall be free, and that men in our kingdom shall have and keep all these liberties, rights,
5 and concessions, well and peaceably in their fullness and entirety for them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and all places for ever.

Both we and the barons have sworn that all this shall be observed in good faith and without deceit. Witness the abovementioned people and many others.

Given by our hand in the meadow that is called Runnymede, between Windsor and
10 Staines, on the fifteenth day of June in the seventeenth year of our reign.

GREAT AND GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

An Act

LAW

June 10, 1661

The Colony of Massachusetts Bay

BACKGROUND

The colonial legislature in Massachusetts enacted this declaration in 1661 after the restoration of Charles II to the English throne.

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Concerning our liberties

1. We conceive the patent (under God) to be the first and main foundation of our civil polity here, by a Governor and Company, according as is therein expressed.
2. The Governor and Company are, by the patent, a body politic, in fact and name.
- 5 3. This body politic is vested with power to make freemen.
4. These freemen have power to choose annually a governor, deputy governor, assistants, and their select representatives or deputies.
5. This government has power also to set up all sorts of officers, as well superior as inferior, and point out their power and places.
6. The governor, deputy governor, assistants, and select representatives or deputies have full power and authority, both legislative and executive, for the government of

Act of the General Court of Massachusetts, *Colonial Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary History*, ed. Donald S. Lutz (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1998).

all the people here, whether inhabitants or strangers, both concerning ecclesiastics and in civils, without appeal, excepting law or laws repugnant to the laws of England.

7. The government is privileged by all fitting means (yea, if need be, by force of arms) to defend themselves, both by land and sea, against all such person or persons as shall at any time attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of this plantation, or the inhabitants therein, besides other privileges mentioned in the patent, not here expressed.

8. We conceive any imposition prejudicial to the country contrary to any just law of ours, not repugnant to the laws of England, to be an infringement of our right.

Concerning our duties of allegiance to our sovereign lord, the king

1. We ought to uphold and, to our power, maintain his place, as of right belonging to Our Sovereign Lord, The King, as holden of His Majesty's manor of East Greenwich, and not to subject the same to any foreign prince or potentate whatsoever.

2. We ought to endeavor the preservation of His Majesty's royal person, realms, and dominions, and so far as lies in us, to discover and prevent all plots and conspiracies against the same.

3. We ought to seek the peace and prosperity of Our King and nation by a faithful discharge in the governing of his people committed to our care.

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First, by punishing all such crimes (being breaches of the First or Second Table) as are committed against the peace of Our Sovereign Lord, The King, his Royal Crown, and dignity.

Second, in propagating the Gospel, defending and upholding the true Christian or

- 5 Protestant religion according to the faith given by our Lord Christ in His word; our dread sovereign being styled “defender of the faith.”

The premises considered, it may well stand with the loyalty and obedience of such subjects as are thus privileged by their rightful sovereign (for Himself, His Heirs, and Successors forever) as cause shall require, to plead with their prince against all

- 10 such as shall at any time endeavor the violation of their privileges ... And, also, that the General Court may do safely to declare that in case (for the future) any legally obnoxious, and flying from the civil justice of the state of England, shall come over to these parts, they may not here expect shelter.

PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND

An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

February 13, 1689
Parliament | London, England

English Bill of Rights

BACKGROUND

Following a civil war, revolution, the Cromwell Protectorate, and a second, bloodless revolution, the English Parliament enacted this law in 1689.

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An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown.

- Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon
- 5 the thirteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-eight present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing made by the said Lords and Commons in the words following, viz.:
- 10 Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of diverse evil counsellors, judges and ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom;

“English Bill of Rights 1689,” The Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/england.asp.

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By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws and the execution of laws without consent of Parliament...

By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretense of prerogative for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament;

- 5 By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law;

By causing several good subjects being Protestants to be disarmed at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law;

By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament;

- 10 By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament, and by diverse other arbitrary and illegal courses;

And whereas of late years partial corrupt and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly diverse jurors in trials for high treason which were not freeholders;

- 15 And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects;

And excessive fines have been imposed;

And illegal and cruel punishments inflicted;

- 20 And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied;

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm;

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And whereas the said late King James the Second having abdicated the government and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and diverse
5 principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two and twentieth day of January in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight [old style date], in
10 order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted, upon which letters elections having been accordingly made;

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the
15 ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties declare

That the pretended power of suspending the laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;

That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal
20 authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal...

That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal;

That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and
25 prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal;

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That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law;

That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions and as allowed by law;

- 5 That election of members of Parliament ought to be free;

That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament;

That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted;

- 10 That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders;

That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void;

- 15 And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

- ...Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons
20 assembled at Westminster do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be and be declared king and queen of England, France and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them, the said prince and princess, during their lives and the life of the survivor to them, and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and

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executed by the said prince of Orange in the names of the said prince and princess during their joint lives, and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the same kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess, and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body, and for
5 default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do pray the said prince and princess to accept the same accordingly...

...Now in pursuance of the premises the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming and establishing the
10 said declaration and the articles, clauses, matters and things therein contained by the force of law made in due form by authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be; and that
15 all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed as they are expressed in the said declaration, and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their Majesties and their successors according to the same in all time to come...And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm by reason of any pretended titles to the crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which
20 the unity, peace, tranquility and safety of this nation doth under God wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do beseech their Majesties that it may be enacted, established and declared, that the crown and regal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said Majesties and the survivor of them
25 during their lives and the life of the survivor of them, and that the entire, perfect and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in and executed by his Majesty in the names of both their Majesties during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her Majesty...and thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do in the name of all the

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- people aforesaid most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities for ever, and do faithfully promise that they will stand to, maintain and defend their said Majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers with their lives and estates against all persons
- 5 whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary. And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do further pray that it may be enacted, that
- 10 all and every person and persons that is, are or shall be reconciled to or shall hold communion with the see or Church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess or enjoy the crown and government of this realm and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging or any part of the same, or to have, use or exercise any regal power, authority or jurisdiction within the same...
- 15 ...Provided that no charter or grant or pardon granted before the three and twentieth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-nine shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law and no other than as if this Act had never been made.

ANONYMOUS (JOHN LOCKE)

Two Treatises of Government

BOOK EXCERPTS

December 1689
England

BACKGROUND

English doctor and political thinker John Locke published this work on government during the time of Glorious Revolution in England, which was read and influential among colonial leaders in the British North American colonies during the following century.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why do men form political societies according to Locke?
2. What are the two powers man possesses in the state of nature?

John Locke, "Book II," in *Two Treatises of Government* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1824).

123. If man in the state of nature be so free, as has been said; if he be absolute lord of his own person and possessions, equal to the greatest, and subject to nobody, why will he part with his freedom? Why will he give up his empire, and subject himself to the dominion and control of any other power? To which it is obvious to answer, that though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the invasion of others; for all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, and the greater part no strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very unsecure. This makes him willing to quit a condition, which, however free, is full of fears and continual dangers: and it is not without reason, that he seeks out, and is willing to join in society with others, who are already united, or have a mind to unite, for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates, which I call by the general name, property.

124. The great and chief end, therefore, of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property. To which in the state of nature there are many things wanting. First, There wants an established, settled, known law, received and allowed by common consent to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide all controversies between them: for though the law of nature be plain and intelligible to all rational creatures; yet men being biased by their interest, as well as ignorant for want of studying it, are not apt to allow of it as a law binding to them in the application of it to their particular cases.

125. Secondly, In the state of nature there wants a known and indifferent judge, with authority to determine all differences according to the established law: for every one in that state being both judge and executioner of the law of nature, men being partial to themselves, passion and revenge is very apt to carry them too far, and with too much heat, in their own cases; as well as negligence, and unconcernedness, to make them too remiss in other men's.

126. Thirdly, In the state of nature there often wants power to back and support the sentence when right, and to give it due execution. They who by any injustice offend, will seldom fail, where they are able, by force to make good their injustice; such resistance many times makes the punishment dangerous, and frequently destructive, to those who attempt it.

127. Thus mankind, notwithstanding all the privileges of the state of nature, being but in an ill condition, while they remain in it, are quickly driven into society. Hence it comes to pass that we seldom find any number of men live any time together in this state. The inconveniencies that they are therein exposed to, by the irregular and uncertain exercise of the power every man has of punishing the transgressions of others, make them take sanctuary under the established laws of government, and therein seek the preservation of their property. It is this makes them so willingly give up every one his single power of punishing, to be exercised by such alone, as shall be appointed to it amongst them; and by such rules as the community, or those authorized by them to that purpose, shall agree on. And in this we have the original right of both the legislative and executive power, as well as of the governments and societies themselves.

128. For in the state of nature, to omit the liberty he has of innocent delights, a man has two powers. The first is to do whatsoever he thinks fit for the preservation of himself and others within the permission of the law of nature: by which law, common to them all, he and all the rest of mankind are one community, make up one society, distinct from all other creatures. And, were it not for the corruption and viciousness of degenerate men, there would be no need of any other; no necessity that men should separate from this great and natural community, and by positive agreements combine into smaller and divided associations. The other power a man has in the state of nature, is the power to punish the crimes committed against that law. Both these he gives up, when he joins in a private, if I may so call it, or particular politic society, and incorporates into any commonwealth, separate from the rest of mankind.

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129. The first power, viz. “of doing whatsoever he thought fit for the preservation of himself,” and the rest of mankind, he gives up to be regulated by laws made by the society, so far forth as the preservation of himself and the rest of that society shall require; which laws of the society in many things confine the liberty he had by the law of nature.

- 5 130. Secondly, The power of punishing he wholly gives up, and engages his natural force, (which he might before employ in the execution of the law of nature, by his own single authority, as he thought fit) to assist the executive power of the society, as the law thereof shall require: for being now in a new state, wherein he is to enjoy many conveniencies, from the labor, assistance, and society of others in the same community, as well as protection
- 10 from its whole strength; he is to part also, with as much of his natural liberty, in providing for himself, as the good, prosperity, and safety of the society shall require; which is not only necessary, but just, since the other members of the society do the like....

ALBANY CONGRESS

A Plan of Union

July 10, 1754

City Hall | Albany, Province of New York

BACKGROUND

The Albany Plan of Union was proposed by Pennsylvania delegate Benjamin Franklin to unify the thirteen colonies in common defense at the start of the French and Indian War. It was adopted and proposed to the colonial legislatures by the Albany Congress, which represented seven British colonies: Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.

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It is proposed that humble application be made for an act of Parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows.

1. That the said general government be administered by a President-General, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several Colonies met in their respective assemblies.

2. That within -- months after the passing such act, the House of Representatives that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall especially for that purpose convened, may and shall choose members for the Grand Council, in the following proportion, that is to say, Massachusetts Bay, 7; New Hampshire, 2; Connecticut, 5; Rhode Island, 2; New York, 4; New Jersey, 3; Pennsylvania, 6; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 7; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 4; 48

Delegates, "The Albany Plan of Union," June 1754. From "The Avalon Project."
https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/albany.asp.

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3. -- who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia, being called by the President-General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

4. That there shall be a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years; and, on the death or resignation of any member, his place should be supplied by a
5 new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the Colony he represented.

5. That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each Colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each Colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion, yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one Province be not more than
10 seven, nor less than two.

6. That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President-General on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent duly and
15 timely notice to the whole.

7. That the Grand Council have power to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent or the special command of the crown.

8. That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings
20 sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

9. That the assent of the President-General be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

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10. That the President-General, with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all Indian treaties, in which the general interest of the Colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations.

11. That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

5 12. That they make all purchases from Indians, for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular Colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

13. That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the King's name, reserving a quitrent to the crown for the use of the general treasury.

10 14. That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

15. That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the Colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any Colony, without the consent of the
15 Legislature.

16. That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several Colonies), and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury,
20 than loading industry with unnecessary burdens.

17. That they may appoint a General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer in each government when necessary; and, from time to time, may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

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18. Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President-General and Grand Council; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President-General is previously empowered by an act to draw such sums.

5 19. That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies.

20. That a quorum of the Grand Council, empowered to act with the President-General, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the Colonies.

10 21. That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the King in Council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

15 22. That, in case of the death of the President-General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the King's pleasure be known.

20 23. That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the President-General; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the President-General's approbation before they officiate.

24. But, in case of vacancy by death or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the Governor of the Province in which such vacancy happens may appoint, till the pleasure of the President-General and Grand Council can be known.

25 25. That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each Colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden

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emergencies any Colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the President-General and General Council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

UNIT 2

The American Founding

1763–1789

45-50-minute classes | 15-19 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

LESSON 1	1763–1776	Self-Government or Tyranny	4-5 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1776	The Declaration of Independence	2-3 classes	p. 14
LESSON 3	1776–1783	The War of Independence	3-4 classes	p. 23
LESSON 4	1783–1789	The United States Constitution	4-5 classes	p. 29
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment			p. 41
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 59

Why Teach the American Founding

The beginning is the most important part of any endeavor, for a small change at the beginning will result in a very different end. How much truer this is of the most expansive of human endeavors: founding and sustaining a free country. The United States of America has achieved the greatest degree of freedom and prosperity for the greatest proportion of any country's population in the history of humankind. How is it that the common American's pursuit of happiness has resulted in such exceptional outcomes over time? This phenomenon compels mindful young Americans to seek to understand how their nation has achieved such results. And America's youth could find no greater source of understanding than the history of their country's founding, starting with their forefathers' ideas, words, and deeds.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. The United States is unprecedented in establishing its existence not on grounds of racial origin nor family privilege but on ideas asserted to be true of all people at all times: namely, on the equal human dignity of each person.
2. America was founded on the view that government should be controlled by the people themselves and limited to the purpose of protecting each person's natural rights and fostering the common good.
3. Regular, ordinary Americans of everyday means sacrificed their security and very lives to defend these truths about human beings and civic life against a tyranny of the most powerful nation of its day.
4. The United States Constitution's chief quality is that it allows the people to govern themselves with respect for the dignity of each person while both channeling and restraining the natural ambition of human beings to gain power and recognition.
5. The Constitution is a carefully wrought and considered document, and its original intent and structure should be honored both for the sake of our forebears, to whom we and the world owe our freedom and prosperity, and because the events of the last two hundred years have proven the Constitution's remarkable achievements time and time again.

What Teachers Should Consider

The United States of America is unprecedented in many ways in the course of human history, but most significantly in the opportunity all its citizens have to pursue unmatched conditions of freedom, security, and prosperity. The country owes its unprecedented success to an unprecedented founding, a beginning forged and canonized in the Declaration of Independence, the War of Independence, and the U.S. Constitution.

And yet, never have so many Americans known so little about this founding. As for love of country, one cannot love (or even consider loving) what one does not know.

The teaching of the American founding is perhaps the most necessary series of lessons a teacher can share with his or her students if those students intend to enjoy the benefits of living in America for the duration of their lives.

With this in mind, a teacher ought to take special care to learn the history and ideas of the American founding. Ambiguity in the teacher's own understanding, or assumptions derived from anywhere but careful scholarship and a deep reading of America's founding documents, will leave him or her unprepared to help students understand this history accurately.

The teacher might best open the unit with lessons aimed at understanding why the colonists declared independence in the first place. It was not to avoid paying taxes or about wanting to preserve slavery. (These are misconceptions at best, distortions at worst.) It was to choose—between liberty under self-government and servitude under tyranny. Class may proceed at a brisk pace through the years 1763–1776, touching on the many acts of the British and respective colonial responses to those acts. Spend time on the conflicts and battles; students should chart the gradual shift in public sentiment toward independence.

The Declaration of Independence itself deserves careful study. Such lessons may begin with stories of the writing of the Declaration. Students should read the whole document, and teachers can foster extensive conversations about what it says, what it means, and why it says it. The majority of the conversation should dwell on the first, second, and final paragraphs of the Declaration. Understanding what is meant by those words is pivotal to understanding American history, what makes America an exceptional nation, and the responsibilities every American citizen has. The list of grievances should be discussed in light of the previous history that led to the Declaration.

The American War of Independence should be taught so as to fill the moral imaginations of students with images of the heroic characters and actions of its American participants. Strategy, battles, and the general arc of the war should be taught in detail, punctuated with accounts of the key moments and figures who contributed to America's ultimate victory. The ideas for which the War of Independence was fought are matched in the American memory only by the stories of those who fought for them.

When teaching the aftermath of the War of Independence up to the Constitutional Convention, teachers should make clear that America's foray into governing itself entirely independent of Great Britain initially trended toward abject failure. The Articles of Confederation ordered public affairs in a reactionary rather than prudent manner. Students should understand that the Constitutional Convention, in many respects, saved the country from another sort of tyranny: majority tyranny.

Finally, the Constitutional Convention and the Constitution itself should be studied in tandem and in detail. A major aid in doing so is to read selections of the *Federalist Papers*. Students should consider carefully both the structure of the Constitution and the Framers' intentions in so constructing it. Students should understand that nothing in the Constitution was haphazardly decided. Given the unprecedented long-term success of the Constitution, students should appreciate that any changes to the Constitution warrant careful and complete understanding of why the Framers crafted it the way they did, as explained in their own words.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

The Creation of the American Republic, Gordon Wood

We Still Hold These Truths, Matthew Spalding

The Political Theory of the American Founding, Thomas West

The Constitutional Convention, James Madison

African Founders, David Hackett Fischer

No Property in Man, Sean Wilentz

The American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

The U.S. Constitution: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (ConstitutionReader.com)

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Introduction to the Constitution

Civil Rights in American History

Constitution 101

The Federalist Papers

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

The Glorious Cause, Robert Middlekauff

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride

A Short History of the American Revolution, James Stokesbury

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, Richard Bland

Letter to Lord Kaimes, Benjamin Franklin

Virginia Resolves of 1769, Virginia House of Burgesses

A History of the Dispute with America, No. VII, John Adams

"Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!," Patrick Henry

Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, Edmund Burke

Common Sense, Thomas Paine

Olive Branch Petition

Declaration of Independence, First Draft

Declaration of Independence

Orders of July 2, George Washington

Resignation Speech, George Washington

"Liberty and Peace," Phillis Wheatley

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article III

The Articles of Confederation

The United States Constitution

The Federalist, Nos. 9, 10, 51

The Bill of Rights

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZ

Lesson 1 — Self-Government or Tyranny

1763–1776

4-5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how new British exertions of authority over the colonists led to the Declaration of Independence.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 42–48

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

The Glorious Cause

Pages 7–226

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 29–43

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 20–22

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 42–48, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 20–28) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate excerpts from Paine's *Common Sense* and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Boston

Lexington and Concord

Philadelphia

Lake Champlain

Independence Hall

Fort Ticonderoga

Persons

King George III

John Hancock

Charles Townshend

Lord North

George Washington

Crispus Attucks

Paul Revere
 Samuel Adams
 Thomas Gage
 Benjamin Franklin
 Patrick Henry

John Adams
 Abigail Adams
 Ethan Allen
 Thomas Paine
 Thomas Jefferson

Terms and Topics

salutary neglect
 self-government
 representation
 consent
 French and Indian War
 Proclamation of 1763
 writs of assistance
 Sugar Act
 Stamp Act
 Sons of Liberty
 mob
 tar and feather
 Declaratory Act
 Townshend Acts
 nonimportation agreements

Boston Massacre
 Committees of Correspondence
 Gaspee Affair
 Boston Tea Party
 Intolerable Acts
 Quartering of Soldiers
 First Continental Congress
 Minutemen
 Battles of Lexington & Concord
 Siege of Fort Ticonderoga
 Second Continental Congress
 Continental Army
 Battle of Bunker Hill
 Olive Branch Petition
 Liberation of Boston

Primary Sources

An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, Richard Bland
 Letter to Lord Kaims, Benjamin Franklin
 Virginia Resolves of 1769, Virginia House of Burgesses
 A History of the Dispute with America, No. VII, John Adams
 “Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!” Patrick Henry
 Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, Edmund Burke
Common Sense, Thomas Paine
 Olive Branch Petition

To Know by Heart

“Appeal to Heaven”
 “Don’t Tread On Me”
 “Join or Die”
 “Give me liberty or give me death!”—Patrick Henry
 “The shot heard round the world.”
 “Don’t fire till you see the whites of their eyes!”—Israel Putnam, William Prescott, or legend

Timeline

1754–1763	French and Indian War
1763	Proclamation Line
1770	Boston Massacre

1773	Boston Tea Party
1774	Intolerable Acts
1775	Lexington and Concord, Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

Images

Historical figures and events
Revolutionary-era flags
Nonimportation agreement example
Paul Revere's Engraving of Boston Harbor under occupation
Paul Revere's Engraving of the Boston Massacre
Independence Hall (exterior and interior)
Battle maps and battle scene depictions
Uniforms and arms of the Minutemen, the Continental Army soldiers, and the Redcoats
Medical equipment

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson up through 1776
- Francis Fauquier's account of the mob and a stamp distributor
- Samuel Adams's poem, "The Divine Source of Liberty"
- Boston Massacre
- John Adams fair-mindedly representing the British soldiers after the Boston Massacre
- Boston Tea Party
- Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death!" speech
- Paul Revere's ride, especially Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem of that name
- Jonas Clark's and William Emerson's accounts of minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Letters of John and Abigail Adams
- John Adams's nomination of George Washington to command the Continental Army
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston
- John Adams's nomination of Thomas Jefferson to draft the Declaration of Independence

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- Why had the colonies been left mostly to their own devices? Why was this "neglect" "salutary"?
- How had the French and Indian War contributed to the American sense of self and greater unity among the colonists?
- How did the British situation following the French and Indian War lead the British to exert more authority over the colonists?
- In what ways did the British begin to exert control over the colonists without their consent?

- What did the Proclamation Act of 1763 attempt to do? What change did it reveal in the relationship between Parliament and the colonists? How did the colonists respond?
- What was the British Constitution? To what extent did it extend to America? To what extent were colonial charters part of the British Constitution? To what extent were Americans justified in claiming the rights of Englishmen?
- How did inhabitants of England view Parliament's supremacy differently from the Americans? Which group had a more traditional/authentic understanding of the British Constitution? What are the reasons for the divergence in opinion?
- What did the Stamp Act do? Why did this act in particular undermine the principle of self-government and consent? How did the colonists respond?
- What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists' freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
- What is the relationship between this question of representative self-government and liberty? What is its relationship to tyranny?
- In what ways did the colonies cooperate with one another in their resistance to writs of assistance, the Stamp Act, and the Townshend Duties?
- What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament's actions?
- Why was legislative petition a failure in Massachusetts? Why did Bostonians resort to public protests and riots? How did John Adams and Samuel Adams differ in their views on legitimate forms of protest?
- How did the Boston Massacre change public opinion among the colonists? How did John Adams successfully preserve the rule of law?
- Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did the acts do (five actions)?
- How did the Continental Congress respond to the Coercive (Intolerable) Acts?
- Which offers of reconciliation did the colonists make to Parliament?
- Was war inevitable? Was independence?
- Why did Thomas Paine argue in *Common Sense* that the debate had changed regarding the relationship between the colonists and British? Why did he argue for war as the path toward independence?
- In what ways did Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
- What actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?
- To what extent was the American Revolution not made but prevented? To what extent was it revolutionary?
- What crucial strategic military decisions did local British officials make at the outset of the Revolutionary War?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 77: Name one reason why the Americans declared independence from Britain.
 - Question 85: Benjamin Franklin is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

For more than 150 years, the British colonists of North America rarely quarreled with their countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic. Then in 1763, the British began to claim new control over the colonists. What followed were thirteen years of increased tension and sometimes violent clashes leading to outright war in 1775 and, in 1776, the declaring of independence by the colonists and the formation of a new country separate from British power. This decade and a half gave birth to the nation each American citizen calls home. It is imperative that American students know the people, actions, and stories that led to the founding of their country. The chief aim of teaching these fourteen years, therefore, is to help students to understand the actions by both Great Britain and the colonists that compelled the Americans to such a separation and to found a new, unprecedented kind of country.

Teachers might best plan and teach Self-Government or Tyranny with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the issues the British in North America faced following the French and Indian War (in Europe, the Seven Years' War), namely, the risk of further conflict (and associated costs) with Native Americans as colonists moved westward, and the massive debt that Great Britain had accumulated in the late war.
- Show how Great Britain's attempted solutions to these problems (prohibiting colonial expansion and the sudden enforcement of lax tax laws) marked the first shift in the relationship between Great Britain and the colonists and heralded the end of the period of "salutary neglect," during which American colonists had grown accustomed to practicing self-government.
- Help students see the pattern that this initial shift would grow into: attempts by the British (Parliament and, to a certain extent, King George III) to exert more control, alternating with American resistance to what they argued were infringements on their rights as Englishmen.
- Teach about each of the British acts: what they were, why they were passed, how the colonists resisted, and what happened next as a consequence.
- Read aloud with students in class portions of the Virginia Resolves to gain insights into the leading colonists' understanding of the situation at the time and to presage the same ideas later developed into the Declaration of Independence.
- Consider at length that self-government, or representative self-government, was at the heart of the issue. Emphasize that this was not merely a nice-sounding phrase. Instead, the colonists gradually came to recognize the following as a question of liberty or tyranny: whether they were self-governed through their elected representatives or were dictated to and controlled by a distant government in which they had no consent. Make clear that this was the question: not merely whether the colonists would have representation in Parliament (it was impractical) nor whether they had to pay taxes, but whether or not people must be controlled by the will of others in government without their free consent. Reading portions of Richard Bland's *An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies*, Benjamin Franklin's letter to Lord Kaims, and John Adams's *A History of the Dispute with America*, No. VII may best help students grasp these realities.
- Explain how the Americans organized themselves to engage with and resist the British, a capacity born of decades of practice in self-government and a trait of American citizens for subsequent generations. In due course, the Boston Massacre impressed on public opinion the British position's semblance to tyranny.

- Emphasize for students how there were often two competing approaches to responding to British actions: one that attempted deliberation and petition, and another that resorted to destruction of property and even tarring and feathering. In the end, the former approach prevailed, resorting to arms only as necessary to defend their assertion of rights, self-government, and liberty.
- Highlight that it was the Boston Tea Party, however, that brought issues to a head, prompting the British to respond to various actions in Massachusetts with the Intolerable Acts. Help students to consider that in five separate, odious ways, these acts show how preventing a people from governing themselves in even something as simple as a tax on paper and tea can lead to tyranny if not effectively recognized and resisted.
- Spend time illustrating how it was really across 1774–75, in response to the execution of the Intolerable Acts, that specific Founding Fathers marshaled their talents and ideas, eventually leading to declaring independence and forming a new nation by summer 1776.
- Teach in some detail the open armed conflicts at Lexington and Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, and Bunker Hill. Students should learn how these battles bolstered the patriot cause and transformed public opinion in these final two years of British rule.
- Have students read as a preparatory homework assignment excerpts from Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense*. In class, have a seminar conversation on the text. Target questions at helping students to see how and why Paine’s pamphlet proved decisive in shifting public opinion at the start of 1776. Questions on pages 42–43 of *A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Finally, emphasize how the news in the spring of 1776—that the British had hired German mercenary soldiers to deploy against British-Americans, and were now selectively encouraging slave rebellions in the colonies, while the Continental Congress recommended that the colonies begin forming their own governments—were key factors in moving a majority of the state delegates at the Second Continental Congress to commission a committee to draft a potential declaration of independence.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain what was at the heart of the Americans’ resistance to what they argued to be Great Britain’s infringement of the rights and liberty of British-Americans. Draw connections between specific British actions to which the Americans objected and the fundamental reason(s) for their objections (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the story between 1773 and 1776 of how the Boston Tea Party and the subsequent Intolerable Acts led to declaring independence (3–4 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The American Founding | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages 42–48

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What did “writs of assistance” allow the British authorities to do to anyone they suspected of smuggling?
2. What did the British Parliament begin to levy on the colonists without their consent?
3. What did Parliament declare about its power over the colonists in the Declaratory Act?
4. Name one of the two towns in which the first battles of the Revolutionary War were fought.
5. Thomas Paine swiftly moved public opinion in favor of independence with his pamphlet entitled _____.

Lesson 2 — The Declaration of Independence

1776

2–3 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the movement in favor of independence and about the drafting and signing of the Declaration of Independence. They also read the Declaration of Independence and engage in a seminar conversation about its contents and ideas.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 48–51

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

The Glorious Cause

Pages 227–255

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 36–37, 44–55

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 3

Introduction to the Constitution

Lectures 1, 2, 3

Constitution 101

Lecture 2

Civil Rights in American History

Lectures 1, 2, 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 48–51, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate the Declaration of Independence and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Philadelphia

Independence Hall

Persons

Benjamin Franklin

Thomas Jefferson

John Adams

Terms and Topics

Laws of Nature	pursuit of happiness
and of Nature's God	consent of the governed
self-evident	list of grievances
equality	slavery
natural rights	self-government
unalienable	representation
liberty	Liberty Bell
license	

Primary Sources

Declaration of Independence, First Draft
Declaration of Independence

To Know by Heart

First two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence

Final paragraph of the Declaration of Independence

“All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document, an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there, that to-day, and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of re-appearing tyranny and oppression.”—Abraham Lincoln, Letter to Henry Pierce

Timeline

July 2, 1776	Second Continental Congress votes for independence
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

Images

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams
Independence Hall (exterior and interior)
Photos or facsimiles of original Declaration of Independence
National Archives Building and Rotunda
Jefferson Memorial
Statue of Thomas Jefferson (Hillsdale College campus)

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Benjamin Rush's account of signing the Declaration of Independence
- The first public reading of the Declaration of Independence at the State House Yard, the tolling of the Liberty Bell, and the removal of the royal coat of arms

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the various audiences that the Declaration of Independence sought to address?
- In its opening lines, what does the Declaration claim to do, and what does it want its audience to do in response?
- What are “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God”?
- What is a “self-evident” truth?
- What does it mean that “all men are created equal”?
- What is a right?
- According to the Declaration of Independence, from where do rights come?
- What does it mean to say that men are “endowed by their creator” with the rights?
- What does “unalienable” mean?
- What do the words “certain” and “among” imply about the Declaration’s list of rights?
- What is liberty according to the Founders? How is it distinct from license?
- Why did Jefferson use “the pursuit of happiness” instead of “property”?
- What is the purpose of government?
- From where does government derive its just powers?
- What are the people free—and even duty-bound—to do if the government fails in or violates its fundamental purpose?
- Ought it to be an easy or regular affair for people to overthrow and replace their government? If not, under what circumstances may they do so?
- To whom do the colonists appeal to judge the justness of their claims and conduct?
- In what ways did the Second Continental Congress alter Thomas Jefferson’s first draft of the Declaration of Independence? What were the reasons for these various changes?
- Why did Thomas Jefferson’s first draft of the Declaration of Independence include condemnations of King George for perpetuating the Atlantic slave trade?
- Why did many northern delegates, who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished, believe that compromising with southern delegates by omitting the issue of slavery from the Declaration’s list of grievances would be more likely to lead to the abolition of slavery than splitting with the southern colonies over the issue in 1776?
- How do the words of the Declaration of Independence mark America’s founding as different from the founding of other countries? Might we say that America’s founding was exceptional?
- America’s existence and purpose, as outlined in the Declaration, rests on the commitment to certain ideas its Founders asserted to be objectively true. What are these truths?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 8: Why is the Declaration of Independence important?
 - Question 9: What founding document said the American colonies were free from Britain?
 - Question 10: Name two important ideas from the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.
 - Question 11: The words “Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness” are in what founding document?
 - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?
 - Question 77: Name one reason why the Americans declared independence from Britain.
 - Question 78: Who wrote the Declaration of Independence?
 - Question 79: When was the Declaration of Independence adopted?

- Question 81: There were 13 original states. Name five.
- Question 85: Benjamin Franklin is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 87: Thomas Jefferson is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 125: What is Independence Day?
- Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The Declaration of Independence was not merely a renunciation of dependence on Great Britain. It was, in fact, generative. It created an entity—a nation—that stood on its own, had its own existence, and was independent of other nations. Even today, it offers guiding principles that continue to shape our arguments about the nature and limits of political authority. In brief, the Declaration of Independence created and still defines the United States of America.

Like an organizational mission statement, the Declaration is an indication of the Founders' intention, a guiding star for our political life, and a benchmark for measuring our public institutions. Americans should consider all questions concerning the public sphere in light of the truths asserted in the Declaration. The Declaration of Independence should be both the beginning and end for students' understanding of their country, their citizenship, and the benefits and responsibilities of being an American.

Referring questions of our common life to the Declaration of Independence does not mean that Americans should be forced or manipulated to believe the ideas of the Declaration to be true. But this unit asks students at least to consider *whether* the Declaration's claims are true. Indeed, Thomas Jefferson and the delegates at the Second Continental Congress addressed the Declaration of Independence not only to Americans in 1776 but also to the critical judgment of American students in the 21st Century, for, as they stated, "a decent respect to the *opinions of mankind* requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation" [emphasis added]. The lasting claim of the Declaration is that there are certain *truths* about *all men* having *unalienable* rights. As a historical matter, as well, students should think seriously about how the American founding—and the continuation of the American experiment—has succeeded or failed against its stated objectives.

Students should take it upon themselves to study and consider seriously the Declaration of Independence as the foundation and even the heart of their country's existence. While a more extensive study of the Declaration should occur in a separate government class, including consideration of the thinkers who influenced the Founders, the historical treatment of the American Revolution deserves several class periods of conversation on the text of the Declaration.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Declaration of Independence with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Help students to see that the Founders intended to speak to them, to posit truths for their consideration and ultimate judgment. "[A] decent respect to the opinions of mankind" means that the Declaration was not merely intended as an argument about the unique situation of the colonists in 1776; the Founders submitted their claims to the judgment of all people in all times

because they were asserting truths about all people in all times. This especially includes future Americans and, in this case, American students.

- Lead students through a complete reading of the Declaration of Independence in the course of a seminar conversation. Pause frequently to ask students questions on the various parts of the text, especially the first two paragraphs. Questions on pages 47–52 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Help students to consider that the Founders are making assertions of the existence of objective truth by referencing “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God” and by describing the truths as “self-evident.” This abides by the first law of logic, that of contradiction, which is the basis of all reasoning and of our capacity to make sense of reality: i.e., that something cannot both be and not be at the same time in the same way. The use of the words “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God” ties truth to an external reality (nature) with fixed and reliable features (laws). “Self-evident” ties truth to fixed definitions—a “self-evident” claim is one that is true by definition of the idea in question, like the claim that a triangle has three sides. A “self-evident” truth is not merely a matter of perspective; it can be known and understood by anyone at any time.
- Note that for the Founders, the “Laws...of Nature’s God” implied that this understanding of nature was consistent with the Christian tradition within which the American founding occurred. Other references to divine sources of truth in the Declaration include that men are “endowed by their Creator” and its appeals to “the Supreme Judge of the world” and to “the protection of divine Providence.”
- Ask students what the Declaration means by “all men are created equal.” For one thing, “men” means human being not males as opposed to females. Based on the totality of their writings available, the principal authors of the Declaration meant that men and women share equally in human dignity and in possession of natural rights or freedoms that are simply part of being human. A consistent application of equality would make slavery impossible—and the Second Continental Congress could scarcely have missed this point. This meaning of equality did not suggest equality in talent, property, or other accidentals to one’s humanity, qualities that are unique to a particular person and circumstance.
- Note that the mere articulation that all men are created equal was revolutionary. Compared to the degree and universality of equality we take for granted today, such a statement and contemporary limits on the principle in practice leave the Founders open to much potential criticism. For example, in general, women, men without land, and African Americans were not able to vote. But the mere fact that most men *were able* to vote was a significant departure from what was normal in the rest of the world. And even though civil equality was not universal, the statement about inherent and equal dignity of all people was unheard of at the time. Many Founders believed (and the centuries since have proven them correct) that this founding principle would allow for ever greater realizations of equality through history. In brief, were it not for the Founders’ assertion of human equality, albeit imperfectly put into practice, the kind of equality we are used to today likely would never have arisen, or certainly not from American shores.
- Ask students what the Declaration states to be the purpose of government. Students should understand the Declaration’s argument that government is created to secure the natural rights of each person.
- Ask students about the source of a government’s power. The Declaration explains that government power comes from the free consent of the people. Students should also consider the Declaration’s argument that people do not receive their rights from government, nor do they surrender their fundamental rights to it. Instead, the rights to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness” are natural—they are inherent in being human—and government is delegated power by the sovereign people to secure their rights and pursue the common good. Rather than surrendering their rights to government, people create government to protect their rights. The Declaration describes these rights as “unalienable,” meaning that they cannot be relinquished or taken away, though they may be forfeited when a person violates the rights of another person, (e.g., the penalty for taking someone else’s life or liberty might be to lose your own life or liberty).

- Help students to understand what is meant by self-government: legitimate government exists to secure rights and derives its “just powers from the consent of the governed,” that is, from the citizen body. The fundamental purpose of government is clear and its powers are limited. As a result, and by design, the people have the liberty to govern themselves in most aspects of their daily lives.
- Read the list of grievances and ask students to connect each grievance to the historical events they studied in the previous lesson. Then ask students to explain how those events violate the statements made in the first two paragraphs of the Declaration.
- Provide students with a copy of the first draft of the Declaration of Independence that tracks the edits made by the Second Continental Congress. Ask students why specific changes were made. Spend time especially with the sections that addressed slavery and were removed.
- When discussing compromises between the principled claims of the Declaration and the brutal matter of slavery, be mindful of the following:
 - Slavery was one of the few matters of disagreement among the colonial revolutionaries in their otherwise generally united challenge to England. Those who opposed slavery as well as those who favored it agreed about the growing threat of British tyranny.
 - Many of the American Founders, especially those from northern colonies, strongly opposed slavery but nevertheless accepted a temporary compromise on the issue, believing that an independent and united country would provide the best prospect for actually abolishing slavery. Without unity between northern and southern colonies, either the colonists would have lost the war, in which case slavery would simply be continued by Great Britain, or the southern colonies would have formed their own separate country, in which case the North would have no power over the South to abolish slavery. The key for the American Founders, especially those who opposed slavery, would be to continue efforts against slavery as a united country—united around the principles of the Declaration of Independence.
 - The idea that a country can be founded on a principle—rather than merely on claims of territory, tribe, or military power—is uniquely American. America’s founding principle that “all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights” was unprecedented. Almost all recognized that the statement of the principles, despite a compromise that allowed for the pre-existing institution’s continuing existence, undermined the legitimacy of slavery.
 - Many northern Founders and even some slaveholding Founders recognized the hypocrisy of claiming the principle of equality in spite of the continuing institution of slavery. Nevertheless, some southern Founders did not believe this phrase to be true for slaves and therefore did not believe it was hypocritical.
 - Many have understood the principle of equality as the enduring object or goal of American political life, with each generation seeking further to expand the conditions of political equality. This was the view of many Founders, as well as of Abraham Lincoln, abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, and civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr.,

who called the Declaration a “promissory note to which every American was to fall heir” in his 1963 “I Have a Dream” speech.

- Slavery and the subsequent inequality and violations of the rights of the descendants of slaves, as well as of women and certain immigrants, are glaring ways in which the country has fallen short of its founding idea.
- The Declaration’s principle of equality—and the persistence and bravery of Americans of all origins to sacrifice and even die insisting that the nation should live up to the principle—has led to unprecedented achievements of human equality and the protection of equal rights.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the meaning of key lines, phrases, and ideas in the first two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Recite by heart the first two paragraphs and the final paragraph of the Declaration of Independence.

Assignment 3: Choose three specific grievances and explain how they are connected both to the events between 1763 and 1776 and to the principles asserted in the first two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence (1–2 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The American Founding | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 48–51

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who was the principal author of the Declaration of Independence?
2. Included within the universal assertions of the Declaration of Independence was a long list of _____ outlining the ways in which the British crown had acted tyrannically toward their own people.
3. According to Captain Levi Preston, the common soldier fought the Revolutionary War because the British would not allow the colonists to do what?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 2 — Formative Quiz

Covering Lessons 1–2
10–15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. How did the British situation following the French and Indian War lead the British to exert more authority over the colonists?
2. What did the Stamp Act do? Why did this act in particular undermine the principle of self-government and consent? How did the colonists respond?
3. Which essential roles did Benjamin Franklin and George Washington each play leading up to 1776?
4. Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do (5 actions)?
5. How did the colonists organize themselves to engage with and resist the new British infringements on their rights?
6. Which events in 1774–76 especially led the colonists finally to declare their independence?
7. Who were the various audiences that the Declaration of Independence sought to address?

Lesson 3 — The War of Independence

1776–1783

3–4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the major figures, common soldiers, strategy, and specific battles of the American War of Independence.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Text

Land of Hope

Pages 52–58

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

The Glorious Cause

Pages 256–602

A Short History of the American Revolution

As helpful

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 63–68

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 34–38

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 4

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 52–58, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 34–38) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Quebec

Fort West Point

Delaware River

Valley Forge

Hudson River Valley

Yorktown

Saratoga

Persons

George Washington

Ethan Allen

Phillis Wheatley

Henry Knox

John Adams

John Paul Jones

Abigail Adams

Daniel Morgan

Horatio Gates
George Rogers Clark
William Howe
Marquis de Lafayette
Tadeusz Kościuszko
Baron von Steuben

Nathanael Greene
Benedict Arnold
John Burgoyne
Charles Cornwallis
Alexander Hamilton

Terms and Topics

Patriot/Revolutionary
Tory/Loyalist
Articles of Confederation
Continental Army
privateer
Brown Bess Musket
volley
Battle of New York
mercenary
Hessians
Crossing of the Delaware
Battle of Trenton

Betsy Ross Flag
Yankee Doodle
Battle of Saratoga
guerrilla warfare
French Treaty of Alliance
Battle of Monmouth
Battle of Cowpens
Battle of Yorktown
Newburgh Conspiracy
American Cincinnatus
“E Pluribus Unum”
Treaty of Paris

Primary Sources

Orders of July 2, George Washington
Resignation Speech, George Washington
“Liberty and Peace,” Phillis Wheatley

To Know by Heart

“These are the times that try men’s souls.”—Thomas Paine, *The Crisis*

Timeline

1776 (1775)–1783	War of Independence
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed
1776 (Fall)	Battle of New York
Christmas, 1776	Battle of Trenton
1777	Battle of Saratoga
1777–78	Winter Quarters at Valley Forge
1781 (Fall)	Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
1783	Treaty of Paris
June 14	Flag Day

Images

Historical figures
Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
Images and uniforms of British and American officers and soldiers
Depictions of figures at various scenes and moments and in battle

Washington Crossing the Delaware painting
Betsy Ross Flag and other flags
Maps: overall strategies, specific battles
Relevant forts
Medical equipment
Reenactment photos
Washington Monument
Statue of George Washington (Hillsdale College campus)
Picture of the original Articles of Confederation

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- The fates of the signers of the Declaration of Independence
- George Washington's letter to Burwell Bassett, June 1775
- Joseph Hodgkins's letters as a Continental Army soldier, February 1776
- Stories from the memoir of Joseph Plumb Martin (*Private Yankee Doodle*)
- David Bushnell's submarine attack
- Maryland 400 and the Battle of Brooklyn
- Retreat from Manhattan
- George Washington's Crossing of the Delaware
- Abigail Adams's letter to John Adams, March 1777
- John Adams's letter to Abigail Adams, September 1777
- James Mitchell Varnum's letter to Nathanael Greene
- The American farmers joining the Battle of Saratoga
- John Laurens's letters to his father, Henry Laurens, January and February 1778
- George Washington encouraging his men at Valley Forge
- The naval campaigns of John Paul Jones
- Stories of Margaret Corbin, Molly Pitcher, Abigail Adams, and Martha Washington during the war
- Alexander Hamilton's letter to John Jay, March 1779
- George Washington's letter to Henry Laurens, March 1779
- Alexander Hamilton's letter to John Laurens, October 1780
- Benedict Arnold's letter to Lord Germain, October 1780
- George Washington on horseback at the Battle of Monmouth
- The playing of the "World Turned Upside Down" after Yorktown (possibly legend)
- George Washington's letter to Philip Schuyler, January 1781
- George Washington's letter to Joseph Jones, March 1783
- George Washington's dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- George III's comments on Washington resigning his command (possibly legend)
- George Washington resigning his commission to Congress

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How was power structured under the Articles of Confederation? Why did the framers of this first constitution structure it in this way?

- What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the war?
- What was the style of warfare in the War of Independence, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- What were the major contributions and moments in George Washington's generalship during the war?
- How did each of the following battles begin, what happened in them, and what was their significance: New York, Trenton, Saratoga, and Yorktown?
- Why was the situation so dire in winter 1776?
- In what ways did the British plan for 1777 work, and in what ways did it fail?
- Why was the Battle of Saratoga so significant? What did the Americans gain from their newfound ally?
- What happened at Valley Forge over the winter of 1777–78?
- What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
- What happened when the British under Lord Cornwallis moved into the South?
- What were the most significant moments in the War of Independence?
- What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?
- What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris?
- Why were soldiers on the verge of mutiny in 1783? How did George Washington resolve the crisis?
- What qualities does Phillis Wheatley attribute to Freedom in "Liberty and Peace"? What will the personified Freedom bring to America? What is freedom?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 76: What war did the Americans fight to win independence from Britain?
 - Question 80: The American Revolution had many important events. Name one.
 - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 89: Alexander Hamilton is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 121: Why does the flag have 13 stripes?
 - Question 122: Why does the flag have 50 stars?
 - Question 124: The Nation's first motto was "E Pluribus Unum." What does that mean?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The American Revolution was truly a "David and Goliath" clash: a fledgling strand of remote colonies loosely cooperating as one through a continental, mostly citizen army, fought and won independence from the greatest military power in the world. Students should appreciate this about the war of their forefathers. They should also know key stories of the heroic actions of the leaders and the many common folk in that struggle, understand the strategies employed in general and in specific battles, and consider the key moments and factors that led the Americans to victory.

Teachers might best plan and teach the War of Independence with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Discuss how the new states organized themselves in the Articles of Confederation. Students do not need to know the inner workings of this first constitution, as they will learn more about it in

the next lesson. Students should understand, however, the general contours of power and how it operated. They should also understand the ways in which many of its weaknesses were intentional, weaknesses that would manifest themselves as serious problems at various points during the war.

- Ask students to identify and compare the various advantages and disadvantages of each side at the outset of the war and how these shifted over the years. Having students take simple notes as a “T-Chart” can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Introduce students to the contemporary style of warfare by using images, maps, and artifacts. This approach will provide a foundation for their subsequent study of battles, help them to understand what happens in battle, and allow them to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Help students to empathize with the common Continental Army soldier and perceive the risk facing all the colonists, especially the leaders. Conditions were truly awful at many points in the war. The prospect of imminent defeat and the dire consequences for all involved weighed heavily upon the colonists throughout the war. The leaders—the men we now consider the American Founders—would most certainly have been shot or hanged if they were captured or the war was lost. In spite of the risks, they risked everything and sacrificed much for the cause of freedom and self-government. Students should appreciate the great debt we owe them.
- Explain each side’s strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles.
- Teach major battles in detail. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battles themselves, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often. *A Short History of the American Revolution* is a great aid for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of these battles from this work, too.
- As with any conflict, draw attention to the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war. George Washington should be especially considered, not so much in his battle tactics as in his overall strategy for the war and his stirring leadership of his soldiers. Read aloud Washington’s resignation speech, presenting it as vividly as possible and helping students appreciate the significance of Washington’s character and example.
- Explain how the principles of the Declaration of Independence were already effecting change among the Americans even prior to the resolution of the war. By the end of the war, every northern state except for New York and New Jersey had explicitly outlawed slavery, and some New England colonies had allowed African Americans to vote. Students should also learn of the outsized contributions of African American soldiers in the war, with five thousand serving in the Continental Army over the course of the war and, by some accounts, African Americans composing nearly a quarter of the American forces at Yorktown.
- Read aloud Phyllis Wheatley’s “Liberty and Peace.” Consider Wheatley’s perspective on the revolution, bearing in mind her status as a former slave.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the reasons why the Americans won the War of Independence (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the history of the War of Independence (4–5 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The American Founding | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 52–58

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which side had the overall advantage at the beginning and for much of the War of Independence?
2. Which figure proved indispensable to the American cause?
3. What did the Americans do on Christmas night 1776?
4. The Battle of Saratoga was of great significance in the war because it proved that the Americans could fight in a battle and be victorious. What country decided to ally with the Americans, largely as a result of the Battle of Saratoga?
5. What was the last major battle of the war, in which the Americans defeated the British General Charles Cornwallis?

Lesson 4 — The United States Constitution

1783–1789

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the drafting of the Constitution, the debates within the Constitutional Convention and its ratification by the states, the political thought undergirding the Constitution, and the basic structure and powers of the federal government.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages 58–78
See below.

Teacher Texts

Unto a Good Land, Volume 1
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 189–220
Pages 56–89
Pages 34–38, 45–46

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Constitution 101
Civil Rights in American History
The Federalist Papers

Lectures 4 and 5
Lectures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Lectures 1, 2, 3
Lectures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 58–78, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 34–38) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate *Federalist* Nos. 9, 10, and 51 and the Constitution, and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Northwest Territory
Philadelphia

Independence Hall
New York City

Persons

Montesquieu
 James Madison
 Gouverneur Morris
 James Wilson
 George Washington
 Benjamin Franklin

Alexander Hamilton
 John Jay
 Publius
 Brutus
 George Mason
 Benjamin Banneker

Terms and Topics

Articles of Confederation
 Land Ordinance of 1785
 township
 debt cancellation laws
 Shays' Rebellion
 Northwest Ordinance
 Constitutional Convention
 Father of the Constitution
 Constitution
 Laws of Nature and of Nature's
 God
 natural rights
 equality
 consent of the governed
 self-government
 faction
 majority tyranny
 ambition
 representation
 republicanism
 refine and enlarge
 extended sphere
 federalism
 limited government
 enumerated powers
 separation of powers
 checks and balances
 Virginia Plan
 New Jersey Plan
 Great Compromise
 Three-Fifths Clause
 legislative power
 Congress
 bicameralism

House of Representatives
 Senate
 budget
 impeachment
 executive powers
 Electoral College
 cabinet
 Commander-in-Chief
 veto power
 judicial powers
 coequality of branches
 criminal case
 civil case
 appellate courts
Marbury v. Madison
 judicial review
 Article IV, Section 2
 amendment
The Federalist
 Anti-Federalists
 Article I, Section 9
 ratifying conventions
 Bill of Rights
 freedom of religion
 free exercise
 establishment clause
 freedom of speech
 freedom of the press
 right to assembly
 right to keep and bear arms
 due process
 inauguration

Primary Sources

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article III
 The Articles of Confederation
 The United States Constitution
The Federalist, Nos. 9, 10, 51
 The Bill of Rights

To Know by Heart

“Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”—Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article 3

Preamble to the U.S. Constitution

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”—Presidential Oath of Office

“A republic, if you can keep it.”—Benjamin Franklin

“If men were angels, no government would be necessary.”—*Federalist* 10

First Amendment

Second Amendment

Tenth Amendment

Timeline

1781	Articles of Confederation take effect
1786	Shays’ Rebellion
1787 (May–Sept.)	Constitutional Convention
1787 (July)	Congress passes the Northwest Ordinance
September 17, 1787	Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
1788	New Hampshire ratifies the Constitution (ninth state)
1789	Constitution takes effect; George Washington elected president

Images

Paintings of historical figures and events
 Depictions of scenes from the Constitutional Convention
 Photographs of Independence hall (exterior and interior)
 Photos or facsimiles of the original Articles of Confederation, Northwest Ordinance, Constitution, *The Federalist Papers*, and Bill of Rights
The Signing of the American Constitution painting, Samuel Knecht

Statue of James Madison (Hillsdale College campus)
National Archives Building and the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom
Paintings by Barry Faulkner in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- How the Great Compromise was proposed
- Delegates meeting in City Tavern in Philadelphia to discuss the Constitution-in-making “after hours”
- Benjamin Franklin’s story about the sun on George Washington’s chair being a sunrise for the country
- Benjamin Franklin’s reply to a woman’s question about what the Constitutional Convention had created: “A republic, if you can keep it,” and what this means
- The correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Banneker

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What did the Land Ordinance of 1785 do, especially with respect to public vs. private ownership of land and public education?
- What did the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 do, especially with respect to the future of western lands, public education, and preventing the expansion of slavery?
- What were the specific problems of the Articles of Confederation? What issues did they permit to arise and fester?
- What event especially impressed on the Founders, particularly James Madison and George Washington, the need to revisit the Articles of Confederation?
- Who was the intellectual leader among the many very talented men at the Philadelphia convention, known as the “Father of the Constitution”?
- What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?
- In what sense is the Constitution a modern, liberal, Enlightenment document? In what sense is it a document that is grounded in an ancient and medieval European past?
- What was *The Federalist*, what was its purpose, and why do we still read it?
- What did *The Federalist* argue about each of the following:
 - human nature
 - ambition
 - faction
 - majority tyranny
 - republicanism
 - morality
- What were the major disagreements at the Constitutional Convention?
- Why was there reluctance to create a strong executive? Why did the Framers do so anyway?
- What was the great issue regarding representation? How was it resolved?
- What are the various ways that the Constitution addresses the issue of faction, as outlined in *Federalist* 10?
- What is federalism? Why is it important?
- What is separation of powers? Why is it a principle for the arrangement of government power, and how does the Constitution achieve this?

- What are the offices and main powers of each branch of government?
- What are checks and balances? How can each branch check the power of the others?
- How was the government organized to counteract the ambitions of powerful men?
- Contrast the character of the House of Representatives to that of the Senate, explaining the purpose for these differences and how their features (method of selection, qualifications, term lengths, percentage of each house up for election at a given time, etc.) contribute to their respective purposes.
- How does a bill become a law?
- What is the Electoral College, how did it originally work, and what is its purpose?
- How did the Constitution balance freedom (majority rule) and justice (preserving minority rights)?
- How did the Founders understand the tension between slavery and the principle of equality in the Declaration of Independence?
- What was the nature of the Founders' compromise with slavery at the time of the founding for the sake of the union? Would it have been possible to abolish slavery in the southern colonies without union?
- Why did many in the founding generation expect that slavery would eventually die out so long as it was not allowed to expand?
- What efforts did some founders make to abolish slavery?
- What are the three clauses related to slavery in the Constitution? Explain each.
- How was the Three-Fifth Compromise a partial victory for slaveholders and a partial victory for abolitionists?
- Why does the Constitution make it so hard for it to be amended?
- What has been the most common way for proposing and ratifying amendments to the Constitution?
- What were the different views toward the Constitution during the ratification debate?
- What do each of the following amendments in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why: 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 9th, and 10th?
- From where do the rights outlined in the Bill of Rights originate? Are they granted by the Bill of Rights?
- What is due process? Why is it such an important legal guarantor of freedom?
- To whom are elected officials and the Constitution itself ultimately subject?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 1: What is the form of government of the United States?
 - Question 2: What is the supreme law of the land?
 - Question 3: Name one thing the U.S. Constitution does.
 - Question 4: The U.S. Constitution starts with the words "We the People." What does "We the People" mean?
 - Question 6: What does the Bill of Rights protect?
 - Question 10: Name two important ideas from the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.
 - Question 13: What is the rule of law?
 - Question 14: Many documents influenced the U.S. Constitution. Name one.
 - Question 82: What founding document was written in 1787?
 - Question 83: The Federalist Papers supported the passage of the U.S. Constitution. Name one of the writers.

- Question 84: Why were the Federalist Papers important?
- Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 88: James Madison is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 89: Alexander Hamilton is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

“[I]t seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.” Thus wrote Alexander Hamilton in the opening paragraph of *Federalist* 1 in support of the newly proposed United States Constitution. Indeed, it is the Constitution that gives institutional form to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It is, as Abraham Lincoln would later express it, the “frame of silver” meant to adorn and, most importantly, to protect the “apple of gold” that is the Declaration of Independence and the truths it asserts. The Constitution is the vehicle for the American experiment in self-government.

Study of the Constitution and of the history of its creation shows students *how* and *that* human beings are able to govern themselves in freedom, securing the equal protection of rights and the dignity of each person through reflection, deliberation, and choice. This is a significant thing for students to grasp, for if a constitution cannot achieve these ends, then force and violence are the only alternatives left to mankind.

Students need not study all of the political philosophy that undergirded the Constitutional Convention and the Constitution itself, nor need they understand all the details of the function of government; they will study these facets to the Constitution extensively in a separate American Government and Politics course. They should, however, understand the main principles and structure of the Constitution and the government it established, and know the stories from the Constitutional Convention and the ratification debates. Selections from *The Federalist* as well as the Bill of Rights will be helpful to accomplish these purposes.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Constitution with emphasis on the following approaches. While the length of this advice is larger than advice for other lessons, it is owing to the ease with which so many features of the Constitution can be taught incorrectly, with significant consequences. Therefore, this advice includes many corrections to common misconceptions that can be quickly addressed in class. As mentioned, the vast majority of the political philosophy and mechanics of the Constitution are reserved for a separate civics course.

- Consider the two major legislative achievements under the Articles of Confederation, the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Students should understand the historic emphasis the Founders placed on public education, private land ownership, and preventing the spread of slavery, as evident in these laws. Questions on pages 78–79 of *A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Revisit the structure of the Articles of Confederation and the issues that emerged under such a structure during the War of Independence. Read illustrative sections of the Articles, and consider them against the issues that dominated the 1780s: namely, the debt cancellation laws by states (a

clear example of majority tyranny), varieties of currencies, interstate trade barriers, separate agreements between states and foreign powers, the inability to enforce the Treaty of Paris against the British with respect to western territories, and Shays' Rebellion.

- Lead students through the process of the Constitutional Convention. Help them see that the Convention was arranged to ensure that all the states were able to speak and be represented. Through stories of the various debates and compromises, explain the difficulty of establishing a government that would satisfy all parties.
- Describe the environment and people of the Constitutional Convention, as well as the history and tone of the ratification debate that followed.
- Require students to read, annotate, and answer guided questions for *Federalist* 9, 10, and 51, then discuss these in class. These key documents should afford a review of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the problems of the Articles of Confederation and also illustrate the purposes of the Constitution. The form of the Constitution follows its function with respect to human nature and the purposes for which governments are established, per the Declaration of Independence. *The Federalist* explains both of these functions and the nature of men. For *Federalist* 10, questions on pages 97–98 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Read, annotate, and discuss the Constitution with particular attention to the Preamble, the structure of government that the Constitution establishes, and the reasons for this structure. Questions on pages 56–62 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Clarify that the Constitution establishes a republic, not a democracy. In a pure democracy the people make all legislative decisions by direct majority vote; in a republic, the people elect certain individuals to represent their interests in deliberating and voting. The deliberations and voting record of representatives should usually reflect but should also be more refined than that of the entire people voting directly. Sometimes this distinction is described in terms of direct democracy vs. representative democracy.
- Explain the importance of the principles of separation of powers and federalism, and why these ideas are central to the Constitution's safeguards against the corrupting tendency of power.
- Consider how the Constitution repeatedly structures federal institutions to refine and enlarge the will of the people.
- Explain how the House of Representatives is meant to be a more dynamic and immediate expression of the people's will, while the Senate is meant to be more deliberative and circumspect.
- Emphasize that the Framers of the Constitution were chiefly concerned with allowing the will of the majority to rule—thereby guaranteeing the consent of the governed—while still preserving the rights of the minority and thereby securing justice.
- Describe the American Founders' understanding of human nature. They understood human nature to be fixed and unchanging, good but also flawed and tending toward corrupting power. In response to human nature, government must guard against the opposite dangers of lawlessness and tyranny, accounting for the realities of human nature and rejecting the possibility of utopia.
- Show how the Constitution does not deny, demonize, or elevate human nature, but rather seeks to channel the powers of human beings into constructive institutions while mitigating man's baser tendencies. In brief, the Constitution is constructed on a deep and accurate understanding of fixed human nature born of the Founders' knowledge of history, their own experience, and their prudence.
- Ask about the source and purpose of a government's power. Review how the Declaration of Independence claims that government power comes from the free consent of the people, and ask students to identify whether and how the Constitution accomplishes that goal.

- Distinguish the focus of the federal government compared to the state governments.
- Teach the structure, makeup, and powers of each branch of government and explain why the Founders made them so. Students should understand how each branch works, how they work together, and how the branches check and balance one another.
- Clarify how the Electoral College works and why the Founders chose this process for electing the president. One of the original reasons was to provide a way for the people's representatives, the electors, to prevent a tyrannical or fraudulent choice, but most states abandoned this purpose when they enacted laws binding electors to the state's popular vote. Another reason was to ensure that presidential candidates would pay attention to the interests of those to whom it was harder or less politically efficient to travel geographically. This has forced presidential candidates to address the concerns not merely of large population centers like cities but also of rural and more remote populations. Together with equal representation among states in the Senate, the Electoral College has discouraged a majority tyranny of urban interests.
- Take the time to consider, read, and discuss the ways in which slavery was addressed in the Constitution, including the extents to which the Constitution both left slavery in place and also placed new national limits on it. As Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln would later acknowledge, the Declaration's principle of equality and the Constitution's arrangements gave the Founders the belief that they had placed slavery on the path to eventual extinction. This of course does not excuse the fact that many of these founders still held African Americans in slavery during their lifetimes.
- Clarify for students the arguments of northerners and southerners concerning the Three-Fifths Clause. The clause was not about the humanity of slaves; it was strictly about how much representation slave-owning states would receive in Congress and the Electoral College. The great hypocrisy of the slaveholders was that while they refused to call a slave a human being, they insisted that each slave be counted as a whole person for purposes of representation. In fact, it was the anti-slavery Founders who did not want slaves counted at all in the Constitution for the purposes of representation. The fact that slaves were only counted as three-fifths for the purposes of representation was a disappointment for southern states, as they had demanded they be counted as a whole person. It was a partial victory for northern opponents to slavery, as it would give the slaveholding states less influence in lawmaking than they wished. Additionally, students should understand that in the mind of those opposed to slavery, this compromise was the only politically viable route if they were to secure southern support for the Constitution, without which the country would become disunited, with the South able to perpetuate slavery indefinitely as their own country without northern abolitionists. Students need not agree with the tenets of the compromise, but they must understand it as the founders themselves understood it.
- Remind students that the slave trade was not formally limited in the states (the Continental Congress had temporarily banned the practice in 1774) until the passage of the Constitution, which allowed for it to be outlawed nationwide in 1808 (which it was) and for Congress to discourage it by imposing tariffs on the slave trade in the meantime. Students should understand that without the compromise that allowed this twenty-year delay, the power to abolish the slave trade would not have been granted by the slaveholding interest in the first place.
- Consider with students the significance of the Constitution not using the word "slave" and instead using "person." Refusing to use the word "slave" avoided giving legal legitimacy to slavery. Even Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3 emphasizes that slavery was legal based on certain state, not federal, laws. The use of the word "person" forced even slaveholders to recognize the

humanity of the slave: that he or she was in fact a human person, not property. There would be no federally-recognized “property in man.”

- Point out for students that clauses that were not about slavery but which slaveholding interests could use to their benefit were not therefore deliberately pro-slavery clauses. Such a logical fallacy would implicate as morally evil anything hijacked for use in committing a wrong act, for example, a road used by bank robbers in their getaway would be “pro-robbery.”
- Consider with students the sectional nature of views on slavery during the founding. The majority of northerners and northern founders (e.g., John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, Gouverneur Morris, and John Jay) spoke and wrote extensively on the immorality of slavery and its need to be abolished. Some northern founders, such as John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin, founded or served in abolitionist societies.
- Consider also that even among the southern founders who supported slavery or held slaves, several leading founders expressed regret and fear of divine retribution for slavery in America, such as Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington. Some freed their slaves as well, such as George Washington, who by the end of his life freed the slaves in his family estate. And many, like Thomas Jefferson, nevertheless maintained that slaves were men in full possession of the natural rights of all men. Making these observations does not diminish the inhumaneness of slavery or dismiss the wrong of racism by certain colonists or other individual Americans living in other generations.
- Ask students how to judge the Founders who owned slaves and yet supported the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. Students should consider their public and private lives as well as their words and deeds. Taken altogether, students should recognize the difficulty in assigning an absolute moral judgment that a person is entirely bad or entirely good while still being able to pass judgment on specific actions.
- Have students also consider the distinction between judging character absolutely versus judging individual actions. When they do, students will encounter figures who did both much that was good and also some that was bad, and that this contradiction runs through the heart of every person.
- Be careful with the phrase “consider the times,” as this phrase can easily give the impression that truth and morality (good and evil) are merely relative to one’s viewpoint or historical time period. Instead, help students understand that “to consider the times” in which the American colonists and Founders lived is not to excuse moral injustices or to justify relativism. We should consider the circumstances at the time and weigh them against principles that transcend time. It is not whitewashing or rewriting history. It is recognizing the reality of history and honestly assessing how figures at the time acted within their circumstances in light of the truth.
- Have students consider the status of slavery over the initial decades of the country’s history. At the founding, slavery was either openly condemned by northerners or defended (but seldom celebrated) by southerners. Its toleration at the time of the founding was for the sake of a unity that even many abolitionists believed was the only eventual path toward abolition. Based on the evidence at the time, many leading Founders believed slavery was naturally destined for extinction, that public opinion had steadily grown toward seeing slavery for the moral evil that it was, and that the principles of the Declaration of Independence and Revolution helped shape this public opinion and would also be the vehicle for eventual equality. The Founders also believed the Constitution both permitted and yet restricted slavery, created a path to restricting it further (by holding the union together), and kept slavery on the path it was already travelling: to extinction. The Declaration of Independence founded the country on principles of equality that could and

would be used to demand the end of slavery. The Northwest Ordinance had prohibited the expansion of slavery. The Constitution refused to give legal standing to the institution, and many states had abolished slavery outright. Even Founders who held slaves believed the profitability of slavery was gradually but decisively waning and that slavery would die out on its own in a short period of time.

- Note for students the history-changing invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793, four years after the adoption of the Constitution. The cotton gin would greatly increase the profitability of slavery in the cotton-growing states of the South and thereby create a significant (and regional) interest in perpetuating the institution of slavery. The new economics of slavery that would grow out of the cotton gin and the vast cotton industry questioned the assumption and changed the projection of the founding generation concerning the viability and eventual demise of slavery.
- Teach students about the Anti-Federalists' concerns with the Constitution, the arguments for and against a Bill of Rights, and how the Federalists ultimately convinced states to ratify the Constitution (provided that a Bill of Rights was included).
- Read aloud with students the Bill of Rights. Pause frequently to ask students questions on various parts of the text. Questions on pages 79–84 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Help students understand why each of the rights found in the Bill of Rights corresponds to the preservation of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and how these rights answer some of the grievances in the Declaration of Independence as well as the problems under the Articles of Confederation. Especially consider the 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 10th Amendments.
- Explain that the Founders did not believe the Bill of Rights encompassed all the rights of men in society, nor that these rights came from government. Some of the rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights are natural rights. Many are derivative civil rights through which the constitutional process abides by and secures underlying natural rights. Between the Bill of Rights, the limited purposes of government, and the enumerated powers, emphasize for students how America has a *limited* government.
- Finally, tell about the first elections, meetings of the Electoral College, and George Washington's inauguration in 1789. If students have already studied the French Revolution, remind them that just a few short months later the French Revolution would commence, leading to a far different outcome than the American Revolution and Constitution.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how the Constitution distributes power among the three branches of government (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: The Framers designed the Constitution based on certain principles. Explain which two principles you believe are the most important and why (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 3: Explain what *The Federalist* argued concerning each of the following: human nature, ambition, faction, majority tyranny, republicanism, and morality (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 4: Complete the Bill of Rights handout (*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, pages 45–46).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The American Founding | Lesson 4
Land of Hope, Pages 58–78

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the name of the first constitution and government under which the United States attempted to govern itself?
2. In which city did the Constitutional Convention convene?
3. Who was known as “the Father of the Constitution”?
4. Which practice and institution proved to be a source of great division among the delegates to the Constitutional Convention?
5. What was the name of the collection of newspaper essays written under the pseudonym Publius that explained and argued for the ratification of the Constitution?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Study Guide — The American Founding Test

Unit 2

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1754–1763	French & Indian War
1763	Proclamation Line
1770	Boston Massacre
1773	Boston Tea Party
1774	Intolerable Acts
(1775) 1776–1783	War of Independence
1775	Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed
1776 (Fall)	Battle of New York
1776 (Christmas)	Battle of Trenton
1777	Battle of Saratoga
1777–78	Winter Quarters at Valley Forge
1781	Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
1783	Treaty of Paris
September 17, 1787	Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
1789	Constitution takes effect; George Washington elected president

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Boston	Ticonderoga	Valley Forge
Philadelphia	Quebec	Yorktown
Independence Hall	Delaware River	Northwest Territory
Lexington and Concord	Hudson River Valley	New York City

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

George III	Samuel Adams	Ethan Allen
Charles Townshend	Thomas Gage	Thomas Paine
George Washington	Benjamin Franklin	Thomas Jefferson
John Hancock	Patrick Henry	Phillis Wheatley
Crispus Attucks	John Adams	Henry Knox
Paul Revere	Abigail Adams	Horatio Gates

George Rogers Clark
William Howe
Marquis de Lafayette
Tadeusz Kościuszko
Baron von Steuben
Nathanael Greene

Benedict Arnold
John Burgoyne
Charles Cornwallis
Alexander Hamilton
Montesquieu
Gouverneur Morris

James Wilson
James Madison
John Jay
Publius
Brutus
Benjamin Banneker

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

salutary neglect
self-government
representation
consent
Parliament
writs of assistance
Proclamation of 1763
Sugar Act
Stamp Act
Sons of Liberty
tar and feather
Quartering of Soldiers
Declaratory Act
Townshend Acts
Nonimportation Agreements
Boston Massacre
Committees of Correspondence
Boston Tea Party
Intolerable Acts
First Continental Congress
Minutemen
Second Continental Congress
Continental Army
Olive Branch Petition
Liberation of Boston
Laws of Nature and of Nature's God
self-evident
natural rights
equality
unalienable
liberty
license
pursuit of happiness

consent of the governed
list of grievances
slavery
Liberty Bell
Patriot/Revolutionary
Tory/Loyalist
Articles of Confederation
Continental Army
privateer
Brown Bess Musket
mercenary
Hessians
Crossing of the Delaware
Betsy Ross Flag
Yankee Doodle
guerrilla warfare
French Treaty of Alliance
Newburgh Conspiracy
American Cincinnatus
Treaty of Paris
Land Ordinance of 1785
township
debt cancellation laws
Northwest Ordinance
Constitutional Convention
Father of the Constitution
Constitution
faction
majority tyranny
ambition
republicanism
extended sphere
federalism
limited government
enumerated powers

separation of powers
checks and balances
Virginia Plan
New Jersey Plan
Great Compromise
Three-Fifths Clause
legislative power
Congress
bicameralism
House of Representatives
Senate
impeachment
executive powers
Electoral College
Commander-in-Chief
judicial powers
coequality of branches
appellate courts
Marbury v. Madison
judicial review
Article IV, Section 2
amendment
Federalists
The Federalist
Anti-Federalists
Article I, Section 9
ratifying conventions
Bill of Rights
free exercise
establishment clause
freedom of speech
freedom of the press
right to assembly
right to keep and bear arms
due process

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

French and Indian War
Lexington & Concord
Fort Ticonderoga
Bunker Hill

New York
Trenton
Saratoga
Monmouth

Cowpens
Yorktown
Shays' Rebellion

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well-prepared.

Virginia Resolves of 1769, Virginia House of Burgesses
Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, Edmund Burke
Common Sense, Thomas Paine
Declaration of Independence, First Draft, Thomas Jefferson
Declaration of Independence
Resignation Speech, George Washington
The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article III
The Articles of Confederation
The United States Constitution
The Federalist, Nos. 9, 10, 51
The Bill of Rights

TO KNOW BY HEART

Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“Give me liberty or give me death!”—Patrick Henry

First two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence

“And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.”—Final sentence of the Declaration of Independence

“Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”—Northwest Ordinance, Article 3

Preamble to the U.S. Constitution

“If men were angels, no government would be necessary.” —*Federalist* 10

First Amendment

Second Amendment

Tenth Amendment

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison between 1763 and 1789
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Washington’s Crossing of the Delaware
- The American farmers joining the Battle of Saratoga
- Washington encouraging his men at Valley Forge
- Stories of Margaret Corbin, Molly Pitcher, Abigail Adams, and Martha Washington during the war
- Washington’s dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- Benjamin Franklin’s reply to a woman’s question about what the Constitutional Convention had created: “A republic, if you can keep it,” and what this means
- The correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Banneker

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | Self Government or Tyranny

- ☐ Why had the colonies been mostly left to their own devices? Why was this “neglect” “salutary”?
- ☐ How did the British situation following the French and Indian War lead the British to exert more authority over the colonists?
- ☐ In what ways did the British begin to exert control over the colonists without their consent?
- ☐ What did the Stamp Act do? Why did this act in particular undermine the principle of self-government and consent? How did the colonists respond?
- ☐ What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists’ freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
- ☐ What is the relationship between this question of representative self-government and that of liberty and tyranny?
- ☐ What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament’s actions?
- ☐ How did the Boston Massacre change public opinion among the colonists?

- ☐ Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do (five actions)?
- ☐ Was war inevitable? Was independence?
- ☐ In what ways did Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
- ☐ What actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

- ☐ In its opening lines, what is the Declaration claiming to be doing, and what does it want its audience to do in response?
- ☐ What are “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God”?
- ☐ What is a “self-evident” truth?
- ☐ What does it mean that “all men are created equal”?
- ☐ What is a *right*?
- ☐ According to the Declaration of Independence, from where do natural rights come?
- ☐ What does “unalienable” mean?
- ☐ What does the word “certain” imply about these rights?
- ☐ What does the word “among” imply about these rights?
- ☐ What is liberty according to the Founders? How is it distinct from license?
- ☐ Why did Jefferson use “the pursuit of happiness” instead of “property”?
- ☐ What is the purpose of government?
- ☐ From where does a government derive its just powers?
- ☐ What are the people free—and even duty-bound—to do if the government fails or violates its purpose?
- ☐ Ought it to be easy or frequent for a people to overthrow and replace its government? If not, under which circumstances may they do so?
- ☐ Why did northern delegates, who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished, believe that compromising with southern delegates by omitting the issue of slavery from the Declaration’s list of grievances would be more likely to lead to the abolition of slavery than splitting with the southern colonies over the issue in 1776?
- ☐ How does the fact that America was founded with the words of the Declaration of Independence make America the exception in the history of nations, even exceptional?
- ☐ America is a country whose existence and purpose for existing rests on belief in and commitment to certain ideas its Founders asserted to be objectively true. What are these truths?

Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

- ☐ What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the war?
- ☐ What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- ☐ What were the major contributions and moments in George Washington’s generalship during the war?
- ☐ Why was the Battle of Saratoga so significant? What did the Americans gain from their newfound ally?
- ☐ What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
- ☐ What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?

- ☐ Why were soldiers on the verge of mutiny in 1783? How did George Washington resolve the crisis?

Lesson 4 | The U.S. Constitution

- ☐ What did the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 do, especially with respect to the future of western lands, public education, and preventing the expansion of slavery?
- ☐ What were the specific problems of the Articles of Confederation? What issues did they permit to arise and fester?
- ☐ What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?
- ☐ What did *The Federalist* argue about each of the following:
 - human nature
 - ambition
 - faction
 - majority tyranny
 - republicanism
 - morality
- ☐ What were the major disagreements at the Constitutional Convention?
- ☐ What was the great issue regarding representation? How was it resolved?
- ☐ What are the various ways that the Constitution addresses the issue of faction, as outlined in *Federalist* 10?
- ☐ What is federalism? Why is it important?
- ☐ What is separation of powers, why is it a principle for the arrangement of government power, and how does the Constitution achieve this?
- ☐ Contrast the character of the House of Representatives to that of the Senate, explaining the purpose for these differences and how their features (method of selection, qualifications, term lengths, percentage of each house up for election at a given time, etc.) contribute to their respective purposes.
- ☐ What is the Electoral College, how did it originally work, and what is its purpose?
- ☐ How did the Constitution balance freedom (majority rule) and justice (preserving minority rights)?
- ☐ What was the nature of the Founders' compromise with slavery at the time of the founding for the sake of the union? Would it have been possible to abolish slavery in the southern colonies without union?
- ☐ Why did many in the founding generation expect that slavery would eventually die out so long as it was not allowed to expand?
- ☐ What efforts did some founders make to abolish slavery?
- ☐ What are the three clauses related to slavery in the Constitution? Explain each.
- ☐ How was the Three-Fifth Compromise a partial victory for slaveholders and a partial victory for abolitionists?
- ☐ Why does the Constitution make it so hard for it to be amended?
- ☐ What do each of the following amendments in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why: 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 9th, and 10th?
- ☐ To whom are elected officials and the Constitution itself ultimately subject?

Name _____

Date _____

Test — The American Founding

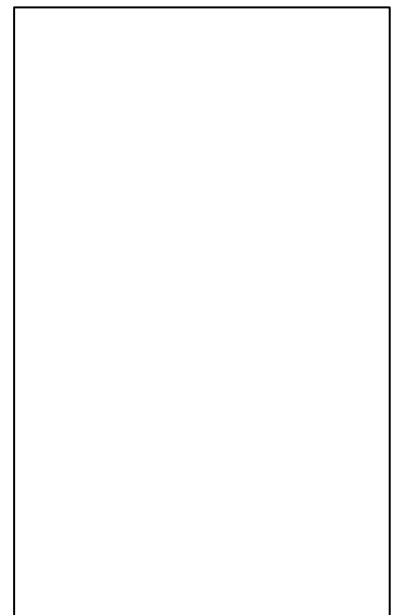
Unit 2

TIMELINE*Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.*

1754–63	_____	A. Battle of New York
1763	_____	B. Battle of Saratoga
1770	_____	C. Battle of Trenton
1773	_____	D. Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
1774	_____	E. Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
(1775) 1776–83	_____	F. Boston Massacre
1775	_____	G. Boston Tea Party
July 4, 1776	_____	H. Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
1776 (Fall)	_____	I. Constitution takes effect; George Washington elected president
1776 (Christmas)	_____	J. Declaration of Independence signed
1777	_____	K. French & Indian War
1777–78	_____	L. Intolerable Acts
1781	_____	M. Proclamation Line
1783	_____	N. Treaty of Paris
Sept. 17, 1787	_____	O. War of Independence
1789	_____	P. Winter Quarters at Valley Forge

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Draw a line indicating the border that the Proclamation of 1763 attempted to establish.
2. Label with dots the locations of Lexington and Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, Philadelphia, New York, Trenton, Saratoga, Valley Forge, and Yorktown.

Map courtesy of *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank.

3. Following the French and Indian War, American colonists were expecting unbridled opportunities to expand westward. To prevent conflict with Native Americans, however, the British Parliament passed the _____, which prohibited settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains and signified a subtle but marked shift in British policy away from “salutary neglect.”
4. Parliament’s first act to raise more money for the defense of the colonies, but especially to help pay off Britain’s debt from the French and Indian War, was the _____ on products such as molasses, which actually lowered the customs duty but, to the ire of the colonists, enforced the collection thereof, indicating another shift away from “salutary neglect.”
5. In response to the Stamp Act, a group of merchants, smugglers, and ordinary craftsmen formed the Sons of Liberty, led by _____. Their actions were more characteristic of a mob and represented one of two simultaneous approaches to addressing British violations of rights.
6. Perhaps the most influential of colonial leaders was _____, whose age and fame from his enterprises as a printer, inventor, scientist, writer, deist, pioneer in electricity, and author of *Poor Richard’s Almanac* lent not only superb intellect and experience to the revolutionary mind but also respectability.
7. While the Boston Massacre shifted colonial opinion against the British, _____’s devotion to justice led him to defend the British soldiers against charges of murder. As a result of his principled defense of even his would-be enemies, he gained a respected role in colonial leadership and would emerge as one of the most vocal leaders of the colonial cause.
8. The occupation of Boston following the Boston Tea Party aroused sympathy from other colonies and led the secret assemblies of each colony, called _____, to meet in the fall of 1774 in Philadelphia in order to form a plan of united, peaceful resistance to Britain. This body of colonial leaders is known by history as the First Continental Congress.
9. In May of 1775, generals Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold launched a surprise attack on _____ on Lake Champlain in upstate New York. The siege was successful without a shot, and it captured cannons which almost a year later would be floated down the lake, carted across muddy spring roads, and erected in the middle of the night to liberate Boston.
10. In the early summer of 1775, colonial leaders meeting in Philadelphia agreed to adopt the New England militia outside of Boston and join to it the militia of other colonies to form the _____.
11. Public opinion was still by no means in favor of independence as 1776 began, but such sentiments rapidly began to change with the publication and wide dissemination of *Common Sense* by _____, who articulated clearly the situation of the colonists and made strong appeals to a more courageous approach to securing justice and freedom via independence.

12. With the Congress's Olive Branch Petition having been rejected, in June of 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved that the congress vote "[t]hat these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." "In case the Congress agreed thereto," a committee was formed to draft a statement of independence. The primary author of the Declaration of Independence was the young, talented aristocrat from Virginia named _____.
13. The general apathy of the average Englishman toward the war in North America urged Great Britain to hire a number of Hessian _____, or soldiers for hire, from the German kingdoms. Using such soldiers against their supposed fellow countrymen convinced many undecided Americans to abandon the British and to support the Patriots' cause.
14. While the British fought almost exclusively with the European tactic of firing a volley from one line of soldiers across a field toward another line, followed by bayonet combat, the American forces combined this style with what would nowadays be called _____, or fighting from cover or by surprise attack.
15. The first battle after the Declaration of Independence was signed was a disaster for Washington's army. His poor defense of this harbor city led to his army's quick routing and months-long retreat to Pennsylvania. Thus did the Battle of _____ bode ill for the American war effort.
16. As a result of a shocking English surrender in upstate New York, the United States was able to secure the alliance with the Netherlands and, most importantly, the _____ Treaty of Alliance.
17. The American War of Independence, which had informally begun at the battles of Lexington and Concord, was drawn out into its sixth year by 1781. After a successful victory at the Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina, led by the Marquis de Lafayette and _____, the Americans forced General Cornwallis to retreat north to Virginia, where he made camp twenty-five miles from Jamestown with the Chesapeake Bay at his back.
18. Citing numerous weaknesses in the existing national government, in 1787 Congress called for a _____ made up of members appointed by each state to suggest improvements to the existing government. Instead, during the summer months, these fifty-five delegates in Philadelphia crafted an entirely new government as set forth in the document known as the United States Constitution.
19. Known as the Father of the Constitution, _____ came to Philadelphia in 1787 with many ideas for the Constitution and kept detailed notes of the Convention. One significant area of compromise was over the issue of representation, where his Virginia Plan was combined with the New Jersey Plan to propose a bicameral legislature with two different forms of representation.
20. To convince the people of America to encourage their states' ratifying conventions toward approving the new plan of government, three men writing under the pseudonym Publius, after the ancient Roman republican statesman, wrote a series of eighty-five newspaper articles defending and explaining the new plan. Collectively, these papers are known as *The* _____.

21. Washington's ablest assistant was Colonel _____, an orphan who became a successful lawyer and pamphlet writer before the Revolution and whose leadership in the artillery regiment earned him a promotion to Washington's staff. He left Washington's headquarters to lead a successful and crucial capture of Redoubt No. 10, which hastened an American–French victory in the final battle of the war, and he was a chief proponent of the new Constitution eight years later.
22. The ratification debates ultimately resulted in a compromise between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, in which a _____ was agreed to be included as amendments to the Constitution. While heavily debated at the time, the insistence by Anti-Federalists to state explicitly fundamental freedoms that the government may not violate has proven to be one of their greatest contributions to the American experiment in self-government.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

23. Trenton

24. Saratoga

25. Yorktown

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words and identify the source.

26. “We hold these _____ to be _____, that all men are _____, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain _____, that among these are _____, _____ and the pursuit of _____.—That to _____ these rights, _____ are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the _____,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes _____ of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to _____ it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”

Source: _____

27. “_____, _____, and _____, being necessary to good _____ and the _____ of mankind, _____ and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”

Source: _____

28. “We the _____ of the United States, in Order to form a _____, establish _____, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the _____ to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this _____ for the United States of America.”

Source: _____

29. “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of _____ or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of _____, or of the _____; or the right of the people peaceably to _____, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

Source: _____

30. “A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and _____, shall not be infringed.”

Source: _____

31. “...nor shall [any person] be compelled in any criminal case to be- a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without _____....”

Source: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

32. Tell the biography of George Washington, from his childhood through the Constitutional Convention.

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

33. What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists' freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
34. Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do (five actions)?
35. What actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?
36. In its opening lines, what is the Declaration claiming to be doing, and what does it want its audience to do in response?
37. What is a "self-evident" truth?
38. What does it mean that "all men are created equal"?
39. According to the Declaration of Independence, from where do natural rights come? What does "unalienable" mean?
40. Why did Jefferson use "the pursuit of happiness" instead of "property"?
41. What is the purpose of government? From whence comes a government's power?

42. Why did northern delegates to both the Second Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished believe that compromising with southern delegates by limiting but not outlawing slavery was the only way slavery could ever be abolished in the South?
43. What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the War of Independence?
44. What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?
45. What did the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 do, especially with respect to the future of western lands, public education, and preventing the expansion of slavery?
46. What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?
47. What is separation of powers, why is it a principle for the arrangement of government power, and how does the Constitution achieve this?
48. What are the three clauses related to slavery in the Constitution? Explain each.
49. Why does the Constitution make it so hard for it to be amended?
50. To whom are elected officials and the Constitution itself ultimately subject?

Writing Assignment — The American Founding

Unit 2

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 500–800-word essay answering this question:

Based on the documents, thoughts, words, and deeds that founded the United States, what is America, what is its purpose, and how do its people and institutions attempt to fulfill its purpose?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Richard Bland

Benjamin Franklin

The Virginia House of Burgesses

John Adams

Patrick Henry

Edmund Burke

Thomas Paine

The Second Continental Congress

George Washington

Phyllis Wheatley

The United States Congress

The American People

James Madison

Alexander Hamilton

RICHARD BLAND, MEMBER OF THE VIRGINIA HOUSE OF BURGESSES

An Inquiry into the rights of the British colonies

PAMPHLET EXCERPTS

1766

Williamsburg, Virginia

BACKGROUND

Virginian Richard Bland wrote this pamphlet in the earliest years of the growing conflict between the British Parliament and the British colonists in North America.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Upon what principles is the British Constitution founded, according to Bland?
2. Why is the British Constitution imperfect according to Bland?
3. To what do the colonists have recourse when they are deprived of their civil rights?

Richard Bland, *An inquiry into the rights of the British colonies, intended as an answer to The regulations lately made concerning the colonies, and the taxes imposed upon them considered. : In a letter addressed to the author of that pamphlet* (Williamsburg, VA: Alexander Purdie, & Co., 1766).

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

The Question is whether the Colonies are represented in the British Parliament or not? You affirm it to be indubitable Fact that they are represented, and from thence you infer a Right in the Parliament to impose Taxes of every Kind upon them. You do not insist upon the Power, but upon the Right of Parliament to impose Taxes upon the Colonies. This is
5 certainly a very proper Distinction, as Right and Power have very different Meanings, and convey very different Ideas: For had you told us that the Parliament of Great Britain have Power, by the Fleets and Armies of the Kingdom, to impose Taxes and to raise Contributions upon the Colonies, I should not have to presumed to dispute the Point with you; but as you insist upon the Right only, I must beg Leave to differ from you in Opinion,
10 and shall give my Reasons for it....

I cannot comprehend how Men who are excluded from voting at the Election of Members of Parliament can be represented in that Assembly, or how those who are elected do not sit in the House as Representatives of their Constituents. These Assertions appear to me not only paradoxical, but contrary to the fundamental Principles of the English Constitution.

15 To illustrate this important Disquisition, I conceive we must recur to the civil Constitution of England, and from thence deduce and ascertain the Rights and Privileges of the People at the first Establishment of the Government, and discover the Alterations that have been made in them from Time to Time; and it is from the Laws of the Kingdom, founded upon the Principles of the Law of Nature, that we are to show the Obligation every Member of
20 the State is under to pay Obedience to its Institutions. From these Principles I shall endeavor to prove that the Inhabitants of Britain, who have no Vote in the Election of Members of Parliament, are not represented in that Assembly, and yet that they owe Obedience to the Laws of Parliament; which, as to them, are constitutional, and not arbitrary. As to the Colonies, I shall consider them afterwards.

25 Now it is a Fact, as certain as History can make it, that the present civil Constitution of England derives its Original from those Saxons who, coming over to the Assistance of the Britons in the Time of their King Vortiger made themselves Masters of the Kingdom, and es-

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

tablished a Form of Government in it similar to that they had been accustomed to live under in their native Country as similar, at least, as the Difference of their Situation and Circumstances would permit. This Government, like that from whence they came, was founded upon Principles of the most perfect Liberty: The conquered Lands were divided
5 among the Individuals in Proportion to the Rank they held in the Nation, and every Freeman, that is, every Freeholder, was a member of their Wittinagemot, or Parliament. The other Part of the Nation, or the Non-Proprietors of Land, were of little Estimation. They, as in Germany, were either Slaves, mere Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water, or Freedmen; who, being of foreign Extraction, had been manumitted by their Masters, and were
10 excluded from the high Privilege of having a Share in the Administration of the Commonwealth, unless they became Proprietors of Land (which they might obtain by Purchase or Donation) and in that Case they has a Right to sit with the Freemen, in the Parliament or sovereign Legislature of the State.

How long this Right of being personally present in the Parliament continued, or when the
15 Custom of sending Representatives to this great Council of the Nation, was first introduced, cannot be determined with Precision; but let the Custom of Representation be introduced when it will, it is certain that every Freeman, or, which was the same Thing in the Eye of the Constitution, every Freeholder, had a right to vote at the Election of Members of Parliament, and therefore might be said, with great Propriety, to be present in that Assembly, either in his own Person or by Representation. This Right of Election in the Freeholders is evident from the Statute 1st Hen. 5. Ch. 1st, which limits the Right of Election to
20 those Freeholders only who are resident in the Counties the Day of the Date of the Writ of Election; but yet every resident Freeholder indiscriminately, let his Freehold be ever so small, had a Right to vote at the Election of Knights for his County so that they were actually
25 represented. And this Right of Election continued until it was taken away by the Statute 8th Hen. 6 Ch. 7. Shillings by the year at the least.

Now this statute was deprivative of the Right of those Freeholders who came within the Description of it; but of what did it deprive them, if they were represented notwithstanding their Right of Election was taken from them? The mere Act of voting was nothing, of no

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Value, if they were represented as constitutionally without it as with it: But when by the fundamental Principles of the Constitution they were to be considered as Members of the Legislature, and as such had a right to be present in Person, or to send their Procurators or Attornies, and by them to give their Suffrage in the supreme Council of the Nation, this
5 Statute deprived them of an essential Right; a Right without which by the ancient Constitution of the State, all other Liberties were but a Species of Bondage.

As these Freeholders then were deprived of their Rights to substitute Delegates to Parliament, they could not be represented, but were placed in the same Condition with the Non-Proprietors of Land, who were excluded by the original Constitution from having any Share
10 in the Legislature, but who, notwithstanding such Exclusion, are bound to pay Obedience to the Laws of Parliament, even if they should consist of nine Tenths of the People of Britain; but then the Obligation of these Laws does not arise from their being virtually represented in Parliament, but from a quite different Reason....

From hence it is evident that the Obligation of the Laws of Parliament upon the People
15 of Britain who have no Right to be Electors does not arise from their being virtually represented, but from a quite different Principle; a Principle of the Law of Nature, true, certain, and universal, applicable to every Sort of Government, and not contrary to the common Understandings of Mankind.

If what you say is real Fact, that the nine Tenths of the People of Britain are deprived of the
20 high Privilege of being Electors, it shows a great Defect in the present Constitution, which has departed so much from its original Purity; but never can prove that those People are even virtually represented in Parliament. And here give me Leave to observe that it would be a Work worthy of the best patriotick Spirits in the Nation to effectuate an Alteration in this putrid Part of the Constitution; and, by restoring it to its pristine Perfection, prevent
25 any "Order or Rank of the Subjects from imposing upon or binding the rest without their Consent." But, I fear, the Gangrene has taken too deep Hold to be eradicated in these Days of Venality.

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But if those People of Britain who are excluded from being Electors are not represented in Parliament, the Conclusion is much stronger against the People of the Colonies being represented; who are considered by the British Government itself, in every Instance of Parliamentary Legislation, as a distinct People....

- 5 As then we can receive no Light from the Laws of the Kingdom, or from ancient History, to direct us in our Inquiry, we must have Recourse to the Law of Nature, and those Rights of Mankind which flow from it.

- I have observed before that when Subjects are deprived of their civil Rights, or are dissatisfied with the Place they hold in the Community, they have a natural Right to quit the Society of which they are Members, and to retire into another Country. Now when Men exercise this Right, and withdraw themselves from their Country, they recover their natural Freedom and Independence: The Jurisdiction and Sovereignty of the State they have quitted ceases; and if they unite, and by common Consent take Possession of a New Country, and form themselves into a political Society, they become a sovereign State, independent of the State from which they have separated. If then the Subjects of England have a natural Right to relinquish their Country, and by retiring from it, and associating together, to form a new political Society and independent State, they must have a Right, by Compact with Sovereign of the Nation, to remove into a new Country, and to form a civil Establishment upon the Terms of the Compact. In such a Case, the Terms of the Compact must be obligatory and binding upon the Parties; they must be the Magna Charta, the fundamental Principles of Government, to this new Society; and every Infringement of them must be wrong, and may be opposed. It will be necessary then to examine whether any such Compact was entered into between the Sovereign and those English Subjects who established themselves in America.
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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

To Lord Kaims

LETTER

February 25, 1767
London, Great Britain

BACKGROUND

While in Great Britain, the famous American colonist Benjamin Franklin addressed this letter to his friend, Lord Kaims.

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I Received your Favour of Jan. 19. You have kindly reliev'd me from the Pain I had long been under. You are Goodness itself.

I ought long since to have answered yours of Decr. 25. 1765. I never receiv'd a Letter that contain'd Sentiments more suitable to my own. It found me under much Agitation of Mind
5 on the very important Subject it treated. It fortified me greatly in the Judgment I was inclined to form (tho' contrary to the general Vogue) on the then delicate and critical Situation of Affairs between Britain and her Colonies; and on that weighty Point their Union: You guess'd aright in supposing I could not be a Mute in that Play. I was extreemly busy, attending Members of both Houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual Hurry from Morning to Night till the Affair was happily ended. During the Course
10 of it, being called before the House of Commons, I spoke my Mind pretty plainly. Inclos'd I send you the imperfect Account that was taken of that Examination; you will there see how intirely we agree, except in a Point of Fact of which you could not but be mis-inform'd, the Papers at that time being full of mistaken Assertions, that the Colonies had been the
15 Cause of the War, and had ungratefully refus'd to bear any part of the Expence of it. I send

Benjamin Franklin, "From Benjamin Franklin to Lord Kames, 25 February 1767," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-14-02-0032>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 14, January 1 through December 31, 1767, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970, pp. 62–71.]

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it you now, because I apprehend some late Incidents are likely to revive the Contest between the two Countries. I fear it will be a mischievous one. It becomes a Matter of great Importance that clear Ideas should be formed on solid Principles, both in Britain and America, of the true political Relation between them, and the mutual Duties belonging to that Relation. Till this is done, they will be often jarring. I know none whose Knowledge, Sagacity and Impartiality, qualify them so thoroughly for such a Service, as yours do you. I wish therefore you would consider it. You may thereby be the happy Instrument of great Good to the Nation, and of preventing much Mischief and Bloodshed. I am fully persuaded with you, that a consolidating Union, by a fair and equal Representation of all the Parts of this Empire in Parliament, is the only firm Basis on which its political Grandeur and Stability can be founded. Ireland once wish'd it, but now rejects it. The Time has been when the Colonies might have been pleas'd with it; they are now indifferent about it; and, if 'tis much longer delay'd, they too will refuse it. But the Pride of this People cannot bear the Thoughts of it. Every Man in England seems to consider himself as a Piece of a Sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the Throne with the King, and talks of OUR Subjects in the Colonies. The Parliament cannot well and wisely make Laws suited to the Colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their Circumstances, Abilities, Temper, &c. This it cannot be without Representatives from thence. And yet it is fond of this Power, and averse to the only Means of duly acquiring the necessary Knowledge for exercising it, which is desiring to be omnipotent without being omniscient.

I have mentioned that the Contest is like to be revived. It is on this Occasion. In the same Session with the Stamp Act, an Act was pass'd to regulate the Quartering of Soldiers in America. When the Bill was first brought in, it contain'd a Clause empowering the Officers to quarter their Soldiers in private Houses; this we warmly oppos'd, and got it omitted. The Bill pass'd however, with a Clause that empty Houses, Barns, &c. should be hired for them; and that the respective Provinces where they were, should pay the Expence, and furnish Firing, Bedding, Drink, and some other Articles, to the Soldiers, gratis. There is no way for

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any Province to do this, but by the Assembly's making a Law to raise the Money. Pensilvania Assembly has made such a Law. New York Assembly has refus'd to do it. And now all the Talk here is to send a Force to compel them.

5 The Reasons given by the Assembly to the Governor for their Refusal, are, That they understand the Act to mean the furnishing such things to Soldiers only while on their March thro' the Country, and not to great Bodies of Soldiers, to be fixt as at present in the Province, the Burthen in the latter Case being greater than the Inhabitants can bear: That it would put it in the Power of the Captain General to oppress the Province at pleasure, &c. But there is suppos'd to be another Reason at bottom, which they intimate, tho' they do not
10 plainly express it; to wit, that it is of the nature of an internal Tax laid on them by Parliament, which has no Right so to do. Their Refusal is here called Rebellion, and Punishment is thought of.

Now waiving that Point of Right, and supposing the Legislatures in America subordinate to the Legislature of Great Britain, one might conceive, I think, a Power in the superior
15 Legislature to forbid the inferior Legislature's making particular Laws; but to enjoin it to make a particular Law, contrary to its own Judgment, seems improper, an Assembly or Parliament not being an executive Officer of Government, whose Duty it is, in Law-making, to obey Orders; but a deliberative Body, who are to consider what comes before them, its Propriety, Practicability, or Possibility, and to determine accordingly. The very Nature
20 of a Parliament seems to be destroy'd, by supposing it may be bound and compell'd by a Law of a superior Parliament to make a Law contrary to its own Judgment.

Indeed the Act of Parliament in question has not, as in other Acts, when a Duty is enjoined, directed a Penalty on Neglect or Refusal, and a Mode of Recovering that Penalty. It seems therefore to the People in America as a mere Requisition, which they are at Liberty to comply with or not as it may suit or not suit the different Circumstances of different Colonies.
25 Pensilvania has therefore voluntarily comply'd. New York, as I said before, has refus'd. The Ministry that made the Act, and all their Adherents, call out for Vengeance. The present Ministry are perplexed, and the Measures they will finally take on the Occasion are unknown.

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But sure I am, that, if Force is us'd, great Mischief will ensue, the Affections of the People of America to this Country will be alienated, your Commerce will be diminished, and a total Separation of Interests be the final Consequence.

It is a common but mistaken Notion here, that the Colonies were planted at the Expence of Parliament, and that therefore the Parliament has a Right to tax them, &c. The Truth is, they were planted at the Expence of private Adventurers, who went over there to settle with Leave of the King given by Charter. On receiving this Leave and these Charters, the Adventurers voluntarily engag'd to remain the King's Subjects, though in a foreign Country, a Country which had not been conquer'd by either King or Parliament, but was possess'd by a free People. When our Planters arriv'd, they purchas'd the Lands of the Natives without putting King or Parliament to any Expence. Parliament had no hand in their Settlement, was never so much as consulted about their Constitution, and took no kind of Notice of them till many Years after they were established; never attempted to meddle with the Government of them, till that Period when it destroy'd the Constitution of all Parts of the Empire, and usurp'd a Power over Scotland, Ireland, Lords and King. I except only the two modern Colonies, or rather Attempts to make Colonies, (for they succeed but poorly, and as yet hardly deserve the Name of Colonies) I mean Georgia and Nova Scotia, which have been hitherto little better than Parliamentary Jobbs. Thus all the Colonies acknowledge the King as their Sovereign: His Governors there represent his Person. Laws are made by their Assemblies or little Parliaments, with the Governor's Assent, subject still to the King's Pleasure to confirm or annul them. Suits arising in the Colonies, and Differences between Colony and Colony, are not brought before your Lords of Parliament, as those within the Realm, but determined by the King in Council. In this View they seem so many separate little States, subject to the same Prince. The Sovereignty of the King is therefore easily understood. But nothing is more common here than to talk of the Sovereignty of Parliament, and the Sovereignty of this Nation over the Colonies; a kind of Sovereignty the Idea of which is not so clear, nor does it clearly appear on what Foundations it is established. On the other hand it seems necessary for the common Good of the Empire, that a Power be

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lodg'd somewhere to regulate its general Commerce; this, as Things are at present circumstanc'd, can be plac'd no where so properly as in the Parliament of Great Britain; and therefore tho' that Power has in some Instances been executed with great Partiality to Britain and Prejudice to the Colonies, they have nevertheless always submitted to it. Customhouses
5 are established in all of them by Virtue of Laws made here, and the Duties constantly paid, except by a few Smugglers, such as are here and in all Countries; but internal Taxes laid on them by Parliament are and ever will be objected to, for the Reasons that you will see in the mentioned Examination.

10 Upon the whole, I have lived so great a Part of my Life in Britain, and have formed so many Friendships in it, that I love it and wish its Prosperity, and therefore wish to see that Union on which alone I think it can be secur'd and establish'd. As to America, the Advantages of such an Union to her are not so apparent. She may suffer at present under the arbitrary Power of this Country; she may suffer for a while in a Separation from it; but these are temporary Evils that she will outgrow. Scotland and Ireland are differently circumstanc'd.
15 Confin'd by the Sea, they can scarcely increase in Numbers, Wealth and Strength so as to overbalance England. But America, an immense Territory, favour'd by Nature with all Advantages of Climate, Soil, great navigable Rivers and Lakes, &c. must become a great Country, populous and mighty; and will in a less time than is generally conceiv'd be able to shake off any Shackles that may be impos'd on her, and perhaps place them on the Imposers. In
20 the mean time, every Act of Oppression will sour their Tempers, lessen greatly if not annihilate the Profits of your Commerce with them, and hasten their final Revolt: For the Seeds of Liberty are universally sown there, and nothing can eradicate them. And yet there remains among that People so much Respect, Veneration and Affection for Britain, that, if cultivated prudently, with kind Usage and Tenderness for their Privileges, they might be
25 easily govern'd still for Ages, without Force or any considerable Expence. But I do not see here a sufficient Quantity of the Wisdom that is necessary to produce such a Conduct, and I lament the Want of it.

I borrow'd at Millar's the new Edition of your Principles of Equity, and have read with great Pleasure the preliminary Discourse. I have never before met with any thing so satisfactory

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on the Subject. While Reading it, I made a few Remarks as I went along: They are not of much Importance, but I send you the Paper.

I know the Lady you mention, having, when in England before, met with her once or twice at Lord Bath's. I remember I then entertain'd the same Opinion of her that you express. On
5 the Strength of your kind Recommendation, I purpose soon to wait on her.

This is unexpectedly grown a long Letter. The Visit to Scotland, and the Art of Virtue, we will talk of hereafter. It is now time to say, that I am, with increasing Esteem and Affection,
My dear Friend, Yours ever

10 B Franklin

VIRGINIA HOUSE OF BURGESSES

Resolves

LEGISLATIVE RESOLUTION

May 16, 1765

The Capitol | Williamsburg, Virginia

BACKGROUND

The Virginia House of Burgesses passed this resolution in response to the British Parliament's Stamp Act of 1765.

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Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the sole Right of imposing Taxes on the Inhabitants of this his Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia, is now, and ever hath been, legally and constitutionally vested in the House of Burgesses, lawfully convened according to the ancient and establish Practice, with the Consent of the Council, and of his Majesty, the King of Great-Britain, or his Governor, for the Time being.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that it is the undoubted Privilege of the Inhabitants of this Colony, to petition their Sovereign for Redress of Grievances; and that it is lawful and expedient to procure the Concurrence of his Majesty's other Colonies, in dutiful Addresses, praying the royal Interposition in Favour of the Violated Rights of America.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that all Trials for Treason, Misprison of Treason, or for any Felony or Crime whatsoever, committed and done in this his Majesty's said Colony and Dominion, by any Person or Persons, residing in this Colony, suspected of any Crime whatsoever, committed therein, and sending such Person, or Persons,

John Pendleton Kennedy, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1766-1769* (Richmond, VA., 1906).

to Places beyond the Sea, to be tried, is highly derogatory of the Rights of British subjects; as thereby the inestimable Privilege of being tried by a Jury from the Vicinage, as well as the Liberty of summoning and producing Witnesses on such Trial, will be taken away from the Party accused.

- 5 Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that an humble, dutiful, and loyal Address, be presented to his Majesty, to assure him of our inviolable Attachment to his sacred Person and Government; and to beseech his royal Interposition, as the Father of all his people, however remote from the Seat of his Empire, to quiet the Minds of his loyal Subjects of this Colony, and to avert from them, those Dangers and Miseries which will ensue, from
- 10 the seizing and carrying beyond Sea, any Person residing in America, suspected of any Crime whatsoever, to be tried in any other Manner, than by the ancient and long established Course of Proceeding.

NOVANGLUS (JOHN ADAMS)

A History of the Dispute with America,
From Its Origin in 1754 to the Present Time,
No. VII

ARTICLE EXCERPTS

1774

Boston Gazette | Boston, Massachusetts

BACKGROUND

John Adams wrote this as part of a series of articles in 1774 under the pseudonym *Novanglus* in response to articles by Daniel Leonard, who himself was writing under the pseudonym *Massachusettensis* and who was critical of the patriots' position against Great Britain over the past several years.

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To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay

My Friends,

Our rhetorical magician, in his paper of January the 9th continues to wheedle. "You want nothing but to know the true state of facts, to rectify whatever is amiss." He becomes an advocate for the poor of Boston! Is for making great allowance for the whigs. "The whigs are too valuable a part of the community to lose. He would not draw down the vengeance of Great Britain. He shall become an advocate for the leading whigs," &C. It is in vain for us to enquire after the sincerity or consistency of all this. It is agreeable to the precept of Horace:

10 *Irritat, mulcet falsis terroribus implet, ut magus.*

John Adams, *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations, by his Grandson Charles Francis Adams*, Vol. 4 (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1856), 71-85, https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/adams-the-works-of-john-adams-vol-4#lf1431-04_head_005.

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And that is all he desires.

After a long discourse, which has nothing in it but what has been answered already, he comes to a great subject indeed, the British constitution; and undertakes to prove that “the authority of parliament extends to the colonies.”...

- 5 The question is not therefore, whether the authority of parliament extends to the colonies in any case; for it is admitted by the whigs that it does in that of commerce: But whether it extends in all cases....

- 10 If the English parliament were to govern us, where did they get the right, without our consent to take the Scottish parliament, into a participation of the government over us? When this was done, was the American share of the democracy of the constitution consulted? If not, were not the Americans deprived of the benefit of the democratical part of the constitution?...

- 15 If a new constitution was to be formed for the whole British dominions, and a supream legislature coextensive with it, upon the general principles of the English constitution, an equal mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, let us see what would be necessary. England have six millions of people we will say: America has three. England has five hundred members in the house of commons we will say: America must have two hundred and fifty. Is it possible she should maintain them there, or could they at such a distance know the state, the sense or exigences of their constituents? Ireland too must be incorporated, and send another hundred or two of members. The territory in the East-Indies and West India islands must send members. And after all this, every navigation act, every act of trade must be repealed. America and the East and West Indies and Africa too, must have equal liberty to trade with all the world, that the favoured inhabitants of Great-Britain have now. Will the ministry thank Massachusettensis for becoming an advocate for such an union and incorporation of all the dominions of the king of Great-Britain? Yet without such an union, a legislature which shall be sovereign and supream in all cases whatsoever, and co-extensive with the empire, can never be established upon the general principles of the English constitution, which Massachusettensis lays down, viz. an equal mixture of monarchy,
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aristocracy and democracy. Nay further, in order to comply with this principle, this new government, this mighty Colossus which is to bestride the narrow world, must have an house of lords consisting of Irish, East and West Indian, African, American, as well as English and Scottish noblemen; for the nobility ought to be scattered about all the dominions, as well as the representatives of the commons. If in twenty years more America should have 5 six millions of inhabitants, as there is a boundless territory to fill up, she must have five hundred representatives. Upon these principles, if in forty years, she should have twelve millions, a thousand; and if the inhabitants of the three kingdoms remain as they are, being already full of inhabitants, what will become of your supream legislative? It will be trans- 10 lated, crown and all, to America. This is a sublime system for America. It will flatter those ideas of independency, which the tories impute to them, if they have any such, more than any other plan of independency, that I have ever heard projected....

Is it not astonishing then, that any British minister should ever have considered this subject so little as to believe it possible for him to new model all our governments, to tax us by an 15 authority that never taxed us before, and subdue us to an implicit obedience to a legislature, that millions of us scarcely ever tho't any thing about.

I have said that the practice of free governments alone can be quoted with propriety, to shew the sense of nations. But the sense and practice of nations is not enough. Their practice must be reasonable, just and right, or it will not govern Americans.

20 Absolute monarchies, whatever their practice may be, are nothing to us. For as Harrington observes, "Absolute monarchy, as that of the Turks, neither plants its people at home nor abroad, otherwise than as tenants for life or at will; wherefore its national and provincial government is all one."

I deny therefore that the practice of free nations, or the opinions of the best writers upon 25 the law of nations, will warrant the position of Massachusettensis, that when a nation takes possession of a distant territory, that becomes a part of the state equally with its ancient possessions. The practice of free nations, and the opinions of the best writers, are in general on the contrary.

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I agree, that “two supreme and independent authorities cannot exist in the same state,” any more than two supream beings in one universe. And therefore I contend, that our provincial legislatures are the only supream authorities in our colonies. Parliament, notwithstanding this, may be allowed an authority supreme and sovereign over the ocean, which may be
5 limited by the banks of the ocean, or the bounds of our charters; our charters give us no authority over the high seas. Parliament has our consent to assume a jurisdiction over them. And here is a line fairly drawn between the rights of Britain and the rights of the colonies, viz. the banks of the ocean, or low water mark. The line of division between common law and civil, or maritime law. If this is not sufficient—if parliament are at a loss for any prin-
10 ciple of natural, civil, maritime, moral or common law, on which to ground any authority over the high seas, the Atlantic especially, let the colonies be treated like reasonable creatures, and they will discover great ingenuity and modesty: The acts of trade and navigation might be confirmed by provincial laws, and carried into execution by our own courts and juries, and in this case illicit trade would be cut up by the roots forever. I knew the smug-
15 gling tories in New-York and Boston would cry out against this, because it would not only destroy their profitable game of smuggling, but their whole place and pension system. But the whigs, that is a vast majority of the whole continent, would not regard the smuggling tories. In one word, if public principles and motives and arguments, were alone to determine this dispute between the two countries, it might be settled forever, in a few hours; but
20 the everlasting clamours of prejudice, passion and private interest, drown every consideration of that sort, and are precipitating us into a civil war.

“If then we are a part of the British empire, we must be subject to the supreme power of the state, which is vested in the estates in parliament.”

Here again we are to be conjured out of our senses by the magic in the words “British em-
25 pire,”—and “supreme power of the state.” But however it may sound, I say we are not a part of the British empire. Because the British government is not an empire. The governments of France, Spain, &c. are not empires, but monarchies, supposed to be governed by fixed fundamental laws, tho' not really. The British government, is still less intituled to the style of an empire: it is a limitted monarchy. If Aristotle, Livy, and Harrington, knew what

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a republic was, the British constitution is much more like a republic than an empire. They define a republic to be a government of laws, and not of men. If this definition is just, the British constitution is nothing more nor less than a republic, in which the king is first magistrate. This office being hereditary, and being possessed of such ample and splendid prerogatives, is no objection to the government's being a republic, as long as it is bound by fixed laws, which the people have a voice in making, and a right to defend. An empire is a despotism, and an emperor a despot, bound by no law or limitation, but his own will: it is a stretch of tyranny beyond absolute monarchy. For altho' the will of an absolute monarch is law, yet his edicts must be registered by parliaments. Even this formality is not necessary in an empire. There the maxim is *quod principi placuit legis, habet vigorem*, even without having that will and pleasure recorded. There are but three empires now in Europe, the German, or Holy Roman, the Russian and the Ottoman.

There is another sense indeed in which the word empire is used, in which it may be applied to the government of Geneva, or any other republic, as well as to monarchy, or despotism. In this sense it is synonymous with government, rule or dominion. In this sense, we are within the dominion, rule or government of the king of Great-Britain.

The question should be, whether we are a part of the kingdom of Great-Britain: this is the only language, known in English laws. We are not then a part of the British kingdom, realm or state; and therefore the supreme power of the kingdom, realm or state, is not upon these principles, the supreme power over us. That "supreme power over America is vested in the estates in parliament," is an affront to us; for there is not an acre of American land represented there—there are no American estates in parliament.

To say that we "must be" subject, seems to betray a consciousness that we are not by any law or upon any principles, but those of meer power; and an opinion that we ought to be, or that it is necessary that we should be. But if this should be admitted, for argument sake only, what is the consequence? The consequences that may fairly be drawn are these. That Britain has been imprudent enough to let Colonies be planted, untill they are become numerous and important, without ever having wisdom enough to concert a plan for their

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government, consistent with her own welfare. That now it is necessary to make them submit to the authority of parliament: and because there is no principle of law or justice, or reason, by which she can effect it: therefore she will resort to war and conquest—to the maxim *delenda est Carthago*. These are the consequences, according to this writer's ideas.

- 5 We think the consequences are, that she has after 150 years, discovered a defect in her government, which ought to be supply'd by some just and reasonable means: that is, by the consent of the Colonies; for metaphysicians and politicians may dispute forever, but they will never find any other moral principle or foundation of rule or obedience, than the consent of governors and governed. She has found out that the great machine will not go any
- 10 longer without a new wheel. She will make this herself. We think she is making it of such materials and workmanship as will tear the whole machine to pieces. We are willing, if she can convince us of the necessity of such a wheel, to assist with artists and materials, in making it, so that it may answer the end: But she says, we shall have no share in it; and if we will not let her patch it up as she pleases, her Massachusettensis's and other advocates
- 15 tell us, she will tear it to pieces herself, by cutting our throats. To this kind of reasoning we can only answer, that we will not stand still to be butchered. We will defend our lives as long as providence shall enable us.

“It is beyond doubt, that it was the sense both of the Parent Country, and our Ancestors, that they were to remain subject to parliament.”

- 20 This has been often asserted, and as often contradicted, and fully confuted. The confutation, may not, however, have come to every eye which has read this News-Paper.

The public acts of kings and ministers of state, in that age, when our ancestors emigrated, which were not complained of, remonstrated and protested against by the commons, are look'd upon as sufficient proof of the “sense” of the parent country.

- 25 The charter to the treasurer and company of Virginia, 23 March 1609, grants ample powers of government, legislative, executive and judicial, and then contains an express covenant “to and with the said treasurer and company, their successors, factors and assigns, that they, and every of them, shall be free from all taxes and impositions forever, upon any goods or

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merchandizes, at any time or times hereafter, either upon importation thither, or exportation from thence, into our realm of England, or into any other of our realms or dominions.”

I agree with this writer that the authority of a supreme legislature, includes the right of taxation. Is not this quotation then an irresistible proof, that it was not the sense of king
5 James or his ministers, or of the ancestors of the Virginians, that they were “to remain subject to parliament as a supreme legislature.”

After this, James issued a proclamation, recalling this patent, but this was never regarded—then Charles issued another proclamation, which produced a remonstrance from Virginia, which was answered by a letter from the lords of the privy council, 22d July 1634, containing the royal assurance that “all their estates, trade, freedom, and privileges should be en-
10 joyed by them, in as extensive a manner, as they enjoyed them before those proclamations.”

Here is another evidence of the sense of the king and his ministers.

Afterwards parliament sent a squadron of ships to Virginia—the colony rose in open resistance, untill the parliamentary commissioners granted them conditions, that they should
15 enjoy the privileges of Englishmen; that their assembly should transact the affairs of the colony; that they should have a free trade to all places and nations, as the people of England; and 4thly, that “Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatever, and none shall be imposed on them without consent of their general assembly; and that neither forts nor castles be erected, or garrisons maintained without their consent.”

20 One would think this was evidence enough of the sense both of the parent country, and our ancestors.

After the acts of navigation were passed, Virginia sent agents to England, and a remonstrance against those acts. Charles, in answer, sent a declaration under the privy seal, 19 April 1676, affirming, “that taxes ought not to be laid upon the inhabitants and proprietors
25 of the colony, but by the common consent of the general assembly; except such impositions as the parliament should lay on the commodities imported into England from the colony.” And he ordered a charter, under the great seal, to secure this right to the Virginians.

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What becomes of the “sense” of the parent country, and our ancestors? For the ancestors of the Virginians, are our ancestors, when we speak of ourselves as Americans....

Afterwards in 1677, The General Court passed a law, which shews the sense of our ancestors in a very strong light. It is in these words. “This court being informed, by letters received this day from our messengers, of his Majesty's expectation that the acts of Trade and Navigation be exactly and punctually observed by this his Majesty's colony, his pleasure therein not having before now [been] signified unto us, either by express from his Majesty, or any of his ministers of state; It is therefore hereby ordered, and by the authority of this court enacted, that henceforth, all masters of ships, ketches, or other vessels, of greater or lesser burthen, arriving in, or sailing from any of the ports in this jurisdiction, do, without coven, or fraud, yield faithful and constant obedience unto, and observation of, all the said acts of navigation and trade, on penalty of suffering such forfeitures, loss and damage as in the said acts are particularly expressed. And the governor and council, and all officers, commissioned and authorized by them, are hereby ordered and required to see to the strict observation of the said acts.” As soon as they had passed this law, they wrote a letter to their agent, in which they acknowledge they had not conformed to the acts of trade; and they say, they “apprehended them to be an invasion of the rights, liberties and properties of the subjects of his Majesty in the colony, they not being represented in parliament, and according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England were bounded within the four seas, and did not reach America. However, as his Majesty had signified his pleasure, that these acts should be observed in the Massachusetts, they had made provision by a law of the colony, that they should be strictly attended from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and was a great damage to his Majesty's plantation.”

Thus it appears, that the ancient Massachusettians and Virginians, had precisely the same sense of the authority of parliament, viz. that it had none at all: and the same sense of the necessity, that by the voluntary act of the colonies, their free chearful consent, it should be allowed the power of regulating trade: and this is precisely the idea of the late Congress at Philadelphia, expressed in the fourth proposition in their Bill of Rights.

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But this was the sense of the parent country too, at that time; for K. Charles II. in a letter to the Massachusetts, after this law had been laid before him, has these words, "We are informed that you have lately made some good provision for observing the acts of trade and navigation, which is well pleasing unto us." Had he, or his ministers an idea that parliament
5 was the sovereign legislative over the Colony? If he had, would he not have censured this law as an insult to that legislature?

I sincerely hope, we shall see no more such round affirmations, that it was the sense of the parent country and our ancestors, that they were to remain subject to parliament.

So far from thinking themselves subject to parliament, that during the Interregnum, it was
10 their desire and design to have been a free commonwealth, an independent Republic; and after the restoration, it was with the utmost reluctance, that in the course of 16 or 17 years, they were bro't to take the oaths of allegiance: and for some time after this, they insisted upon taking an oath of fidelity to the Country, before that of allegiance to the King.

That "it is evident from the Charter itself," that they were to remain subject to parliament,
15 is very unaccountable, when there is not one word in either Charter concerning parliament.

That the authority of parliament has been exercised almost ever since the settlement of the country, is a mistake; for there is no instance, untill the first Navigation Act, which was in 1660, more than 40 years after the first settlement. This act was never executed or regarded, until 17 years afterwards, and then it was not executed as an act of parliament, but as a law
20 of the colony, to which the king agreed....

We have by our own express consent contracted to observe the navigation act, and by our implied consent, by long usage and uninterrupted acquiescence, have submitted to the other acts of trade, however grievous some of them may be. This may be compared to a treaty of commerce, by which those distinct states are cemented together, in perpetual
25 league and amity. And if any further ratifications of this pact or treaty are necessary, the colonies would readily enter into them, provided their other liberties were inviolate....

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The only proposition, in all this writer's long string of pretended absurdities, which he says follow from the position, that we are distinct states, is this,—That “as the king must govern each state by its parliament, those several parliaments would pursue the particular interest of its own state and however well disposed the king might be to pursue a line of interest

5 that was common to all, the checks and controul that he would meet with, would render it impossible.” Every argument ought to be allowed its full weight: and therefore candor obliges me to acknowledge, that here lies all the difficulty that there is in this whole controversy. There has been, from first to last, on both sides of the Atlantic, an idea, an apprehension that it was necessary, there should be some superintending power, to draw together

10 all the wills, and unite all the strength of the subjects in all the dominions, in case of war, and in the case of trade. The necessity of this, in case of trade, has been so apparent, that as has often been said, we have consented that parliament should exercise such a power. In case of war, it has by some been thought necessary. But in fact and experience, it has not been found so. What tho' the proprietary colonies, on account of disputes with the propri-

15 etors, did not come in so early to the assistance of the general cause in the last war, as they ought, and perhaps one of them not at all! The inconveniences of this were small, in comparison of the absolute ruin to the liberties of all which must follow the submission to parliament, in all cases, which would be giving up all the popular limitations upon the government. These inconveniences fell chiefly upon New England. She was necessitated to greater

20 exertions. But she had rather suffer these again and again, than others infinitely greater. However this subject has now been so long in contemplation, that it is fully understood now, in all the colonies: so that there is no danger, in case of another war, of any colonies failing of its duty.

But admitting the proposition in its full force, that it is absolutely necessary there should

25 be a supreme power, coextensive with all the dominions, will it follow that parliament as now constituted has a right to assume this supream jurisdiction? By no means.

A union of the colonies might be projected, and an American legislature: or if America has 3,000,000 people, and the whole dominions twelve, she ought to send a quarter part of all

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the members to the house of commons, and instead of holding parliaments always at Westminster, the haughty members for Great-Britain, must humble themselves, one session in four, to cross the Atlantic, and hold the parliament in America.

5 There is no avoiding all inconveniences, in human affairs: The greatest possible or conceivable, would arise from ceding to parliament all power over us, without a representation in it: the next greatest, would accrue from any plan that can be devised for a representation there. The least of all [would] arise from going on as we begun, and fared well for 150 years, by letting parliament regulate trade, and our own assemblies all other matters.

10 As to “the prerogatives not being defined or limited,” it is as much so in the Colonies as in Great Britain, and as well understood, and as cheerfully submitted to in the former as the latter....

But perhaps it will be said, that we are to enjoy the British constitution in our supreme legislature, the Parliament, not in our provincial legislatures.

15 To this I answer, if parliament is to be our supreme legislature, we shall be under a compleat oligarchy or aristocracy, not the British Constitution, which this writer himself defines a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. For King, lords and commons, will constitute one great oligarchy, as they will stand related to America, as much as the Decimvirs did in Rome. With this difference for the worse, that our rulers are to be three thousand miles off. The definition of an oligarchy, is a government by a number of grandees, over
20 whom the people have no controul. The states of Holland were once chosen by the people frequently. Then chosen for life. Now they are not chosen by the people at all. When a member dies, his place is filled up not by the people he is to represent, but by the states. Is not this depriving the Hollanders of a free constitution, and subjecting them to an aristocracy, or oligarchy? Will not the government of America be like it? Will not representatives
25 be chosen for them by others, whom they never saw nor heard of? If our provincial constitutions are in any respect imperfect and want alteration, they have capacity enough to discern it, and power enough to effect it, without the interposition of parliament. There never

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was an American constitution attempted by parliament, before the Quebec Bill and Massachusetts Bill. These are such samples of what they may and probably will be, that few Americans are in love with them. However, America will never allow that parliament has any authority to alter their constitution at all. She is wholly penetrated with a sense of the necessity of resisting it, at all hazards. And she would resist it, if the constitution of the Massachusetts had been altered as much for the better, as it is for the worse. The question we insist on most, is not whether the alteration is for the better or not, but whether parliament has any right to make any alteration at all. And it is the universal sense of America, that it has none.

10 We are told that “the provincial constitutions have no principle of stability within themselves”. This is so great a mistake, that there is not more order or stability in any government upon the globe, than there ever has been in that of Connecticut. The same may be said of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and indeed of the others, very nearly. “That these constitutions in turbulent times would become wholly monarchical or wholly republican.” They must be such times as would have a similar effect upon the constitution at home. But in order to avoid the danger of this, what is to be done. Not give us an English constitution, it seems, but make sure of us at once, by giving us constitutions wholly monarchical, annihilating our houses of representatives first, by taking from them the support of government, &c. and then making the councils and judges wholly dependent on the crown.

That a representation in parliament is impracticable we all agree: but the consequence is, that we must have a representation in our supreme legislatures here. This was the consequence that was drawn by kings, ministers, our ancestors, and the whole nation, more than a century ago, when the colonies were first settled, and continued to be the general sense untill the last peace, and it must be the general sense again soon, or Great-Britain will lose her colonies.

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“This is apparently the meaning of that celebrated passage in governor Hutchinsons letter, that rung through the continent, viz. (There must be an abridgment of what is called English liberties.)” But all the art and subtlety of Massachusettensis will never vindicate or excuse that expression. According to this writer, it should have been “there is an abridgment
5 of English liberties and it can't be otherwise.” But every candid reader must see that the letter writer had more than that in his view and in his wishes. In the same letter, a little before, he says, “what marks of resentment the parliament will shew, whether they will be upon the province in general or particular persons, is extremely uncertain; but that they will be placed somewhere is most certain, and I add, because I think it ought to be so.” Is it
10 possible to read this without thinking of the port bill, the charter bill, and the resolves for sending persons to England by the statute of H. 8, to be tried! But this is not all. “This is most certainly a crisis,” says he. &c. “If no measure shall have been taken to secure this dependence (i.e. the dependence which a colony ought to have upon the parent state) it is all over with us.” “The friends of government will be utterly disheartned, and the friends of
15 anarchy will be afraid of nothing, be it ever so extravagant.” But this is not all. “I never think of the measures necessary for the peace and good order of the colonies without pain.” “There must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties.” What could he mean? Any thing less than depriving us of trial by jury? Perhaps he wanted an act of parliament to try persons here for treason by a court of admiralty. Perhaps an act that the province should
20 be governed by a governor and a mandamus council, without an house of representatives. But to put it out of all doubt that his meaning was much worse than Massachusettensis endeavours to make it, he explains himself in a subsequent part of the letter. “I wish,” says he, “the good of the colony, when I wish to see some further restraint of liberty.” Here it is rendered certain, that he is pleading for a further restraint of liberty, not explaining the
25 restraint, he apprehended the constitution had already laid us under.

My indignation at this letter, has sometimes been softened by compassion. It carries on the face of it, evident marks of madness. It was written in such a transport of passions, ambition, and revenge chiefly, that his reason was manifestly overpowered. The vessel was tost

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in such a hurricane, that she could not feel her helm. Indeed he seems to have had a confused consciousness of this himself. "Pardon me this excursion," says he, "it really proceeds from the state of mind, into which our perplexed affairs often throws me."

5 "It is our highest interest to continue a part of the British empire, and equally our duty to remain subject to the authority of parliament," says Massachusettensis.

We are a part of the British dominions, that is of the king of Great-Britain, and it is our interest and duty to continue so. It is equally our interest and duty to continue subject to the authority of parliament, in the regulation of our trade, as long as she shall leave us to govern our internal policy, and to give and grant our own money, and no longer.

10 This letter concludes with an agreeable flight of fancy. The time may not be so far off, however, as this writer imagines, when the colonies may have the balance of numbers and wealth in her favour. But when that shall happen, if we should attempt to rule her by an American parliament, without an adequate representation in it, she will infallibly resist us by her arms.

15

NOVANGLUS

PATRICK HENRY, DELEGATE TO THE SECOND VIRGINIA CONVENTION

On the Resolution for a State of Defense

SPEECH

March 23, 1775

St. John's Episcopal Church | Richmond, Virginia

Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death

BACKGROUND

Just weeks before the battles of Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts, Patrick Henry delivered this speech in support of raising a company of cavalry or infantry in every Virginian county.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does Patrick Henry think reconciliation with Great Britain is impossible?
2. What are the only alternatives to war with Great Britain?

Patrick Henry, "Speech on a Resolution to Put Virginia into a State of Defense," in *American Patriotism*, ed. Sellim Peabody (New York: American Book Exchange, 1880), 108-10.

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Mr. President:

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony.

The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss.

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Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These
5 are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort.

I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent
10 over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging.

And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we
15 resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer.

Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical
20 hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne!

In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate
25 those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall

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be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we
5 are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath
10 placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir,
15 is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace—but there is no
20 peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?

Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me
25 liberty or give me death!

EDMUND BURKE, MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT FOR BRISTOL

On Conciliation with the Colonies

SPEECH EXCERPTS

March 22, 1775

The House of Commons | London, Great Britain

BACKGROUND

Edmund Burke offered these insights and policies to his fellow members of Parliament to attempt reconciliation with the colonists before open hostilities commenced.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the predominate feature of the Americans' character?
2. What form of government did the colonies enjoy?
3. What does Burke identify as the causes of American "disobedience"?
4. What course of action does Burke recommend Parliament take?

Edmund Burke, "Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies," in *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, Vol. 1 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 464-71.

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In this character of the Americans, a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole: and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth; and this from a great variety of powerful causes; which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, Sir, is a nation, which still I hope respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object; and every nation has formed to itself some favourite point, which by way of eminence becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened, you know, Sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates; or on the balance among the several orders of the state. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens, and most eloquent tongues, have been exercised; the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English constitution, to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove, that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments, and blind usages, to reside in a certain body called a House of Commons. They went much farther; they attempted to prove, and they succeeded, that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons, as an immediate representative of the people; whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They

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took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that in all monarchies the people must in effect themselves, mediately or immediately, possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their life-blood, these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe, or might be endangered, in
5 twenty other particulars, without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse; and as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general arguments to their own case. It is not easy indeed to make a monopoly of theorems and corollaries. The fact is, that they
10 did thus apply those general arguments; and your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination, that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles.

They were further confirmed in this pleasing error by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies. Their governments are popular in a high degree; some are merely popular; in
15 all, the popular representative is the most weighty; and this share of the people in their ordinary government never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance.

If anything were wanting to this necessary operation of the form of government, religion would have given it a complete effect. Religion, always a principle of energy, in this new
20 people is no way worn out or impaired; and their mode of professing it is also one main cause of this free spirit. The people are Protestants; and of that kind which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. This is a persuasion not only favourable to liberty, but built upon it. I do not think, Sir, that the reason of this averseness in the dissenting churches, from all that looks like absolute government, is so much to be
25 sought in their religious tenets, as in their history. Every one knows that the Roman Catholic religion is at least coeval with most of the governments where it prevails; that it has generally gone hand in hand with them, and received great favour and every kind of support from authority. The Church of England too was formed from her cradle under the nursing care of regular government. But the dissenting interests have sprung up in direct

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- opposition to all the ordinary powers of the world; and could justify that opposition only on a strong claim to natural liberty. Their very existence depended on the powerful and unremitted assertion of that claim. All Protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a sort of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance; it is the dissidence of dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion. This religion, under a variety of denominations agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty, is predominant in most of the northern provinces; where the Church of England, notwithstanding its legal rights, is in reality no more than a sort of private sect, not composing most probably the tenth of the people. The colonists left England when this spirit was high, and in the emigrants was the highest of all; and even that stream of foreigners, which has been constantly flowing into these colonies, has, for the greatest part, been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, and have brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed.
- Sir, I can perceive by their manner, that some gentlemen object to the latitude of this description; because in the southern colonies the Church of England forms a large body, and has a regular establishment. It is certainly true. There is, however, a circumstance attending these colonies, which, in my opinion, fully counterbalances this difference, and makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is, that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free, are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean, Sir, to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stub-

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born spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible.

- 5 Permit me, Sir, to add another circumstance in our colonies, which contributes no mean part towards the growth and effect of this untractable spirit. I mean their education. In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the congress were lawyers. But all who read, and most do read, endeavour to obtain
- 10 some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England. General Gage marks out this disposition very particularly
- 15 in a letter on your table. He states, that all the people in his government are lawyers, or smatterers in law; and that in Boston they have been enabled, by successful chicane, wholly to evade many parts of one of your capital penal constitutions. The smartness of debate will say, that this knowledge ought to teach them more clearly the rights of legislature, their obligations to obedience, and the penalties of rebellion. All this is mighty well. But my hon-
- 20 ourable and learned friend on the floor, who condescends to mark what I say for animadversion, will disdain that ground. He has heard, as well as I, that when great honours and great emoluments do not win over this knowledge to the service of the state, it is a formidable adversary to government. If the spirit be not tamed and broken by these happy methods, it is stubborn and litigious. Abeunt studia in mores. This study renders men acute,
- 25 inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defence, full of resources. In other countries, the people, more simple, and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance; here they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance; and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

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The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. You have, indeed, winged ministers of vengeance, who carry your bolts in their pounces to the remotest verge of the sea. But there a power steps in, that limits the arrogance of raging passions and furious elements, and says, "So far shalt thou go, and no farther." Who are you, that should fret and rage, and bite the chains of nature?--Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empire; and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Curdistan, as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers, which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigour of his authority in his centre is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is, perhaps, not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire.

Then, Sir, from these six capital sources; of descent; of form of government; of religion in the northern provinces; of manners in the southern; of education; of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government; from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It has grown with the growth of the people in your colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth; a spirit, that unhappily meeting with an exercise of power in England, which, however lawful, is not reconcilable to any ideas of liberty, much less with theirs, has kindled this flame that is ready to consume us.

I do not mean to commend either the spirit in this excess, or the moral causes which produce it. Perhaps a more smooth and accommodating spirit of freedom in them would be more acceptable to us. Perhaps ideas of liberty might be desired, more reconcilable with an

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arbitrary and boundless authority. Perhaps we might wish the colonists to be persuaded, that their liberty is more secure when held in trust for them by us (as their guardians during a perpetual minority) than with any part of it in their own hands. The question is, not whether their spirit deserves praise or blame, but--what, in the name of God, shall we do with it? You have before you the object, such as it is, with all its glories, with all its imperfections on its head. You see the magnitude; the importance; the temper; the habits; the disorders. By all these considerations we are strongly urged to determine something concerning it. We are called upon to fix some rule and line for our future conduct, which may give a little stability to our politics, and prevent the return of such unhappy deliberations as the present. Every such return will bring the matter before us in a still more untractable form. For, what astonishing and incredible things have we not seen already! What monsters have not been generated from this unnatural contention! Whilst every principle of authority and resistance has been pushed, upon both sides, as far as it would go, there is nothing so solid and certain, either in reasoning or in practice, that has not been shaken. Until very lately, all authority in America seemed to be nothing but an emanation from yours. Even the popular part of the colony constitution derived all its activity, and its first vital movement, from the pleasure of the crown. We thought, Sir, that the utmost which the discontented colonists could do, was to disturb authority; we never dreamt they could of themselves supply it; knowing in general what an operose business it is to establish a government absolutely new. But having, for our purposes in this contention, resolved, that none but an obedient assembly should sit; the humours of the people there, finding all passage through the legal channel stopped, with great violence broke out another way. Some provinces have tried their experiment, as we have tried ours; and theirs has succeeded. They have formed a government sufficient for its purposes, without the bustle of a revolution, or the troublesome formality of an election. Evident necessity, and tacit consent, have done the business in an instant. So well they have done it, that Lord Dunmore (the account is among the fragments on your table) tells you, that the new institution is infinitely better obeyed than the ancient government ever was in its most fortunate periods. Obedience is what makes government, and not the names by which it is called; not the name of governor, as formerly, or committee, as at present. This new government has originated directly from the people;

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and was not transmitted through any of the ordinary artificial media of a positive constitution. It was not a manufacture ready formed, and transmitted to them in that condition from England. The evil arising from hence is this; that the colonists having once found the possibility of enjoying the advantages of order in the midst of a struggle for liberty, such
5 struggles will not henceforward seem so terrible to the settled and sober part of mankind as they had appeared before the trial.

Pursuing the same plan of punishing by the denial of the exercise of government to still greater lengths, we wholly abrogated the ancient government of Massachusetts. We were confident that the first feeling, if not the very prospect of anarchy, would instantly enforce
10 a complete submission. The experiment was tried. A new, strange, unexpected face of things appeared. Anarchy is found tolerable. A vast province has now subsisted, and subsisted in a considerable degree of health and vigour, for near a twelvemonth, without governor, without public council, without judges, without executive magistrates. How long it will continue in this state, or what may arise out of this unheard-of situation, how can the
15 wisest of us conjecture? Our late experience has taught us that many of those fundamental principles, formerly believed infallible, are either not of the importance they were imagined to be; or that we have not at all adverted to some other far more important and far more powerful principles, which entirely overrule those we had considered as omnipotent. I am much against any further experiments, which tend to put to the proof any more of these
20 allowed opinions, which contribute so much to the public tranquillity. In effect, we suffer as much at home by this loosening of all ties, and this concussion of all established opinions, as we do abroad. For, in order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavouring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that the Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate
25 the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate, without attacking some of those principles, or deriding some of those feelings, for which our ancestors have shed their blood.

THOMAS PAINE

Common Sense

PAMPHLET EXCERPT

January 10, 1776
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

After outright conflict the previous year at Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill, and with Boston occupied by the British army and navy, Thomas Paine wrote this pamphlet on the relationship between the British and the American colonists.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does Paine criticize the protection that Great Britain provided the American colonies?
2. How does the colonies' connection to Great Britain negatively impact the colonists economically?
3. What practical difficulties with the governance of Great Britain does Paine point to in advocating for independent government?
4. How does Paine believe the Americans should organize themselves?

Thomas Paine, *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 1, ed. Moncure Daniel Conway (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894).

Introduction

PERHAPS the sentiments contained in the following pages are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favor. A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defense of custom. But tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

As a long and violent abuse of power is generally the means of calling the right of it in question (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the sufferers been aggravated into the inquiry), and as the King of England hath undertaken in his own Right to support the Parliament in what he calls Theirs, and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the usurpation of either. . . .

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances hath and will arise which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the event of which their Affections are interested.

The laying a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Class, regardless of Party Censure, is the AUTHOR.

Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs.

In the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense: and have no other preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves: that he will put on, or rather that he will not put off, the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day.

...Now is the seed-time of Continental union, faith and honour. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound would enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.

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By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politics is struck—a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, *i.e.* to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacks of the last year; which tho' proper then, are superceded and useless now...

- 5 I have heard it asserted by some, that as America has flourished under her former connection with Great-Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next
- 10 twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true; for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessities of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

- But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the
- 15 Continent at our expense as well as her own, is admitted; and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, *viz.* for the sake of trade and dominion.

- Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was *interest* not *attachment*; and that she did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our*
- 20 *account*; but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from those who had no quarrel with us on any *other account*, and who will always be our enemies on the *same account*. Let Britain waive her pretensions to the Continent, or the Continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain, were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connections.

- 25 But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families...This new World hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the

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mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still.

But, admitting that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name and title: and to say that
5 reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical...

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge; not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for buy them where we will...

10 Europe is too thickly planted with Kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, *because of her connection with Britain*. The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now will be wishing for separation then, because neutrality in that case would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right
15 or reasonable pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America is a strong and natural proof that the authority of the one over the other, was never the design of Heaven...

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of present sorrow; the evil is
20 not sufficiently brought to their doors to make them feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us a few moments to Boston; that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now no other alternative than to stay and
25 starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it, in their present situation they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief they would be exposed to the fury of both armies...

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‘Tis repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose that this Continent can long remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain doth not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time, compass a plan, short of separation, which can promise the continent even a year’s security. Reconciliation is *now* a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and art cannot supply her place. For, as Milton wisely expresses, “never can true reconciliation grow where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep.”

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and hath tended to convince us that nothing flatters vanity or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning—and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the Kings of Europe absolute. Witness Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God’s sake let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

As to government matters, ‘tis not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: the business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which, when obtained, requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness. There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves are the proper objects for government to take under their care; but there is something absurd, in supposing a Continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet; and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverse the common order of nature, it is evident that they belong to different systems. England to Europe: America to itself.

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I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independence; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the true interest of this Continent to be so; that every thing short of *that* is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity,—that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrink-
5 ing back at a time when a little more, a little further, would have rendered this Continent the glory of the earth...

...No man was a warmer wisher for a reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen-tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the
10 pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the Continent. And that for several reasons.

First. The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the King, he will have a neg-
15 ative over the whole legislation of this Continent. And as he hath shown himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power, is he, or is he not, a proper person to say to these colonies, *You shall make no laws but what I please!*? And is there any inhabitant of America so ignorant as not to know, that according to what is called the *present constitution*, this Continent can make no laws but what the king gives
20 leave to; and is there any man so unwise as not to see, that (considering what has happened) he will suffer no law to be made here but such as suits *his* purpose? We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for us in England...

Secondly. That as even the best terms which we can expect to obtain can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no
25 longer than till the Colonies come of age, so the general face and state of things in the interim will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering

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on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would lay hold of the interval to dispose of their effects, and quit the Continent.

But the most powerful of all arguments is, that nothing but independance, *i. e.* a Continental form of government, can keep the peace of the Continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable that it will be followed by a revolt some where or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

...Besides, the general temper of the Colonies, towards a British government will be like that of a youth who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her: And a government which cannot preserve the peace is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation?...

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independance, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out. Wherefore, as an opening into that business I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better. Could the straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter.

Let the assemblies be annual, with a president only. The representation more equal, their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress.

Let each Colony be divided into six, eight, or ten, convenient districts, each district to send a proper number of Delegates to Congress, so that each Colony send at least thirty. The whole number in Congress will be at least 390. Each congress to sit and to choose a President by the following method. When the Delegates are met, let a Colony be taken from the whole thirteen Colonies by lot, after which let the Congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the Delegates of that Province. In the next Congress, let a Colony be taken by

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lot from twelve only, omitting that Colony from which the president was taken in the former Congress, and so proceeding on till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just, not less than three fifths of the Congress to be called a majority. He that will promote discord, under
5 a government so equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy from whom, or in what manner, this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the People, let a Continental Conference be held in the following manner, and for the following purpose,
10

A Committee of twenty six members of congress, *viz.* Two for each Colony. Two Members from each House of Assembly, or Provincial Convention; and five Representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town of each Province, for, and in behalf of the whole Province, by as many qualified voters as shall think proper to attend from all
15 parts of the Province for that purpose; or, if more convenient, the Representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united the two grand principles of business, *knowledge* and *power*. The Members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counsellors, and the whole, being impowered by the people,
20 will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a Continental Charter, or Charter of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing Members of Congress, Members of Assembly, with their date of sitting; and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between
25 them: Always remembering, that our strength is Continental, not Provincial. Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; with such other matter as it is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall

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be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the Legislators and Governors of this Continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness, may GOD preserve. AMEN...

5 A government of our own is our natural right: and when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance ...

10 O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the Globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

Petition to George III, King of Britain

LETTER

July 8, 1775

Pennsylvania State House | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Olive Branch Petition

BACKGROUND

Following the battles of Lexington and Concord in the spring and just after the Battle of Bunker Hill, the Second Continental Congress sent this petition to George III to redress colonial grievances without any further bloodshed.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What are the colonists' complaints?
2. From whom do the colonies seek redress?

“Petition to George III, King of Great Britain, 1775,” Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, New York Public Library Digital Collections, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/ab785280-8a11-0132-a455-58d385a7bbd0>.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign: We, your Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut,
5 New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these Colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our Mother Country and these Colonies, and the energy of mild and
10 just Government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy connexion being broken
15 by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these Colonies, entertained pleasing and
20 reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the Crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal Colonists having contributed to its success
25 by such repeated and strenuous exertions as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late King, and of Parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the Empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the Journals and acts of that august Legislature, the Parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations adopted for the administration of the Colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestick danger, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their Mother Country. For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices practised by many of your Majesty's Ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrours, and unavailing severities, that have, from time to time, been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitick plan, or of tracing through a series of years past the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these Colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your Majesty's Ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful Colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress. Knowing to what violent resentments and incurable animosities civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British Empire.

Thus called upon to address your Majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your Dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office with the utmost deference for your Majesty; and we therefore pray, that your Majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable constructions of our expressions

5 on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent in their full force the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your Majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our own preservation against those artful and cruel enemies

10 who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your Majesty's person, family, and Government, with all devotion that principle and affection can inspire; connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we

15 solemnly assure your Majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these Colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the

20 memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your Majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal Colonists during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender

25 a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might, in any manner, be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your Majesty will find your faithful subjects on this Continent ready and willing at

all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your Majesty, and of our Mother Country.

We therefore beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned
5 by the system before-mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of our Dominions, with all humility submitting to your Majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating those important purposes, that your Majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful Colonists to the Throne, in pursuance of their common counsels, may be improved into a happy and permanent rec-
10 onciliation; and that, in the mean time, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your Majesty's Colonies, may be repealed.

For such arrangements as your Majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your Majesty would receive such satisfactory
15 proofs of the disposition of the Colonists towards their Sovereign and Parent State, that the wished for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects, and the most affectionate Colonists.

That your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may
20 govern your Dominions with honour to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

DELEGATE THOMAS JEFFERSON (VA) OF THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

A Declaration

DRAFT STATEMENT

June 1776
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Draft of the Declaration of Independence

BACKGROUND

Thomas Jefferson drafted and the Committee of Five edited this initial version of what would become the Declaration of Independence. This draft includes the edits that the Second Continental Congress made.

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Key:

~~word~~ = language deleted by Congress from Jefferson's draft

«word» = language added by Congress to Jefferson's draft

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
5 of the Earth the separate & 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.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are en-
dowed by their Creator with ~~inherent and~~ unalienable Rights, that among these are Life,

"The Declaration of Independence" and "Draft of the Declaration of Independence" in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 5-9, 397-98.

Liberty, & the Pursuit of Happiness: —That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the governed; that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, & to institute new Government, laying it's Foundation on such Principles, & organizing it's Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety & Happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light & transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shown that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses & Usurpations ~~begin at a distinguished period and~~ pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty to throw off such Government, & to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; & such is now the Necessity which constrains them to ~~expunge~~ «alter» their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of ~~unremitting~~ «repeated» Injuries & Usurpations, ~~among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest but all have~~ «all having» in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid World ~~for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.~~

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome & necessary for the public Good.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, & ~~continually~~ for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, & Convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the Population of these states; for that Purpose obstructing the laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, & raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

5 He has made ~~our~~ Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, & the Amount & payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a Multitude of new Offices ~~by a self assumed power~~ and sent hither Swarms of new Officers to harass our People and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, ~~and ships of war~~ without the consent of our Legislatures.

10 He has affected to render the Military independent of, & superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, & unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:
For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

15 For protecting them, by a mock-Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For imposing Taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us «, in many Cases,» of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

20 For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging it's Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these ~~states~~ «Colonies»:

25 For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, & declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here by ~~withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance & protection~~ «declaring us out of his Protection, and Waging war against us.» He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, & destroyed the Lives of our People.

- 5 He is, at this time Transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of Death, Desolation & Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy «scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, & totally» unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation. He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends & Brethren,
- 10 or to fall themselves by their Hands. He has «excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, & has» endeavored to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes, & Conditions ~~of existence. He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property. He has waged cruel war~~
- 15 ~~against human nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold,~~
- 20 ~~he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of~~
- 25 ~~one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.~~ In every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince whose Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a «free» People ~~who mean to be free. Future ages will scarcely believe that the hardiness of~~

~~one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad & so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered & fixed in principles of freedom.~~

Nor have we been wanting in Attentions to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend a «an unwarrantable» juris-

5 diction over ~~these our states~~ «us». We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration & Settlement here, ~~no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league & am-~~

10 ~~ity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and.~~ We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity ~~as well as to~~ «, and we have conjured them by» the Ties of our common Kin-

dred to disavow these Usurpations, which ~~were likely to~~«, would inevitably» interrupt our Connection and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice & of

15 Consanguinity ~~,and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time too they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affec-~~

20 ~~tion, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness & to glory is open to us too. We will tread it~~

25 ~~apart from them, and~~ «. We must therefore» acquiesce in the Necessity which denounces our ~~eternal~~ Separation «, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends!»

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in General Congress Assembled,«appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of

30 our Intentions,» do, in the name, & by the Authority of the good People of these states

~~reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain and all others who may hereafter claim by, through or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsided between us and the people or parliament of Great Britain: and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent~~

5 ~~states,~~ «Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and are of Right to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved;» & that as Free & Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce & to do all
10 other Acts & Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, «with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence,» we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our Fortunes, & our sacred Honor.

THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Unanimous Declaration

A DECLARATION

July 4, 1776

Pennsylvania State House | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Declaration of Independence

BACKGROUND

The delegates from each colony at the Second Continental Congress announced their votes to form a new country separate from Great Britain in this statement to mankind that expounds both the principles on which this new country would be founded and the reasons they judged themselves justified to separate.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why do the United States believe they need to release a statement about their decision to form a country separate from Great Britain?
2. What do they consider about the truths they posit?
3. How are all men equal?
4. From where comes their rights?
5. What is the reason why people create governments?
6. From where comes a government's powers?
7. What may a people do if a government does not fulfill its ends?

"The Declaration of Independence," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 5-9.

8. Although governments should not be changed for small reasons, when should the people change them?
9. Against which person does the Declaration of Independence level its charges?
10. What actions involving the military has this person carried out against the colonists?
11. What legal practices has this person violated?
12. What efforts have the colonists made to seek redress and reconciliation with Great Britain?
13. To whom do the representatives appeal for the justness of their intentions?
14. By whose authority do the representatives declare independence?
15. What do each of the representatives pledge to one another?

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
5 declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted
10 among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long estab-
15 lished should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such
20 Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a
25 candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

- 5 He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

- 10 He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

- 15 He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

- 20 He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

- 25 He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

- 30 He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

5 He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

10 He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

15 For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

20 For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

25 For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

30 For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

5 He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

10 He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

15 He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

20 He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

25 In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured

them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War,
 5 in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish
 10 and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Inde-
 15 pendent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Georgia

20 Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton

North Carolina

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn

25 South Carolina

Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton

Maryland

Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton

30

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Virginia

George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton

5 Pennsylvania

Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross

Delaware

10 Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean

New York

William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris

15 New Jersey

Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark

New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton

20

Massachusetts

John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island

25 Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery

Connecticut

Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY**General Orders**

MILITARY DISPATCH

July 2, 1776
Head Quarters | New York

BACKGROUND

George Washington issued these daily orders to his forces from New York.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

Parole Armstrong.

Countersign Lee.

Genl Mifflin is to repair to the post near Kingsbridge and use his utmost endeavours to forward the works there—General Scott in the mean time to perform the duty required of General Mifflin in the orders of the 29th of June.

- 5 No Sentries are to stop or molest the Country people coming to Market or going from it but to be very vigilant in preventing Soldiers leaving the army.

- Col. Cortlandt of the New-Jersey Brigade is to send over five-hundred of the Militia under his command to reinforce General Greene's Brigade; these troops are to be distinguished from the old Militia in future by being called New-Levies—The Quarter Master General to furnish them with Tents: The detachment from General Spencers Brigade to return when these get over. The Militia not under the immediate Command of General Heard are to be under that of Genl Mercer until the arrival of their own General Officer.
- 10

The time is now near at hand which must probably determine, whether Americans are to

George Washington, "General Orders, 2 July 1776," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-05-02-0117>. [Original source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 5, 16 June 1776–12 August 1776, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993, pp. 179–182.]

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

be, Freeman, or Slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their Houses, and Farms, are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a State of Wretchedness from which no human efforts will probably deliver them. The fate of unborn Millions will now depend, under God, on the Courage and Conduct of this
5 army—Our cruel and unrelenting Enemy leaves us no choice but a brave resistance, or the most abject submission; this is all we can expect—We have therefore to resolve to conquer or die: Our own Country's Honor, all call upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion, and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world—Let us therefore rely upon the goodness of the Cause, and the aid of the supreme Being, in whose hands
10 Victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble Actions—The Eyes of all our Countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings, and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the Tyranny meditated against them. Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and shew the whole world, that a Freeman contending for Liberty on his own ground is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.

15 The General recommends to the officers great coolness in time of action, and to the soldiers a strict attention and obedience, with a becoming firmness and spirit.

Any officer, or soldier, or any particular Corps, distinguishing themselves by any acts of bravery, and courage, will assuredly meet with notice and rewards; and on the other hand, those who behave ill, will as certainly be exposed and punished—The General being re-
20 solved, as well for the Honor and Safety of the Country, as Army, to shew no favour to such as refuse, or neglect their duty at so important a crisis.

The General expressly orders that no officer, or soldier, on any pretence whatever, without leave in writing, from the commanding officer of the regiment, do leave the parade, so as to be out of drum-call, in case of an alarm, which may be hourly expected—The Regiments
25 are immediately to be under Arms on their respective parades, and should any be absent they will be severely punished—The whole Army to be at their Alarm posts completely equipped to morrow, a little before day.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Ensign Charles Miller, Capt. Wrist's Company, and Colonel Wyllys's Regiment, charged with "absenting himself from his Guard" tried by a General Court Martial and acquitted—
The General approves the sentence, and orders him to be dismissed from his arrest.

5 As there is a probability of Rain, the General strongly recommends to the officers, to pay particular attention, to their men's arms and ammunition, that neither may be damaged.

Lieut. Col. Clark who was ordered to sit on General Court Martial in the orders of yesterday being absent on command, Lieut. Col. Tyler is to sit in Court.

10 Evening Orders. 'Tis the General's desire that the men lay upon their Arms in their tents and quarters, ready to turn out at a moments warning, as there is the greatest likelihood of it.

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY
Address to Congress

SPEECH

December 23, 1783

Old Senate Chamber of the Maryland State House | Annapolis, Maryland

BACKGROUND

George Washington delivered this message to Congress to resign his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place; I have now the honor of offering my sincere Congratulations to Congress and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the Service of my Country.

- 5 Happy in the confirmation of our Independence and Sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable Nation, I resign with satisfaction the Appointment I accepted with diffidence. A diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our Cause, the support of the Supreme Power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.
- 10 The Successful termination of the War has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my Countrymen, encreases with every review of the momentous Contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the Army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar Services and distinguished merits of

George Washington, "Address to Congress on Resigning his Commission," *The Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 27, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1931), 284-85.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

the Gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the War. It was impossible the choice of confidential Officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me Sir, to recommend in particular those, who have continued in Service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

- 5 I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my Official life, by commending the Interests of our dearest Country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of Action; and bidding an Affectionate farewell to this August body under whose orders I have so long
10 acted, I here offer my Commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

PHYLLIS WHEATLEY

“Liberty and Peace”

POEM

1784

Boston, Massachusetts

BACKGROUND

Phyllis Wheatley composed this poem after the signing of the Treaty of Paris officially ending the War of Independence.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

- LO! Freedom comes. Th' prescient Muse foretold,
- 5 All Eyes th' accomplish'd Prophecy behold:
Her Port describ'd, "She moves divinely fair,
"Olive and Laurel bind her golden Hair."
She, the bright Progeny of Heaven, descends,
And every Grace her sovereign Step attends;
- 10 For now kind Heaven, indulgent to our Prayer,
In smiling Peace resolves the Din of War.
Fix'd in Columbia her illustrious Line,
And bids in thee her future Councils shine.
To every Realm her Portals open'd wide,
- 15 Receives from each the full commercial Tide.
Each Art and Science now with rising Charms
Th' expanding Heart with Emulation warms.
E'en great Britannia sees with dread Surprize,
And from the dazzling Splendor turns her Eyes!
- 20 Britain, whose Navies swept th' Atlantic o'er,

Phyllis Wheatley, *Liberty and Peace* (Boston: Warden and Russell, 1784).

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

- And Thunder sent to every distant Shore;
E'en thou, in Manners cruel as thou art,
The Sword resign'd, resume the friendly Part!
For Galia's Power espous'd Columbia's Cause,
5 And new-born Rome shall give Britannia Law,
Nor unremember'd in the grateful Strain,
Shall princely Louis' friendly Deeds remain;
The generous Prince th' impending Vengeance eye's,
Sees the fierce Wrong, and to the rescue flies.
10 Perish that Thirst of boundless Power, that drew
On Albion's Head the Curse to Tyrants due.
But thou appeas'd submit to Heaven's decree,
That bids this Realm of Freedom rival thee!
Now sheathe the Sword that bade the Brave attone
15 With guiltless Blood for Madness not their own.
Sent from th' Enjoyment of their native Shore
Ill-fated – never to behold her more!
From every Kingdom on Europa's Coast
Throng'd various Troops, their Glory, Strength and Boast.
20 With heart-felt pity fair Hibernia saw
Columbia menac'd by the Tyrant's Law:
On hostile Fields fraternal Arms engage,
And mutual Deaths, all dealt with mutual Rage:
The Muse's Ear hears mother Earth deplore
25 Her ample Surface smok with kindred Gore:
The hostile Field destroys the social Ties,
And every-lasting Slumber seals their Eyes.
Columbia mourns, the haughty Foes deride,
Her Treasures plunder'd, and her Towns destroy'd:
30 Witness how Charlestown's curling Smoaks arise,

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- In sable Columns to the clouded Skies!
The ample Dome, high-wrought with curious Toil,
In one sad Hour the savage Troops despoil.
Descending Peace and Power of War confounds;
- 5 From every Tongue celestial Peace resounds:
As for the East th' illustrious King of Day,
With rising Radiance drives the Shades away,
So Freedom comes array'd with Charms divine,
And in her Train Commerce and Plenty shine.
- 10 Britannia owns her Independent Reign,
Hibernia, Scotia, and the Realms of Spain;
And great Germania's ample Coast admires
The generous Spirit that Columbia fires.
Auspicious Heaven shall fill with fav'ring Gales,
- 15 Where e'er Columbia spreads her swelling Sails:
To every Realm shall Peace her Charms display,
And Heavenly Freedom spread her golden Ray.

THE END

THE U.S. CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATION

An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio

LAW EXCERPT

July 13, 1787

Federal Hall | New York City, New York

BACKGROUND

Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance to provide the governing structure for all of the territories of the young United States, lands that would later become the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Article III

Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall
5 never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them....

"The Northwest Ordinance," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 121-27.

THE DELEGATES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS

Articles of Confederation

LAW

March 1, 1781
United States of America

BACKGROUND

After forming their own country with the Declaration of Independence, the Congress created the Articles of Confederation during the Revolutionary War as the first national government for the United States.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

To all to whom these Presents shall come, we the undersigned Delegates of the States affixed to our Names, send greeting:

Whereas the Delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled did on the fifteenth day of November in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and

5 Seventy-Seven, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia in the words following, viz.

- 10 Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

"Articles of Confederation," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 163-71.

Article I

The stile of this confederacy shall be "The United States of America."

Article II

Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

Article III

The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

Article IV

The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restriction shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State, on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or Executive power, of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

- 5 Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

Article V

- For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct,
10 to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

- No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any
15 term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

- 20 In determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

- Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court, or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and
25 attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Article VI

No State without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress, to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the

danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay, till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted: nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state and the subjects thereof, 5 against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

Article VII

10 When land-forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

Article VIII

15 All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as 20 the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

Article IX

25 The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no

treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities, whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party

absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like
5 manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter
10 in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection or hope of reward:" provided also that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands, and the States which
15 passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

20 The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States.—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States.—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not
25 infringed or violated—establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing thro' the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the

service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "a Committee of the States", and to consist
5 of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money, or emit
10 bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted,—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition
15 shall be binding, and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and clothe, arm and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled: but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration
20 of circumstances judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case
25 they shall raise, officer, cloth, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

- The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow
- 5 money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.
- 10 The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on
- 15 any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

Article X

- 20 The committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine states in the Congress of the United States
- 25 assembled is requisite.

Article XI

Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union: but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

5 **Article XII**

All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

10**Article XIII**

Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.

15

And whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual Union. Know Ye that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: and we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the

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25

said confederation are submitted to them. And that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

On the part and behalf of the State of New Hampshire:

Josiah Bartlett, John Wentworth, Jr.

On the part and behalf of the State of Massachusetts Bay:

John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, Francis Dana, James Lovell, Samuel Holten

On the part and behalf of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations:

William Ellery, Henry Marchant, John Collins

On the part and behalf of the State of Connecticut:

Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Titus Hosmer, Andrew Adams

On the part and behalf of the State of New York:

James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

On the part and behalf of the State of New Jersey:

John Witherspoon, Nathaniel Scudder

On the part and behalf of the State of Pennsylvania:

- 5 Robert Morris, Daniel Roberdeau, Jonathan Bayard Smith, William Clingan, Joseph Reed

On the part and behalf of the State of Delaware:

Thomas McKean, John Dickinson, Nicholas Van Dyke

- 10 On the part and behalf of the State of Maryland:

John Hanson, Daniel Carroll

On the part and behalf of the State of Virginia:

Richard Henry Lee, John Banister, Thomas Adams, John Harvie, Francis Lightfoot Lee

15

On the part and behalf of the State of North Carolina:

John Penn, Cornelius Harnett, John Williams

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

On the part and behalf of the State of South Carolina:

Henry Laurens, William Henry Drayton, John Matthews, Richard Hutson, Thomas Heyward, Jr.

5 On the part and behalf of the State of Georgia:

John Walton, Edward Telfair, Edward Langworthy

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Constitution

LAW

March 4, 1789
United States of America

BACKGROUND

Delegates to the Constitutional Convention drafted and the states ratified this Constitution, forming the second national government for the United States of America.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS****Preamble**

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and

5 establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the

10 Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected,

"The Constitution of the United States of America," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 47-66.

be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service
5 for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enu-
10 meration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority
15 thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

20 Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or
25 otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

5 The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

10 The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

15 Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

20 Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

25 Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall

likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days
5 (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be pre-
10 sented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and
15 Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the
20 Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

25 To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

5 To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

10 To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

15 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

20 To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

25 To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

- 5 The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

- 10 No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

- 15 No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

- 20 No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

- 25 No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and

the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

5 No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II

10 Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same Term, be elected as follows:

15 Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

20 The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, 25 then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for

this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate
5 shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall
10 any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death,
15 Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected,
20 and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the
25 Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of

the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

5 He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as
10 they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the
15 Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed,
20 and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III

25 Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good

Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

5 Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; —to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State,
10 or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall
15 make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

20 Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of
25 Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article IV

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labor in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labor, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labor may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either
5 Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth
10 Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Con-
15 federation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.
20

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under
25 the United States.

Article VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

5 Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

10 George Washington—

President and deputy from Virginia

Delaware

George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom

15 **Maryland**

James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll

Virginia

John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina

20 William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson

South Carolina

John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Georgia

William Few, Abraham Baldwin

New Hampshire

John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

5 **Massachusetts**

Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

Connecticut

William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman

New York

10 Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania

15 Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas FitzSimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris

Attest William Jackson Secretary

Amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America

Amendment I

Ratified December 15, 1791

5 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.

Amendment II

Ratified December 15, 1791

10 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.

Amendment III

Ratified December 15, 1791

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.

15 Amendment IV

Ratified December 15, 1791

20 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.

Amendment V

Ratified December 15, 1791

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 offense 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.

Amendment VI

Ratified December 15, 1791

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 defense.

Amendment VII

Ratified December 15, 1791

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.

Amendment VIII

Ratified December 15, 1791

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

5 **Amendment IX**

Ratified December 15, 1791

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

Amendment X

10 Ratified December 15, 1791

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.

Amendment XI

Ratified February 7, 1795

15 The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Amendment XII

Ratified June 15, 1804

20 The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all per-

sons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open
 5 all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President.
 10 But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the
 15 Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist
 20 of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Amendment XIII

Ratified December 6, 1865

25 Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV

10 Ratified February 3, 1870

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

15 Amendment XVI

Ratified February 3, 1913

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

20 Amendment XVII

Ratified April 8, 1913

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

- 5 This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Amendment XVIII

Ratified January 16, 1919

- 10 Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

- 15 Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XIX

- 20 Ratified August 18, 1920

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

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

Amendment XX

Ratified January 23, 1933

Section 1. The terms of the President and the Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of
5 January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President
10 elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein
15 neither a President elect nor a Vice President shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons
20 from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amend-
25 ment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment XXI

Ratified December 5, 1933

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

- 5 Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

- 10 Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXII

Ratified February 27, 1951

- 15 Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term
20 within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXIII

Ratified March 29, 1961

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

- 5 A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the
- 10 District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV

Ratified January 23, 1964

- Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election
- 15 for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXV

- 20 Ratified February 10, 1967

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

- Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote
- 25 of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session.

If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment XXVI

Ratified July 1, 1971

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older,
to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of
5 age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXVII

Ratified May 7, 1992

No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives shall
10 take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

PUBLIUS (ALEXANDER HAMILTON)

Federalist No. 9

ESSAY

November 21, 1787

The Independent Journal | New York City, New York

BACKGROUND

Publius (Alexander Hamilton) argues for the proposed Constitution by explaining the new understandings in political philosophy that informed its creation.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What was the problem with disunited republics of the past?
2. What are the five key elements of the advanced understanding of politics?
3. How does Publius respond to Anti-Federalist arguments claiming that Montesquieu rejected large republics?
4. According to Publius, does Montesquieu support a federal government intervening in the affairs of the states?

"Federalist 9," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 215-19.

The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection

A firm Union will be of the utmost moment to the peace and liberty of the States, as a barrier against domestic faction and insurrection. It is impossible to read the history of the petty republics of Greece and Italy without feeling sensations of horror and disgust at the distractions with which they were continually agitated, and at the rapid succession of revolutions by which they were kept in a state of perpetual vibration between the extremes of tyranny and anarchy. If they exhibit occasional calms, these only serve as short-lived contrast to the furious storms that are to succeed. If now and then intervals of felicity open to view, we behold them with a mixture of regret, arising from the reflection that the pleasing scenes before us are soon to be overwhelmed by the tempestuous waves of sedition and party rage. If momentary rays of glory break forth from the gloom, while they dazzle us with a transient and fleeting brilliancy, they at the same time admonish us to lament that the vices of government should pervert the direction and tarnish the lustre of those bright talents and exalted endowments for which the favored soils that produced them have been so justly celebrated.

From the disorders that disfigure the annals of those republics the advocates of despotism have drawn arguments, not only against the forms of republican government, but against the very principles of civil liberty. They have decried all free government as inconsistent with the order of society, and have indulged themselves in malicious exultation over its friends and partisans. Happily for mankind, stupendous fabrics reared on the basis of liberty, which have flourished for ages, have, in a few glorious instances, refuted their gloomy sophisms. And, I trust, America will be the broad and solid foundation of other edifices, not less magnificent, which will be equally permanent monuments of their errors.

But it is not to be denied that the portraits they have sketched of republican government were too just copies of the originals from which they were taken. If it had been found impracticable to have devised models of a more perfect structure, the enlightened friends to liberty would have been obliged to abandon the cause of that species of government as

ANNOTATIONS

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indefensible. The science of politics, however, like most other sciences, has received great improvement. The efficacy of various principles is now well understood, which were either not known at all, or imperfectly known to the ancients. The regular distribution of power into distinct departments; the introduction of legislative balances and checks; the institution of courts composed of judges holding their offices during good behavior; the representation of the people in the legislature by deputies of their own election: these are wholly new discoveries, or have made their principal progress towards perfection in modern times. They are means, and powerful means, by which the excellences of republican government may be retained and its imperfections lessened or avoided. To this catalogue of circumstances that tend to the amelioration of popular systems of civil government, I shall venture, however novel it may appear to some, to add one more, on a principle which has been made the foundation of an objection to the new Constitution; I mean the ENLARGEMENT of the ORBIT within which such systems are to revolve, either in respect to the dimensions of a single State or to the consolidation of several smaller States into one great Confederacy. The latter is that which immediately concerns the object under consideration. It will, however, be of use to examine the principle in its application to a single State, which shall be attended to in another place.

The utility of a Confederacy, as well to suppress faction and to guard the internal tranquility of States, as to increase their external force and security, is in reality not a new idea. It has been practiced upon in different countries and ages, and has received the sanction of the most approved writers on the subject of politics. The opponents of the PLAN proposed have, with great assiduity, cited and circulated the observations of Montesquieu on the necessity of a contracted territory for a republican government. But they seem not to have been apprised of the sentiments of that great man expressed in another part of his work, nor to have adverted to the consequences of the principle to which they subscribe with such ready acquiescence.

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When Montesquieu recommends a small extent for republics, the standards he had in view were of dimensions far short of the limits of almost every one of these States. Neither Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina, nor Georgia can by any means be compared with the models from which he reasoned and to which the terms of his description apply. If we therefore take his ideas on this point as the criterion of truth, we shall be driven to the alternative either of taking refuge at once in the arms of monarchy, or of splitting ourselves into an infinity of little, jealous, clashing, tumultuous commonwealths, the wretched nurseries of unceasing discord, and the miserable objects of universal pity or contempt. Some of the writers who have come forward on the other side of the question seem to have been aware of the dilemma; and have even been bold enough to hint at the division of the larger States as a desirable thing. Such an infatuated policy, such a desperate expedient, might, by the multiplication of petty offices, answer the views of men who possess not qualifications to extend their influence beyond the narrow circles of personal intrigue, but it could never promote the greatness or happiness of the people of America.

Referring the examination of the principle itself to another place, as has been already mentioned, it will be sufficient to remark here that, in the sense of the author who has been most emphatically quoted upon the occasion, it would only dictate a reduction of the SIZE of the more considerable MEMBERS of the Union, but would not militate against their being all comprehended in one confederate government. And this is the true question, in the discussion of which we are at present interested.

So far are the suggestions of Montesquieu from standing in opposition to a general Union of the States, that he explicitly treats of a CONFEDERATE REPUBLIC as the expedient for extending the sphere of popular government, and reconciling the advantages of monarchy with those of republicanism.

"It is very probable," (says he) "that mankind would have been obliged at length to live constantly under the government of a SINGLE PERSON, had they not contrived a kind of

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constitution that has all the internal advantages of a republican, together with the external force of a monarchical government. I mean a CONFEDERATE REPUBLIC.

5 "This form of government is a convention by which several smaller *states* agree to become members of a larger *one*, which they intend to form. It is a kind of assemblage of societies that constitute a new one, capable of increasing, by means of new associations, till they arrive to such a degree of power as to be able to provide for the security of the united body.

10 "A republic of this kind, able to withstand an external force, may support itself without any internal corruptions. The form of this society prevents all manner of inconveniences.

15 "If a single member should attempt to usurp the supreme authority, he could not be supposed to have an equal authority and credit in all the confederate states. Were he to have too great influence over one, this would alarm the rest. Were he to subdue a part, that which would still remain free might oppose him with forces independent of those which he had usurped and overpower him before he could be settled in his usurpation.

20 "Should a popular insurrection happen in one of the confederate states the others are able to quell it. Should abuses creep into one part, they are reformed by those that remain sound. The state may be destroyed on one side, and not on the other; the confederacy may be dissolved, and the confederates preserve their sovereignty.

25 "As this government is composed of small republics, it enjoys the internal happiness of each; and with respect to its external situation, it is possessed, by means of the association, of all the advantages of large monarchies."

30 I have thought it proper to quote at length these interesting passages, because they contain a luminous abridgment of the principal arguments in favor of the Union, and must effectually remove the false impressions which a misapplication of other parts of the work was calculated to make. They have, at the same time, an intimate connection with the more

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immediate design of this paper; which is, to illustrate the tendency of the Union to repress domestic faction and insurrection.

A distinction, more subtle than accurate, has been raised between a *confederacy* and a *consolidation* of the States. The essential characteristic of the first is said to be, the restriction of its authority to the members in their collective capacities, without reaching to the individuals of whom they are composed. It is contended that the national council ought to have no concern with any object of internal administration. An exact equality of suffrage between the members has also been insisted upon as a leading feature of a confederate government. These positions are, in the main, arbitrary; they are supported neither by principle nor precedent. It has indeed happened, that governments of this kind have generally operated in the manner which the distinction taken notice of, supposes to be inherent in their nature; but there have been in most of them extensive exceptions to the practice, which serve to prove, as far as example will go, that there is no absolute rule on the subject. And it will be clearly shown in the course of this investigation that as far as the principle contended for has prevailed, it has been the cause of incurable disorder and imbecility in the government.

The definition of a *confederate republic* seems simply to be "an assemblage of societies," or an association of two or more states into one state. The extent, modifications, and objects of the federal authority are mere matters of discretion. So long as the separate organization of the members be not abolished; so long as it exists, by a constitutional necessity, for local purposes; though it should be in perfect subordination to the general authority of the union, it would still be, in fact and in theory, an association of states, or a confederacy. The proposed Constitution, so far from implying an abolition of the State governments, makes them constituent parts of the national sovereignty, by allowing them a direct representation in the Senate, and leaves in their possession certain exclusive and very important portions of sovereign power. This fully corresponds, in every rational import of the terms, with the idea of a federal government.

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In the Lycian confederacy, which consisted of twenty-three CITIES or republics, the largest were entitled to *three* votes in the COMMON COUNCIL, those of the middle class to *two*, and the smallest to *one*. The COMMON COUNCIL had the appointment of all the judges and magistrates of the respective CITIES. This was certainly the most, delicate species of interference in their internal administration; for if there be any thing that seems exclusively appropriated to the local jurisdictions, it is the appointment of their own officers. Yet Montesquieu, speaking of this association, says: "Were I to give a model of an excellent Confederate Republic, it would be that of Lycia." Thus we perceive that the distinctions insisted upon were not within the contemplation of this enlightened civilian; and we shall be led to conclude, that they are the novel refinements of an erroneous theory.

PUBLIUS (JAMES MADISON)

Federalist No. 10

ESSAY

November 22, 1787

Daily Advertiser | New York City, New York

BACKGROUND

Publius (James Madison) argues for the proposed Constitution by explaining the risks of factions and majority tyranny and how the Constitution addresses them.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How does Madison define faction?
2. How is faction part of human nature?
3. Can the problem of faction be solved by removing the causes of faction?
4. Is it practicable to make all people of one mind? How are opinions and passions related to the problem of faction?
5. What is the first task of government?
6. Since the causes of faction cannot be removed, what must be controlled?
7. How is minority faction solved?
8. What is the solution for majority faction?
9. What is the role of elected representatives in solving the problem of faction?
10. How does a large republic address the problem of majority faction?
11. What are the concerns of a republic being too large or too small?

"Federalist 10," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 231-37.

The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection

Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction.

- 5 The friend of popular governments never finds himself so much alarmed for their character and fate as when he contemplates their propensity to this dangerous vice. He will not fail, therefore, to set a due value on any plan which, without violating the principles to which he is attached, provides a proper cure for it. The instability, injustice, and confusion introduced into the public councils have, in truth, been the mortal diseases under which popular
- 10 governments have everywhere perished, as they continue to be the favorite and fruitful topics from which the adversaries to liberty derive their most specious declamations. The valuable improvements made by the American constitutions on the popular models, both ancient and modern, cannot certainly be too much admired; but it would be an unwarrantable partiality to contend that they have as effectually obviated the danger on this side, as
- 15 was wished and expected. Complaints are everywhere heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith and of public and personal liberty, that our governments are too unstable, that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties, and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested
- 20 and overbearing majority. However anxiously we may wish that these complaints had no foundation, the evidence of known facts will not permit us to deny that they are in some degree true. It will be found, indeed, on a candid review of our situation, that some of the distresses under which we labor have been erroneously charged on the operation of our governments; but it will be found, at the same time, that other causes will not alone account
- 25 for many of our heaviest misfortunes; and, particularly, for that prevailing and increasing distrust of public engagements and alarm for private rights which are echoed from one end of the continent to the other. These must be chiefly, if not wholly, effects of the unsteadiness and injustice with which a factious spirit has tainted our public administration.

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By a faction I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.

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There are two methods of curing the mischiefs of faction: the one, by removing its causes; the other, by controlling its effects.

10 There are again two methods of removing the causes of faction: the one, by destroying the liberty which is essential to its existence; the other, by giving to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests.

15 It could never be more truly said than of the first remedy that it was worse than the disease. Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be a less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency.

20 The second expedient is as impracticable as the first would be unwise. As long as the reason of man continues fallible, and he is at liberty to exercise it, different opinions will be formed. As long as the connection subsists between his reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other; and the former will be objects to which the latter will attach themselves. The diversity in the faculties of men, from which the rights of property originate, is not less an insuperable obstacle to a uniformity of interests. The protection of these faculties is the first object of government. From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties.

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The latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, as well as speculation as of practice; an attachment to different
5 leaders ambitiously contending for preeminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to cooperate for their common good. So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities that where no substantial
10 occasion presents itself the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions and excite their most violent conflicts. But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like
15 discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of government.
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No man is allowed to be a judge in his own cause because his interest would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity. With equal, nay with greater reason, a body of men are unfit to be both judges and parties at the same time; yet what are
25 many of the most important acts of legislation but so many judicial determinations, not indeed concerning the rights of single persons, but concerning the rights of large bodies of citizens? And what are the different classes of legislators but advocates and parties to the causes which they determine? Is a law proposed concerning private debts? It is a question to which the creditors are parties on one side and the debtors on the other. Justice ought to
30 hold the balance between them. Yet the parties are, and must be, themselves the judges;

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and the most numerous party, or in other words, the most powerful faction must be expected to prevail. Shall domestic manufactures be encouraged, and in what degree, by restrictions on foreign manufactures? are questions which would be differently decided by the landed and the manufacturing classes, and probably by neither with a sole regard to justice and the public good. The apportionment of taxes on the various descriptions of property is an act which seems to require the most exact impartiality; yet there is, perhaps, no legislative act in which greater opportunity and temptation are given to a predominant party to trample on the rules of justice. Every shilling with which they overburden the inferior number is a shilling saved to their own pockets.

It is in vain to say that enlightened statesmen will be able to adjust these clashing interests and render them all subservient to the public good. Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm. Nor, in many cases, can such an adjustment be made at all without taking into view indirect and remote considerations, which will rarely prevail over the immediate interest which one party may find in disregarding the rights of another or the good of the whole.

The inference to which we are brought is that the *causes* of faction cannot be removed and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its *effects*.

If a faction consists of less than a majority, relief is supplied by the republican principle, which enables the majority to defeat its sinister views by regular vote. It may clog the administration, it may convulse the society; but it will be unable to execute and mask its violence under the forms of the Constitution. When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government, on the other hand, enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens. To secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a faction, and at the same time to preserve the spirit and the form of popular government, is then the great object to which our inquiries

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are directed. Let me add that it is the great desideratum by which alone this form of government can be rescued from the opprobrium under which it has so long labored and be recommended to the esteem and adoption of mankind.

- 5 By what means is this object attainable? Evidently by one of two only. Either the existence of the same passion or interest in a majority at the same time must be prevented, or the majority, having such coexistent passion or interest, must be rendered, by their number and local situation, unable to concert and carry into effect schemes of oppression. If the impulse and the opportunity be suffered to coincide, we well know that neither moral nor
10 religious motives can be relied on as an adequate control. They are not found to be such on the injustice and violence of individuals, and lose their efficacy in proportion to the number combined together, that is, in proportion as their efficacy becomes needful.

- From this view of the subject it may be concluded that a pure democracy, by which I mean
15 a society consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble and administer the government in person, can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction. A common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority of the whole; a communication and concert result from the form of government itself; and there is nothing to check the inducements to sacrifice the weaker party or an obnoxious individual. Hence it is that such
20 democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths. Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of government, have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would at the same time be perfectly
25 equalized and assimilated in their possessions, their opinions, and their passions.

- A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect and promises the cure for which we are seeking. Let us examine the points in which it varies from pure democracy, and we shall comprehend both
30 the nature of the cure and the efficacy which it must derive from the Union.

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The two great points of difference between a democracy and a republic are: first, the delegation of the government, in the latter, to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; secondly, the greater number of citizens and greater sphere of country over which the latter may be extended.

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The effect of the first difference is, on the one hand, to refine and enlarge the public views by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations. Under such a regulation it may well happen that the public voice, pronounced by the representatives of the people, will be more consonant to the public good than if pronounced by the people themselves, convened for the purpose. On the other hand, the effect may be inverted. Men of factious tempers, of local prejudices, or of sinister designs, may, by intrigue, by corruption, or by other means, first obtain the suffrages, and then betray the interests of the people. The question resulting is, whether small or extensive republics are most favorable to the election of proper guardians of the public weal; and it is clearly decided in favor of the latter by two obvious considerations.

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In the first place it is to be remarked that however small the republic may be the representatives must be raised to a certain number in order to guard against the cabals of a few; and that however large it may be they must be limited to a certain number in order to guard against the confusion of a multitude. Hence, the number of representatives in the two cases not being in proportion to that of the two constituents, and being proportionally greatest in the small republic, it follows that if the proportion of fit characters be not less in the large than in the small republic, the former will present a greater option, and consequently a greater probability of a fit choice.

In the next place, as each representative will be chosen by a greater number of citizens in the large than in the small republic, it will be more difficult for unworthy candidates to

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practise with success the vicious arts by which elections are too often carried; and the suffrages of the people being more free, will be more likely to center on men who possess the most attractive merit and the most diffusive and established characters.

- 5 It must be confessed that in this, as in most other cases, there is a mean, on both sides of which inconveniences will be found to lie. By enlarging too much the number of electors, you render the representative too little acquainted with all their local circumstances and lesser interests; as by reducing it too much, you render him unduly attached to these, and too little fit to comprehend and pursue great and national objects. The federal Constitution
10 forms a happy combination in this respect; the great and aggregate interests being referred to the national, the local and particular to the State legislatures.

- The other point of difference is the greater number of citizens and extent of territory which may be brought within the compass of republican than of democratic government; and it
15 is this circumstance principally which renders factious combinations less to be dreaded in the former than in the latter. The smaller the society, the fewer probably will be the distinct parties and interests composing it; the fewer the distinct parties and interests, the more frequently will a majority be found of the same party; and the smaller the number of individuals composing a majority, and the smaller the compass within which they are placed,
20 the more easily will they concert and execute their plans of oppression. Extend the sphere and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength and to act in unison with each other. Besides other impediments, it may be
25 remarked that, where there is a consciousness of unjust or dishonorable purposes, communication is always checked by distrust in proportion to the number whose concurrence is necessary.

- Hence, it clearly appears that the same advantage which a republic has over a democracy
30 in controlling the effects of faction is enjoyed by a large over a small republic—is enjoyed

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by the Union over the States composing it. Does this advantage consist in the substitution of representatives whose enlightened views and virtuous sentiments render them superior to local prejudices and to schemes of injustice? It will not be denied that the representation of the Union will be most likely to possess these requisite endowments. Does it consist in the greater security afforded by a greater variety of parties, against the event of any one party being able to outnumber and oppress the rest? In an equal degree, does the increased variety of parties comprised within the Union increase this security? Does it, in fine, consist in the greater obstacles opposed to the concert and accomplishment of the secret wishes of an unjust and interested majority? Here again the extent of the Union gives it the most palpable advantage.

The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States. A religious sect may degenerate into a political faction in a part of the Confederacy; but the variety of sects dispersed over the entire face of it must secure the national councils against any danger from that source. A rage for paper money, for an abolition of debts, for an equal division of property, or for any other improper or wicked project, will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the Union than a particular member of it, in the same proportion as such a malady is more likely to taint a particular county or district than an entire State.

In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, we behold a republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government. And according to the degree of pleasure and pride we feel in being republicans ought to be our zeal in cherishing the spirit and supporting the character of federalists.

PUBLIUS (JAMES MADISON)

Federalist No. 51

ESSAY

February 8, 1788

The New-York Packet | New York City, New York

BACKGROUND

Publius (James Madison) argues for the proposed Constitution by explaining the risks of a concentration of power and how the Constitution addresses them.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does it mean for each branch of government to have a will of its own?
2. Is the separation of powers absolute, or should the powers overlap? Why or why not?
3. What additional methods help the government to control itself?
4. How is the executive branch strengthened?
5. How is the power surrendered by the people divided to protect from government encroachment?
6. How does the argument against majority tyranny here relate to the argument made in Federalist 10?
7. What is the end of government and civil society according to Publius in Federalist 51?

"Federalist 51," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 287-91.

The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments

To what expedient, then, shall we finally resort, for maintaining in practice the necessary
5 partition of power among the several departments, as laid down in the Constitution? The
only answer that can be given is, that as all these exterior provisions are found to be inadequate, the defect must be supplied, by so contriving the interior structure of the government as that its several constituent parts may, by their mutual relations, be the means of
keeping each other in their proper places. Without presuming to undertake a full development
10 of this important idea, I will hazard a few general observations, which may perhaps place it in a clearer light, and enable us to form a more correct judgment of the principles and structure of the government planned by the convention.

In order to lay a due foundation for that separate and distinct exercise of the different powers
15 of government, which to a certain extent is admitted on all hands to be essential to the preservation of liberty, it is evident that each department should have a will of its own; and consequently should be so constituted that the members of each should have as little agency as possible in the appointment of the members of the others. Were this principle rigorously adhered to, it would require that all the appointments for the supreme executive, legislative,
20 and judiciary magistracies should be drawn from the same fountain of authority, the people, through channels having no communication whatever with one another. Perhaps such a plan of constructing the several departments would be less difficult in practice than it may in contemplation appear. Some difficulties, however, and some additional expense would attend the execution of it. Some deviations, therefore, from the principle must be admitted.

25 In the constitution of the judiciary department in particular, it might be inexpedient to insist rigorously on the principle: first, because peculiar qualifications being essential in the members, the primary consideration ought to be to select that mode of choice which best secures these qualifications; secondly, because the permanent tenure by which the appointments are held in that department, must soon destroy all sense of dependence on the authority conferring them.
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It is equally evident, that the members of each department should be as little dependent as possible on those of the others, for the emoluments annexed to their offices. Were the executive magistrate, or the judges, not independent of the legislature in this particular, their independence in every other would be merely nominal.

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But the great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives to resist encroachments of the others. The provision for defense must in this, as in all other cases, be made commensurate to the danger of attack. Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.

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This policy of supplying, by opposite and rival interests, the defect of better motives, might be traced through the whole system of human affairs, private as well as public. We see it particularly displayed in all the subordinate distributions of power, where the constant aim is to divide and arrange the several offices in such a manner as that each may be a check on the other that the private interest of every individual may be a sentinel over the public rights. These inventions of prudence cannot be less requisite in the distribution of the supreme powers of the State.

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But it is not possible to give to each department an equal power of self-defense. In republican government, the legislative authority necessarily predominates. The remedy for this

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inconveniency is to divide the legislature into different branches; and to render them, by different modes of election and different principles of action, as little connected with each other as the nature of their common functions and their common dependence on the society will admit. It may even be necessary to guard against dangerous encroachments by still further precautions. As the weight of the legislative authority requires that it should be thus divided, the weakness of the executive may require, on the other hand, that it should be fortified. An absolute negative on the legislature appears, at first view, to be the natural defense with which the executive magistrate should be armed. But perhaps it would be neither altogether safe nor alone sufficient. On ordinary occasions it might not be exerted with the requisite firmness, and on extraordinary occasions it might be perfidiously abused. May not this defect of an absolute negative be supplied by some qualified connection between this weaker department and the weaker branch of the stronger department, by which the latter may be led to support the constitutional rights of the former, without being too much detached from the rights of its own department?

If the principles on which these observations are founded be just, as I persuade myself they are, and they be applied as a criterion to the several State constitutions, and to the federal Constitution it will be found that if the latter does not perfectly correspond with them, the former are infinitely less able to bear such a test.

There are, moreover, two considerations particularly applicable to the federal system of America, which place that system in a very interesting point of view.

First. In a single republic, all the power surrendered by the people is submitted to the administration of a single government; and the usurpations are guarded against by a division of the government into distinct and separate departments. In the compound republic of America, the power surrendered by the people is first divided between two distinct governments, and then the portion allotted to each subdivided among distinct and separate departments. Hence a double security arises to the rights of the people. The different governments will control each other, at the same time that each will be controlled by itself.

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Second. It is of great importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. Different interests necessarily exist in different classes of citizens. If a majority be united by a common interest, the rights of the minority will be insecure. There are but two methods of providing against this evil: the one by creating a will in the community independent of the majority that is, of the society itself; the other, by comprehending in the society so many separate descriptions of citizens as will render an unjust combination of a majority of the whole very improbable, if not impracticable. The first method prevails in all governments possessing an hereditary or self-appointed authority. This, at best, is but a precarious security; because a power independent of the society may as well espouse the unjust views of the major, as the rightful interests of the minor party, and may possibly be turned against both parties. The second method will be exemplified in the federal republic of the United States. Whilst all authority in it will be derived from and dependent on the society, the society itself will be broken into so many parts, interests, and classes of citizens, that the rights of individuals, or of the minority, will be in little danger from interested combinations of the majority. In a free government the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights. It consists in the one case in the multiplicity of interests, and in the other in the multiplicity of sects. The degree of security in both cases will depend on the number of interests and sects; and this may be presumed to depend on the extent of country and number of people comprehended under the same government. This view of the subject must particularly recommend a proper federal system to all the sincere and considerate friends of republican government, since it shows that in exact proportion as the territory of the Union may be formed into more circumscribed Confederacies, or States oppressive combinations of a majority will be facilitated: the best security, under the republican forms, for the rights of every class of citizens, will be diminished: and consequently the stability and independence of some member of the government, the only other security, must be proportionately increased. Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been and ever will be pursued until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit. In a society under the forms of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign as in a state of nature,

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger; and as, in the latter state, even the stronger individuals are prompted, by the uncertainty of their condition, to submit to a government which may protect the weak as well as themselves; so, in the former state, will the more powerful factions or parties be gradually induced, by a like
5 motive, to wish for a government which will protect all parties, the weaker as well as the more powerful. It can be little doubted that if the State of Rhode Island was separated from the Confederacy and left to itself, the insecurity of rights under the popular form of government within such narrow limits would be displayed by such reiterated oppressions of factious majorities that some power altogether independent of the people would soon be
10 called for by the voice of the very factions whose misrule had proved the necessity of it. In the extended republic of the United States, and among the great variety of interests, parties, and sects which it embraces, a coalition of a majority of the whole society could seldom take place on any other principles than those of justice and the general good; whilst there being thus less danger to a minor from the will of a major party, there must be less pretext,
15 also, to provide for the security of the former, by introducing into the government a will not dependent on the latter, or, in other words, a will independent of the society itself. It is no less certain than it is important, notwithstanding the contrary opinions which have been entertained, that the larger the society, provided it lie within a practical sphere, the more duly capable it will be of self-government. And happily for the *republican cause*, the practicable sphere may be carried to a very great extent, by a judicious modification and mixture
20 of the *federal principle*.

FIRST CONGRESS

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

JOIN RESOLUTION EXCERPT

September 25, 1789

Federal Hall | City of New-York, New York

Bill of Rights

BACKGROUND

As part of a compromise to secure the ratification of the Constitution, Federalists introduced in the first Congress a Bill of Rights as twelve amendments to the new Constitution. Below are the ten amendments that were ultimately ratified.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS****Amendment I**

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.

5 **Amendment II**

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.

Amendment III

10 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.

"The Constitution of the United States of America," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 58-60.

Amendment IV

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.

Amendment V

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.

Amendment VI

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.

Amendment VII

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.

Amendment VIII

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

Amendment IX

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

Amendment X

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.

UNIT 3

The Early Republic

1789–1848

45-50-minute classes | 15-19 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

LESSON 1	1789–1801	The New Government	3-4 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1801–1815	Prospects, Uncertainties, and War	3-4 classes	p. 15
LESSON 3	1815–1829	The American Way	3-4 classes	p. 24
LESSON 4	1829–1848	Manifest Destiny	4-5 classes	p. 33
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment			p. 43
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 59

Why Teach the Early Republic

The United States of America is an “experiment in self-government.” None other than the Father of the Country, George Washington, said as much at his inauguration. The experiment had seemed to be on the verge of failure by 1787, but the Constitution gave it a second chance. This is the story of the beginning decades of that “second chance.” What is so remarkable about these decades is that the ideas and structures of the Constitution were put into action with real people, real challenges, and real opportunities. America’s first elected and appointed statesmen would set the precedents by which American representative democracy would operate. Indeed, much of American self-government still reflects the precedents established in those first decades. These acts were not performed in a vacuum, however. America’s leaders

had to face very real struggles, and the American people had to learn to trust the Constitution and one another. All the while, America also found before her opportunities rarely afforded to any nation. In navigating the challenges and seizing the opportunities, America matured into an increasingly, though still imperfect, democratic society. Living within the remnants of that “second chance” in the American experiment, students will learn much about the America of today by studying this first era of free self-government.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. The presidency of George Washington was indispensable in establishing precedents conducive to free self-government and in keeping America free of what would have been a disastrous war.
2. The opportunities afforded to the United States were exceedingly rare in the history of nations.
3. Amidst the great strides in the practice of self-government and in taking advantage of opportunities, America’s treatment of Native Americans and the entrenching of slavery in the Southern states reveal the imperfections of the American regime and the injustices that were permitted.
4. American democracy expressed itself in a variety of unique ways and had a deep effect on the habits, thoughts, and character of Americans.
5. The idea of America’s “manifest destiny” to expand from coast to coast and spread its democratic ideas was a mixture of noble and material motivations which led to the Mexican-American War and a renewed debate over the expansion of slavery.

What Teachers Should Consider

The American founding was one of the most momentous—and dramatic—three decades in world history. How many times in history does a group of extraordinary individuals construct a novel government while winning a war against the world’s foremost power? The challenge in teaching the history of the early republic, therefore, is in trying to match the interest and excitement of the founding unit.

We are aided in this challenge by our having already met the cast of characters. The first four presidents were all founding fathers, and many cabinet members, diplomats, and justices were either present in Philadelphia in 1776 and 1787, fought in the War of Independence, or both. It proved consequential to the early national stability of America that these figures should have been the first to govern under the Constitution, George Washington above all others. Students should come to understand how much of the way American government functions and how many traditions of the American political order are owed to President Washington.

At the same time, students should understand the precarious situations into which the young country was drawn and learn how America’s first leaders managed these challenges. From maintaining a fragile unity to enduring buffets from Great Britain and Revolutionary France, these first four presidents had more than enough to handle, including a national existential crisis in the War of 1812.

And yet, America also had an abundance of opportunities during the first half of the 1800s. These began with the Louisiana Purchase and proceeded to include the acquisition of Florida, the Monroe Doctrine's assertion of American authority in the Western Hemisphere, the annexation of Texas, and the Mexican Cession following the Mexican-American War. Alexander Hamilton's financial efforts helped to calm and focus the American economy over the long term, while subsequent investments and inventions combined with the security of the rule of law to unleash a vibrant economy.

American representative democracy was thus put into action, and the experiment in self-government seemed to be succeeding. But how did democratic society affect its citizens? Considering this question with students gives them the opportunity to study life in a democratic republic, from its forms of religion to the kind of interests and leaders that it produces. Students should also study the ways in which America's founding principles were not upheld, with respect to slavery and the treatment of Native Americans. They should understand the way that the institution of slavery changed during these initial decades and varied by region.

Students can access these pictures of American democratic life through the study of Alexis de Tocqueville's observations in *Democracy in America* and the presidency of Andrew Jackson. As the former attempted to articulate the nature of democratic government, the latter operated within a representative democracy for what he considered to be the sake of the common man.

The study of America's "manifest destiny" is an opportunity for students to enter the minds of Americans at the time and attempt to understand the spirit of the democratic age. Based on the circumstances, it seemed almost inevitable that America would spread many of its unique ideas and accomplishments throughout all of North America. Yet this sentiment was sometimes in tension with America's founding principles. The culmination of this spirit in the Mexican-American War would gain for America an astonishing amount of new land, resources, and opportunity, but also bring closer the prospect of civil war.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

Empire of Liberty, Gordon Wood
What Hath God Wrought, Daniel Walker Howe
The Rise of American Democracy, Sean Wilentz
An Empire of Wealth, John Steele Gordon
Land of Promise, Michael Lind
American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

Thanksgiving Proclamation, George Washington
Letter to the Hebrew Congregation, George Washington
Fragment on the French Revolution, Alexander Hamilton
Farewell Address, George Washington
First inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson
On the Amendment to the Missouri Statehood Bill, James Tallmadge
Fourth of July address, John Quincy Adams
Monroe Doctrine, James Monroe
Democracy in America, Volume I, Alexis de Tocqueville
Webster-Hayne debate, Daniel Webster and Robert Hayne
Speech on the Indian Removal Bill, Theodore Frelinghuysen
Address to the People of the United States, John Ross
Annual message to Congress, 1830, Andrew Jackson
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson
Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, John C. Calhoun
“The Great Nation of Futurity,” John Louis O’Sullivan

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND QUIZZES

Lesson 1 — The New Government

1789–1801

3–4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the first decades of American self-government under the Constitution, including the major events and developments during the presidencies of George Washington and John Adams.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 78–90

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 85–92, 121–123

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 47–51

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lectures 5 and 6

American Heritage

Lecture 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 78–90, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 47–51) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate George Washington's Farewell Address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

New York City

Washington City in the

Federal Hall

Federal District of

Mount Vernon

Columbia

Philadelphia

Executive Mansion

Vermont

Northwest Territory

Kentucky

Tennessee

New Orleans

Persons

George Washington
John Adams
Thomas Jefferson
Alexander Hamilton
Henry Knox
Edmund Randolph
James Madison

Pierre L'Enfant
Eli Whitney
Marquis de Lafayette
Citizen Genêt
Anthony Wayne
John Jay
Thomas Pinckney

Terms and Topics

Bill of Rights
11th Amendment
Father of Our Country
cabinet
department
bureaucracy
treasury
silver dollar
war debt
credit
tariff
national bank
Whiskey Rebellion
French Revolution
Proclamation of Neutrality
Judiciary Act of 1789
district courts
circuit courts

civil suit
criminal suit
attorney general
Department of Justice
original jurisdiction
appellate jurisdiction
Jay's Treaty
Fugitive Slave Law
cotton gin
census
First Party System
Federalist Party
Democratic-Republican Party
XYZ Affair
Alien and Sedition Acts
Kentucky and Virginia
Resolutions
nullification

Primary Sources

Thanksgiving Proclamation, George Washington
Letter to the Hebrew Congregation, George Washington
Fragment on the French Revolution, Alexander Hamilton
Farewell Address, George Washington

To Know by Heart

“In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.” —George Washington, Farewell Address

“Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious People. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other.” —John Adams, To the Officers of the Militia of Massachusetts

Timeline

1787	Constitutional Convention
1788	Constitution ratified
1789	Elections held; First Congress convened; George Washington inaugurated; French Revolution begins
1796	John Adams elected
1800	Thomas Jefferson elected

Images

Historical figures and events
Depictions of Federal Hall and Washington's inauguration
Diagram of a cotton gin
Early maps and designs for Washington, DC, and the Executive Mansion
Electoral maps

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and John Adams
- George Washington's travels to New York City for his inauguration
- Thomas Jefferson's presence in Paris during the opening months of the French Revolution
- George Washington's presidency, including the "coach and six" and Senator William Maclay's criticisms of his policies and "monarchical" comportment
- The travels of Citizen Genêt in the United States
- The ebb and flow of the friendship between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson
- Stories of the building of Washington, DC
- Thomas Jefferson walking to his inauguration and riding bareback around Washington, DC
- The death of George Washington

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- Why would George Washington's presidency prove to be so important for America's future?
- What challenges did George Washington face at the start of and during his presidency?
- As best we can tell, what were George Washington's goals for his time as president?
- What was America's debt problem, and how did Alexander Hamilton plan to solve it?
- What were the competing visions for America's future based on the views of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson?
- What were Alexander Hamilton's greatest contributions to the young nation?
- What were the stances of George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson regarding the conflict between Great Britain and the French revolutionaries?
- How were the American and French Revolutions similar and different? What factors accounted for the very different outcomes?
- How did George Washington navigate foreign policy concerning the French Revolution and Great Britain?
- How did Eli Whitney's cotton gin change the course of slavery in America from what many during the founding generation had expected?

- How did the country expand during the 1790s? How did that expansion take place, and what did it look like?
- How does the American federal judiciary system operate, based on the Judiciary Act?
- What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.
- In what sense may it be said that George Washington was America's "indispensable man"?
- What were the respective positions of the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans on the issues facing the country by the late 1790s?
- How might John Adams's presidency be characterized?
- How did John Adams navigate foreign policy concerning the French Revolution and Great Britain?
- What risks emerged as the result of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions?
- What was so consequential about the election of 1800 and the subsequent change in administrations?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 37: The president of the United States can serve only two terms. Why?
 - Question 47: What does the president's cabinet do?
 - Question 48: What are two cabinet-level positions?
 - Question 50: What is one part of the judicial branch?
 - Question 51: What does the judicial branch do?
 - Question 52: What is the highest court in the United States?
 - Question 53: How many seats are on the Supreme Court?
 - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 89: Alexander Hamilton is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 119: What is the capital of the United States?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

With the Constitution ratified following robust debate, America embarked on the next phase of its experiment with self-government. Success was far from assured. The first statesmen to govern within this new system would play a decisive role in determining not only the immediate success of the fledgling republic but also its long-term well-being. Nearly every action would set a precedent, and there were very real threats to the country, both from without and from within. The statesmanship of George Washington and John Adams was indispensable for setting these precedents while steering the young nation through many trials, including deepening domestic division. When this division was ameliorated through a peaceful national election in 1800, followed by a transfer of power in 1801, the United States could mark a successful passage through its first dozen years of self-government under the Constitution, setting the stage for the next two hundred years of American government and history.

Teachers might best plan and teach The New Government with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Start the lesson by noting the different trajectories taken in two attempts at self-government, both begun in 1789. In the United States, the first government under the Constitution convened in April in New York. Just a few weeks later, in May, across the Atlantic, the French Estates General was convened at Versailles. By July, revolutionaries were storming the Bastille, marking the beginning of years of bloodshed and tyranny. Help students to compare these parallel efforts at

self-government, both ostensibly based on similar principles. Once students have been able to study each revolution within their overall course of high school study, teachers may wish to have a discussion on the differences between the two revolutions that led to such disparate results. These lessons should inform students' understanding and appreciation of their country's achievements in free self-government.

- Review with students the challenges facing the new nation. There was America's disappointing first attempt at government under the Articles of Confederation, at the time still present in the minds of most Americans. Then there were the various problems that remained, such as sizeable war debts among the states, different currencies, tensions between borrowers and creditors, and the continued presence of British soldiers in American territory. And on top of these struggles was the undefined and untested work of actually governing through the structure of the new Constitution.
- Spend time teaching about the importance of George Washington in these first years under the Constitution, including his character and his example. Of special note is Washington's setting of precedents for the presidency, his unifying example, his balancing of competing interests and views, and his efforts to prevent the young country from being dragged into a foreign war. To gain a sense of Washington's teachings and the way in which his words and comportment established beneficial precedents, read with students some of his letters and addresses.
- Provide an overview of George Washington's first cabinet, and outline the emerging debates over the kind of economy, workforce, and society the nation should have—debates represented by the disagreements between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton.
- Review George Washington's emphasis on learning, religious practice, and religious freedom as essential to America as a self-governing republic. Read with students in class parts of Washington's Thanksgiving Proclamation and Letter to the Hebrew Congregation at Newport that manifest Washington's arguments.
- Introduce Alexander Hamilton's biography and the important and bold plans he developed for the nation, especially those related to the economy and finance. Explore with students Hamilton's plans for the nation's debt, protective tariffs, a national bank, and the effects of these programs.
- In foreign policy, the dominant issue facing America was navigating the conflict engulfing Europe during the French Revolution. More pointedly, the danger with respect to the French Revolution itself involved the conflicting sympathies that various Americans had toward Great Britain or France. This issue also forced Americans to think about their own revolution and its similarities to and differences from the French Revolution. George Washington was again vital in charting a course of neutrality, which kept the fragile nation out of a conflict that might have ruined it and its experiment forever. Read with students Alexander Hamilton's Fragment on the French Revolution to see the position that Washington and even Jefferson would eventually share.
- Mark 1793 as the year in which Eli Whitney developed his cotton gin. Explain the ideal cotton-growing climate in the Southern states and yet the laborious and slow work of separating cotton seeds from the cotton. Then show how Whitney's gin worked and how it revolutionized the cotton industry. Cotton plantations quickly began to expand and revitalized the demand for slave labor that had been in general decline through many of the founding years.
- Talk with students about the Fugitive Slave Law, which Congress passed to allow for the enforcement of Article IV, Section 2, of the Constitution, and about the laws many Northern legislatures passed in response, including those that allowed alleged fugitive slaves to defend themselves in court and sought to prevent the kidnapping of free African Americans.

- Consider with students how different territorial acts between 1798 and 1822 permitted or prohibited slavery in territories, ultimately resulting in seven new slaveholding states and five new free states. Discuss also how the western land cession grants of the original slaveholding states, such as Georgia and North Carolina, to the federal government allowed slavery to spread west in the Southern region of the country, while the Northwest Ordinance prohibited the spread of slavery in the Northwest Territory.
- Explain how the plan for surveying and settling the Northwest Territory went into effect through the Northwest Ordinance. Highlight how the distribution of public lands through the township system along with an allotment for a public school were both unique in world history.
- Discuss Jay's Treaty and Pinckney's Treaty and how these two agreements better established the extent of the United States' territory while also normalizing some trade expectations with European powers, such as the effects of the "right of deposit" in New Orleans.
- Teach about the various acts of the first congresses, including their passing the Judiciary Act that set the Supreme Court at six justices; the Senate confirming John Jay as the first Chief Justice; passing twelve amendments to the Constitution, ten of which the states ratified as the Bill of Rights; moving the capital to Philadelphia; and founding Washington, DC.
- Outline with students the contours of the federal judiciary as established by the Judiciary Act. Students should be familiar with the various courts at the time and the kinds of cases that may be brought before each, including distinctions between civil and criminal cases.
- Emphasize for students the great growth in population and industry during this decade, including further settlement westward and new conflicts between Native Americans and settlers, such as the Northwest Indian War. Explore how disease, treaties, conflict, population density, and competing ideas of land and property factored into westward settlement and the reduction in the number and locations of Native Americans. Conflict, especially on the frontier, was still common—a combination of misunderstanding, outright dishonesty, and revenge. Where treaties were employed, their slightest violation usually gave the opposing side an excuse to act with force, thus undermining any kind of agreement. The distant and unsettled frontier left most nationally decreed restrictions on settlement unenforced.
- Consider how voting privileges expanded with the removal of property requirements, what was then a monumental development in self-government unique to America.
- Conclude the treatment of George Washington's presidency with a close reading of his Farewell Address. Especially significant points to read and discuss with students include his warnings about party and the importance of union; his advocacy for remaining independent of other nations with respect to war and alliances; and his emphasis on religion, education, and upright moral conduct as essential to the success of the United States. Implied throughout is the necessity of reverence for the rule of law.
- Discuss John Adams's presidency, beginning with a review of his contributions during the Revolution. Note with students how Adams had a hard act to follow and little of the respect, admiration, or mystique that Washington had possessed. Help students to understand Adams's major accomplishments, including building a navy and navigating a neutral position with respect to the French wars of revolution, not to mention following the precedents set by Washington, thus lending them greater permanence.
- Based on previous conversation about the competing views for the country (as put forward by Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton), trace the development of political parties during the Washington and Adams administrations, culminating in the election of 1800, during which the American people were deeply divided. The threat of civil unrest was high, and Jefferson's defeat of

Adams posed a risk that such unrest would overflow during the first attempt to transfer power. That the transfer of power was, however, entirely peaceful after twelve years of rule by one regime seemed to confirm the sturdiness of the Constitution and the prudence of those who governed for that first decade. Students should appreciate how extraordinarily rare such transfers of power are in history and what allowed the Americans to avoid bloodshed—the all-too-common outcome in the history of nations.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how George Washington navigated the various challenges facing the young nation in the 1790s and the importance that his example set for the future of American government (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the differences between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson on the kind of country they believed America should become (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 3: Explain the similarities and differences between the American Revolution and the French Revolution, including what accounted for their different outcomes (2–3 paragraphs; only for students who have already studied the French Revolution).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.1

The Early Republic | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages 78-90

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. How long did George Washington expect the Constitution to last?
2. Who was America's "indispensable man," according to the text?
3. The Washington Administration was divided between the differing policy views and visions for the country expressed by which two figures?
4. What was George Washington's policy with respect to the wars between Great Britain and France?
5. To what did the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions respond?

Lesson 2 — Prospects, Uncertainties, and War

1801–1815

3–4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about events during the presidencies of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, including Americans' conflict with the British in the War of 1812.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 90–104

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 92, 106–111

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 51, 63–65

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 6

American Heritage

Lectures 5 and 7

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 90–104, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 51, 63–65) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

Virginia

Missouri River

Monticello

Great Britain

Barbary Coast

New England

Tripoli

Canada

Louisiana Territory

Lake Ontario

France

Lake Erie

St. Louis

Lake Champlain

Ohio

Washington, DC

Executive Mansion
Louisiana
Fort Detroit

Fort Mackinac
Mississippi Territory
Indiana

Persons

Thomas Jefferson
Alexander Hamilton
Aaron Burr
John Marshall
Napoleon Bonaparte
Meriwether Lewis
William Clark
Sacagawea
Stephen Decatur

Davy Crockett
James Madison
Dolley Madison
Tecumseh
William Henry Harrison
Oliver Perry
Francis Scott Key
Andrew Jackson

Terms and Topics

Federalists
Democratic-Republicans
Judiciary Act of 1801
Marbury v. Madison
judicial review
“unconstitutional”
12th Amendment
Louisiana Purchase
Napoleonic Wars
Corps of Discovery
Barbary Pirates
US Marine Corps
Act Prohibiting Importation
of Slaves of 1807
impressment

Embargo Act of 1807
American Indian raids
Battle of Tippecanoe
war hawks
War of 1812
First Invasion of Canada
Thames Campaign
USS *Constitution*
Battle of Lake Erie
Burning of Washington
Hartford Convention
Battle of Horseshoe Bend
“The Defense of Ft. McHenry”
Battle of New Orleans
Treaty of Ghent

Primary Sources

First inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson

To Know by Heart

“Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever.” —Thomas Jefferson on slavery in America

“The Marines’ Hymn”

Timeline

1800	Thomas Jefferson elected
1801–05	First Barbary War
1803	US purchases the Louisiana Territory from Napoleonic France
1808	James Madison elected
1812–15	War of 1812
1815	Battle of New Orleans

Images

Historical figures and events
 Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
 Executive Mansion
 Washington, DC, depictions
 Statue of Thomas Jefferson (Hillsdale College campus)
 Jefferson Memorial
 Images and uniforms of British and American officers and soldiers
 Depictions of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
 Maps: overall strategies; specific battles
 Relevant forts
 USS *Constitution* in Boston Harbor
 Medical equipment
 Reenactment photos
 Depictions of the Executive Mansion on fire
 Depictions of the defense of Fort McHenry
 Scenes from the Battle of New Orleans
 Statue of James Madison (Hillsdale College campus)

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, James Madison, and Dolley Madison
- John Adams's last-minute judicial appointments through the Judiciary Act of 1801
- Thomas Jefferson's walk to and from his inauguration
- Margaret Bayard Smith's account of Thomas Jefferson at the Executive Mansion
- James Monroe and Robert Livingston's negotiations with France for New Orleans, and then Louisiana
- Lucien Bonaparte's account of Napoleon's sale of Louisiana to the United States
- Entries from the diaries of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark
- Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's encounter with a grizzly bear
- John Marshall's clever reasoning to "lose the battle but win the war" for a strong Supreme Court in *Marbury v. Madison*
- Aaron Burr killing Alexander Hamilton in a duel
- William Henry Harrison's account of Tecumseh
- News of the US declaration of war and the British decision to stop interfering with American shipping as they passed each other on the Atlantic
- Dolley Madison fleeing the British with the portrait of George Washington

- The burning of Washington, DC, including the Executive Mansion
- George Gleig’s account of British soldiers in the Executive Mansion
- The defense of Fort McHenry and the writing of “The Star-Spangled Banner”
- Andrew Jackson’s various duels and adventures
- The Battle of New Orleans and how it occurred after a peace treaty had been signed—unknownst to the battle participants

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the major actions and characteristics of Thomas Jefferson’s presidency?
- What were the three major foreign policy issues that Thomas Jefferson addressed?
- What was the impact of the Louisiana Purchase on America’s future?
- In what ways did Thomas Jefferson depart from his Democratic-Republican views as president?
- What did Congress and Thomas Jefferson outlaw in 1808?
- What were Thomas Jefferson’s views and actions, both personal and public, regarding slavery?
- What did the Supreme Court establish in *Marbury v. Madison*? How did John Marshall arrive at this determination?
- What role did John Marshall and the other Federalist-appointed judges play in the early decades of the republic?
- What were the main characteristics of James Madison’s presidency?
- What were the causes of the War of 1812? How was war actually declared?
- What were the major moments during the War of 1812? How can we characterize America’s degree of success during this war?
- Why was the Battle of New Orleans important for America’s future, even though it was unwittingly fought after a peace treaty had been signed?
- What were the terms of the Treaty of Ghent?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 87: Thomas Jefferson is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 88: James Madison is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 90: What territory did the United States buy from France in 1803?
 - Question 91: Name one war fought by the United States in the 1800s.
 - Question 117: Name one American Indian tribe in the United States.
 - Question 123: What is the name of the national anthem?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Changes in power have historically been among the most tumultuous moments in a nation’s history. America’s first transition from Federalist to Democratic-Republican control not only avoided much tumult but was perfectly peaceful. But how would the nation cope with new policies? And perhaps even more importantly, how would those making those changes behave? It turned out that Thomas Jefferson the president ended up being far less revolutionary than Thomas Jefferson the thinker and party leader. His policies were relatively conservative and even tended in the direction of Federalist positions. Jefferson was also checked by a federal judiciary under the leadership of Chief Justice John Marshall and a host of Federalist judges, securing the coequality of the branch. Yet challenges remained, particularly during the years of the Napoleonic Wars, culminating with the War of 1812 under James Madison. But even when the young nation made serious mistakes, somehow America seemed to emerge the better for it.

Teachers might best plan and teach Prospects, Uncertainties, and War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Begin the lesson with a review of Thomas Jefferson's childhood and biography. Like so many of his contemporary American Founders and statesmen, Jefferson had an exceptional mind with many interests and plenty of practical political skill. Of particular note is his storied career as a political thinker and statesman, his devotion to education, and the contradiction between his private efforts and statements against slavery and his continued ownership of slaves at Monticello.
- Treat Thomas Jefferson's presidency chronologically, including events that do not directly relate to him. Within his presidency, be sure to include instruction on the many ways that Jefferson preserved the Federalist economic policies and the ways that he exerted national authority more forcefully than would have been anticipated. The almost unilateral (and of questionable constitutionality) Louisiana Purchase and the military expedition against the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean are two examples of Jefferson's use of presidential power. Begin Jefferson's administration by reading and discussing parts of his first inaugural address.
- Teach students about *Marbury v. Madison*. Although the topic of judicial review may be somewhat dull in and of itself, explaining how the precedent was arrived at through John Marshall's reasoning is quite enjoyable for students. They will appreciate Marshall's skill and respect the power that he and his subsequent decisions secured for the status of the judiciary and the Supreme Court in America. The assertion of its coequality with the other branches in *Marbury* ensured that power was equally distributed and equally accountable to the people.
- Note for students the kind of federal government the Federalist courts and John Marshall himself molded through their cases. In brief, the national government was strengthened, ties of union were deepened, the interpretation of what was "necessary and proper" was expanded, and the federal government's primacy over the states in regulation of commerce was defended.
- Tell students the stories of the Corps of Discovery Expedition through the Louisiana Territory. Be sure to show plenty of drawings and maps from Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's sketchbooks. Use this opportunity to review geography material as the Corps traveled westward.
- Discuss the continued menace of the Napoleonic Wars and Americans' attempts to trade with both the French and the British. Illustrate clearly for students why impressment of American sailors was such an affront, why the British considered it just, and how British and American conceptions of citizenship were at the heart of the issue. Touch also upon the role of the British in sponsoring conflict between Native Americans and settlers on the frontier in order to secure more economic influence from Canada over what was then the American Northwest (present-day Midwest). Outline Thomas Jefferson's struggles (like Washington and Adams before him) with the British, including his Embargo Act that led to talks of secession within New England.
- Conclude the Jefferson administration by noting how Thomas Jefferson cemented the two-term limit tradition for presidents by following Washington's example. In the last year of his presidency, Jefferson also signed into law in 1808 the abolition of the international slave trade, the earliest moment the Constitution allowed for it to be abolished.
- Introduce James Madison with a review of his biography and his role in the Constitutional Convention and ratification debates. From this background students should not be surprised that he had become president, just as many Americans at the time had likewise been unsurprised. Madison is an interesting case study in history, since he was now governing within a Constitutional system much of which he himself had designed. The entirety of Madison's presidency, however, would be absorbed with British aggression and an outright war.

- Tell the stories of Tecumseh's attempts to unite Native Americans east of the Mississippi River against American settlers and Tecumseh's defeat at the Battle of Tippecanoe by forces under William Henry Harrison. The internal divisions over whether to defy a more powerful enemy or to capitulate were present within many Native American tribes in their responses to settlers and the United States government.
- When teaching about the start of the War of 1812, characterize it as a sort of "slipping toward war." That is, neither party necessarily desired the war but the complexities of the Napoleonic Wars, trade, and miscommunication gradually led to conflict.
- Ask students to identify and compare the various advantages and disadvantages of each side at the outset of the war and how these shifted over the years. Having students take simple notes as a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Introduce students to the contemporary style of warfare by using images, maps, and artifacts. This approach will provide a foundation for their subsequent study of battles, help them to understand what happens in battle, and allow them to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Explain each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles.
- Teach major battles in detail. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battles themselves, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often. As with any conflict, draw attention to the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war.
- Note the great division between New England and the rest of the country in the War of 1812. In addition to secession talks, some New England states and New York actively supplied the British through trade for much of the war.
- Of particular note in the War of 1812 are the frontier nature of fighting around the Great Lakes, the brutality of this warfare, the Americans' actual attempt to conquer Canada, the American naval victories on inland lakes such as that of Commodore Oliver Perry in the Battle of Lake Erie as well as the Battle of Plattsburgh Bay on Lake Champlain, the half-hearted British fighting in the early years of the war due to their preoccupation with Napoleon, atrocities by both sides on the frontier and during the Thames Campaign, the British invasions of Washington, Baltimore, New York, and New Orleans, and the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner."
- Introduce Andrew Jackson, the soldier and frontier lawyer-statesman. Consider the warfare of the day and the understandings each side held as to the means and purpose of combat. Explore with students accounts of Jackson as a military commander by both those in his command and his Native American opponents. Jackson will, of course, be covered again in future lessons, but this is an opportunity to introduce and tell some of the early stories that show different sides to Andrew Jackson.
- Conclude this lesson with the Battle of New Orleans, which technically occurred after peace had been agreed to. Note the diverse and ragtag army under Andrew Jackson's command and their utter decimation of the regular British forces, including three generals. The Battle of New Orleans left Americans with a sense of triumph and pride from a war that had largely lacked such decisive victories, and which had included several embarrassing defeats and policy failures. The Treaty of Ghent did little to formally rectify American grievances. In reality, however, the treaty's failure to address the maritime legal questions that had caused the war meant little in the wake of Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo. Similarly, the treaty's reaffirmation of the prewar geopolitical status quo in North America actually favored Americans, thanks to Harrison's and Jackson's

triumphs over native tribes allied with Great Britain. The war would be the last major conflict with a foreign power that America would fight on its own soil.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the major decisions of Thomas Jefferson's administration and the extent to which they were consistent with his Democratic-Republican views (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the story of the War of 1812 (2–3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.2

The Early Republic | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 90-104

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the “revolution of 1800”?
2. Which branch of the federal government was firmly in Federalist control, thwarting many of Thomas Jefferson’s policies?
3. How did Thomas Jefferson double the size of the United States?
4. What did the Embargo Act of 1807 do?
5. Who was president during the War of 1812?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 3 — Formative Quiz

Covering Lessons 1-2
10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. As best we can tell, what were George Washington's goals for his time as president?
2. What were Alexander Hamilton's greatest contributions to the young nation?
3. How did Eli Whitney's cotton gin change the course of slavery in America from what many during the founding generation had expected?
4. What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.
5. What were the three major foreign policy issues that Thomas Jefferson addressed?
6. What did the Supreme Court establish in *Marbury v. Madison*?
7. What were the causes of the War of 1812?

Lesson 3 — The American Way

1815–1829

3–4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the Era of Good Feelings under James Monroe, the rivalry between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, continued American expansion, and observations on the nature and practice of American democracy.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 104–112, 117–126, 139–146

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 111–115, 118–119, 123–124,
129–132, 145–156

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 64–66, 74–75, 86–87

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The Great American Story

Lectures 7 and 8

American Heritage

Lecture 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 104–112, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (64–66) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 117–126, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (74–75) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 139–146, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (86–87) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON**Geography and Places**

Red River
Mississippi
Illinois
Florida Territory
New Spain
Mexico

Tejas
Deep South
Alabama
Maine
Missouri

Persons

James Monroe
James Fenimore Cooper
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Henry Clay
John C. Calhoun
John Quincy Adams
Andrew Jackson

Daniel Webster
Alexis de Tocqueville
Stephen F. Austin
Joseph Smith
William Lloyd Garrison

Terms and Topics

The Virginia Dynasty
“Era of Good Feelings”
Adams-Onís Treaty
49th Parallel
immigration
internal improvements
Erie Canal
railroad
steamship
steel-cast plow
mechanical reaper
Unitarianism
Second Great Awakening
Burned-Over District
Evangelism
Catholics

Mormonism
American System
McCulloch v. Maryland
Monroe Doctrine
slave trade
cotton gin
King Cotton
Missouri Compromise
36° 30' line
Corrupt Bargain
populist
Democratic Party
Democracy in America
individualism

Primary Sources

On the Amendment to the Missouri Statehood Bill, James Tallmadge
Fourth of July address, John Quincy Adams
Monroe Doctrine, James Monroe
Democracy in America, Volume I, Alexis de Tocqueville

To Know by Heart

“[America] goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.... Her glory is not dominion, but liberty.” —John Quincy Adams

“[He] loved his country partly because it was his own country, but mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with zeal for its advancement, prosperity, and glory, because he saw in such, the advancement, prosperity, and glory of human liberty, human right, and human nature.” —Abraham Lincoln, eulogy for Henry Clay

“America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.” —Alexis de Tocqueville

Timeline

1816	James Monroe elected
1816–19	Era of Good Feelings
1820	Missouri Compromise
1824	John Quincy Adams elected
1828	Andrew Jackson elected

Images

Historical figures and events
 Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
 First versions of inventions from this time period, such as steamboats, rail, telegraph, and multicylinder printing presses
 The Erie Canal
 Photos of cotton plantations today
 Depictions of life as a slave
 Depictions of the Second Great Awakening gatherings and revival scenes
 Political cartoons, especially surrounding the Adams-Jackson campaigns
 “Old Hickory” campaign paraphernalia
 Maps of Mexico and Texas

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson
- Andrew Jackson in the South after the War of 1812 and in Spanish Florida, acting largely autonomously from the authority of the United States government
- The deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on July 4, 1826
- Frances Trollope’s account of life in early Cincinnati
- José María Sánchez’s account of life in early Texas
- Andrew Jackson’s many duels, rivalries, feats, and accomplishments, before he became president
- Andrew Jackson’s decimation of a Native American village, and then taking in a Native American baby whose mother had been killed

- The campaign smears between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson
- Margaret Bayard Smith’s account of the inauguration of Andrew Jackson

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- In what ways may America be said to have “found its footing” following the War of 1812?
- What international agreements allowed America to focus on domestic policy and peace in the years following the War of 1812?
- How was America changing during the 1820s and 1830s, particularly concerning immigration, transportation, and the prospects for both business and the common man?
- What kind of religious and reform movements emerged during the 1820s and 1830s?
- What did the Monroe Doctrine state? To what extent was it realistic at the time? How effective was it and why?
- What was society and life like in the South compared to the North and West?
- What was life like for slaves during the early nineteenth century?
- How did the status of slavery change following the invention of the cotton gin? How was this similar to and different from the status of slavery in the founding generation—before 1789?
- In what ways did the division over slavery manifest itself, and how was this division usually addressed by politicians?
- Why was there disagreement over the admission of Missouri into the Union, especially compared to the admittance of other slave states previously? How did the Missouri Compromise resolve the issue for the time being?
- How did Henry Clay change American politics?
- What was Henry Clay’s “American System”?
- How were parts of Texas first settled by Americans?
- How may the Adams-Jackson campaigns be characterized?
- What was the “Corrupt Bargain,” and how did it affect John Quincy Adams’s presidency?
- What did Andrew Jackson mean by “democracy”?
- Why did Andrew Jackson promote the common man?
- What risks did Andrew Jackson believe were threats to the well-being of the common man?
- What were Alexis de Tocqueville’s major observations about democracy in America?
- What risks to the American experiment in self-government did Alexis de Tocqueville observe in American society?
- Question from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 118: Name one example of an American innovation.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The surprisingly equable outcome of the War of 1812 and the settling of lingering issues with world powers allowed America finally to “gain its footing.” The “Era of Good Feelings” that followed—complete with prosperity at home and peace abroad—permitted America to come into its own, to further develop the potential of its distinctly American character. As America underwent this maturation and as Americans grew more established in the free practice of business enterprise and self-reliance, the democratic nature of the nation was made even more clear. Perhaps no individual channeled or seemed to embody this democratic spirit of the time and the stake of the common man more fully than Andrew Jackson. And perhaps no one has articulated the nature of democratic self-government in America as well as the French

observer Alexis de Tocqueville did in his book *Democracy in America*. From statesmen like Jackson to observers like Tocqueville, students can find an excellent window into the nature and practice of representative democracy as it developed in the early years of the United States. Early nineteenth-century America was the setting of a unique phenomenon on the world stage and formed much of what we consider to be the American way of self-government.

Teachers might best plan and teach The American Way with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Teach students about the background and biography of James Monroe, whose accomplishments prior to his becoming president were already storied and remarkable, and the impressive streak of Virginian presidents—sometimes called the “Virginia Dynasty.”
- Review with students the terms of the Treaty of Ghent and the other agreements with nations to secure America’s frontiers, including Florida. Also note the beginning of one of the first great immigration waves of the nineteenth century. With Europe in shambles following the Napoleonic Wars, European immigrants found new security, personal ownership of land, and opportunity in America, with half settling in New York and Philadelphia, while the other half settled in what is now the Midwest.
- Describe for students the great changes in technology and transportation during the 1820s and 1830s, including canals, the railroad, the steamboat, and advances in agriculture.
- Survey the emergence of new religious ideas and groups during the Second Great Awakening and originating from the Burned-Over District of upstate New York.
- Review the effects of the cotton gin on the practice of slavery in slaveholding states, and the economic value of slavery and the domestic slave trade. Greater percentages of slaves were also shifted decisively into manual field work while new justifications for slavery were often created based on religious interpretation and outright prejudice. Note the years in which different states were admitted as free states or outlawed slavery themselves. Nevertheless, even as the free-state/slave-state balance was maintained, the country was gradually losing the argument of many antislavery Founders, in whose view slavery was to be kept on the path to extinction as a temporary evil destined for its own ruin.
- Provide students with insights into Southern culture and society. Give an overview of Southern socioeconomic demography. Be sure to address the planter class—including the variety of estate sizes within the planter class—the free subsistence farmers, enslaved African Americans, etc. Spend some time on the life of slaves and the culture that emerged among slaves; include reading specific slave narratives. *Land of Hope*’s treatment of these themes on pages 139–145 is an excellent aid in these discussions.
- Discuss with students the major factors that have produced the great wealth and prosperity of America, namely the freedom to innovate and invest, property rights, a peaceful daily life governed by the rule of law and consent of the governed, and the ability to patent ideas and inventions. Discuss also the extent to which many Southerners and even Northerners and Englishmen made considerable fortunes off of slavery and cotton textiles during the nineteenth century.
- Present the question over Missouri’s admission as a state as the first major reemergence of the slavery issue after the founding and a mark of the growing divide in America in the post-cotton gin era. It was clear from this fierce debate, which involved talks of secession, that the hopes of many Founders that slavery would resolve itself organically were no longer tenable with the invention of the cotton gin, and that the deepest of America’s divisions could not be ignored

forever. As the elderly Thomas Jefferson noted at the time, the crisis over Missouri could be the death knell of the Union. Even though conflict would be postponed forty years, the temporary peace acquired by the Missouri Compromise would leave the problem of slavery to haunt America for those four decades. Read and discuss with students the speech of Representative James Tallmadge that resurfaced and exposed the deepening division over slavery in the country.

- Use this opportunity to introduce major statesmen of the period, such as Henry Clay (the Great Compromiser), John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster. On Clay in particular, explore his political maneuverings; note that the way he empowered the position of Speaker of the House of Representatives would be legendary and would mark a new chapter in American politics. On a policy matter, explain for students Clay's "American System," which paired well with the growth and technological change America was experiencing.
- Discuss the settlement of Texas by Stephen Austin and other Americans during the 1820s, for the emergence of this American outpost within New Spain and then in Mexico would be consequential for events of subsequent decades.
- Note the importance of the Monroe Doctrine and how unrealistically ambitious it was. Nonetheless, it did secure George Washington's view of foreign policy as America's default position and, combined with good timing, was efficacious in fulfilling what it said. Read with the class its text as well as its forerunner, John Quincy Adams's Fourth of July address, who was the principal mind behind the Monroe Doctrine policy. Students should consider these remarks and policies in light of George Washington's Farewell Address.
- Describe how American political campaigning sank to new lows in the elections of 1824 and 1828, particularly between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. Adams's presidency itself was largely impotent, nagged by the perception of its having been stolen through a "corrupt bargain" and by Jackson's constant resistance.
- Review with students Andrew Jackson's biography, full of impressive triumphs and controversial actions, particularly with respect to Native American tribes and Jackson's thwarting of civilian authority over the military.
- In order to encourage student understanding of America as she was coming into her own during the 1820s and 1830s, read with students portions of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, chosen at the teacher's discretion. For many students, these discussions should reveal how unique America was and is when it comes to self-government and freedom, slavery notwithstanding (as Tocqueville underscores). They should also come to understand the promises and risks involved in a society of and by the people, and how to preserve the promises and mitigate the risks therein. Asking students to consider how the Founders would have reacted to Tocqueville's observations is also fruitful.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Describe the ways in which America was rapidly changing following the War of 1812 (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the idea of the democratic era or the age of the common man as promoted by Andrew Jackson and articulated by Alexis de Tocqueville (2–3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.3

The Early Republic | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 104-112

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one agreement reached between the British and the Americans in the treaty to end the War of 1812?
2. What did the Monroe Doctrine say?
3. Name one “internal improvement” to transportation—besides railroads—mentioned by the text.
4. The pending admittance of which state reignited the question over slavery and its expansion in 1820?
5. The presidential campaigns and rivalries between which two figures proved to be especially personal and nasty?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.4

The Early Republic | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 117-126

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the name of the French political observer who visited America in the 1830s and wrote *Democracy in America*?
2. What was the “Burned-Over District”?
3. Name one religious group from the Second Great Awakening mentioned by the text.
4. Who was Joseph Smith?
5. The Oneida Community was one example of what kind of experimental communities that were attempted in the first half of the nineteenth century?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.5

The Early Republic | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 139-146

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. To what region did most Irish and German immigrants migrate in the 1840s?
2. What was the religious makeup of the South?
3. The Old South had an economy that was focused overwhelmingly on what kind of activity?
4. What divisions existed among Southerners of European descent?
5. What does the text argue was “at the center of slaves’ communal life”?

Lesson 4 — Manifest Destiny

1829–1848

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the presidency of Andrew Jackson, the Mexican-American War, and expansion to the Pacific Ocean under the banner of “manifest destiny,” along with the issues associated with such expansion.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 112–117, 126–127,
129–138, 146–156

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 114–115, 120–121, 124–125,
132–136, 140, 143–144, 157–161

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 67, 75–77, 87–88, 94–95

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The Great American Story

Lectures 7, 8, and 9

American Heritage

Lectures 5, 6, and 7

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 112–117, 126–127, 129–138, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (67, 75–77) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate Theodore Frelinghuysen’s Speech on the Indian Removal Bill and John Ross’s Address to the People of the United States, and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 146–156, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (87–88, 94–95) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON**Geography and Places**

Texas
The Alamo
Goliad
Republic of Texas
Arkansas
Oklahoma Territory
Oregon Country
Michigan
Florida

Rio Grande
Seneca Falls
Iowa
Wisconsin
California Territory
San Francisco Bay
Utah Territory
New Mexico Territory

Persons

Henry Clay
Daniel Webster
John C. Calhoun
Sam Houston
Antonio López de Santa Anna
Davy Crockett
Jim Bowie
Sequoyah
Martin Van Buren
William Henry Harrison
John Tyler
Brigham Young
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Henry David Thoreau

Nathaniel Hawthorne
Herman Melville
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Sojourner Truth
William Lloyd Garrison
Frederick Douglass
Levi and Catharine Coffin
Harriet Tubman
James Polk
Zachary Taylor
Abraham Lincoln
Winfield Scott
John Frémont

Terms and Topics

spoils system
bureaucracy
veto
Nat Turner Rebellion
gag rule
“positive good”
compact theory
“state sovereignty”
“We the People”
Tariff of 1832
secession
Nullification Crisis
Bank of the United States
National Republicans
Worcester v. Georgia
Indian Removal Act

Cherokee
Trail of Tears
The Alamo
Texas Revolution
Second Party System
Panic of 1837
immigration
railroad
temperance
abolitionism
Underground Railroad
personal liberty laws
Transcendentalism
manifest destiny
pioneer
49th Parallel

Aroostook War
Morse code
annexation
Wilmot Proviso

Spot Resolutions
Mexican-American War
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Mexican Cession

Primary Sources

Webster-Hayne debate, Daniel Webster and Robert Hayne
Speech on the Indian Removal Bill, Theodore Frelinghuysen
Address to the People of the United States, John Ross
Annual message to Congress, 1830, Andrew Jackson
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson
Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, John C. Calhoun
“The Great Nation of Futurity,” John Louis O’Sullivan

To Know by Heart

“I Hear America Singing” —Walt Whitman

Timeline

1836	Texas independence
1845	US annexes Texas
1846–48	Mexican-American War

Images

Historical figures and events
First flags of Texas
Uniforms and munitions of soldiers in the Mexican-American War
Depictions of battles and battlefields, including strategy and tactics
Depictions of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
Maps: overall strategies, specific battles
Relevant forts
Medical equipment
Reenactment photos

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Andrew Jackson, Stephen F. Austin, Sam Houston, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Martin Van Buren, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and James Polk
- John Latrobe’s account of a race between the first train and a horse
- The 1831–32 slavery debate in the Virginia General Assembly
- Frederick Douglass’s account of his experience with a slave breaker
- Toasts between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun regarding nullification at a Democratic Party dinner
- The passage of the Force Act and Henry Clay’s deal-making to resolve the Nullification Crisis

- Andrew Jackson's many quotes and stories as he railed against nullification and the National Bank
- William Barret Travis's letter from the Alamo
- Vicente Filísola's account of the Battle of the Alamo
- William Coodey's account of the start of the Trail of Tears
- Francis Parkman's account of traveling the Oregon Trail
- The sudden illness and death of William Henry Harrison
- The feud between John Tyler and Henry Clay
- Charles Dickens's accounts of America from his *American Notes*
- Explosion on the USS *Princeton*
- The US Marines entering the "Halls of Montezuma" during the Mexican-American War
- John Quincy Adams suffering a stroke at his desk in the House of Representatives, and subsequent death in the Speaker's Room

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the arguments concerning slavery that delegates debated during the 1831–32 meeting of the Virginia General Assembly?
- How did the South's stance toward slavery change in response to the Nat Turner Rebellion?
- What was John C. Calhoun's idea that slavery was a "positive good"? Why did he argue this, and how was this a change from previous arguments about slavery?
- How would Frederick Douglass have replied to John C. Calhoun's assertions?
- Compared to the North, how would the South's society and economy suggest John C. Calhoun was wrong about the supposed economic and social benefits of slavery?
- How did the idea of slavery as a "positive good" challenge the Constitution's stance on slavery and the path on which the founding generation had set slavery?
- How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
- Which of Andrew Jackson's actions as president demonstrated his democratic ideas?
- How did the "state sovereignty" and "We the people" views of union differ from each other?
- What was at issue during the Nullification Crisis? What roles did Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay play during the crisis?
- What policies were adopted concerning Native Americans during the 1820s and 1830s? To what extent did these policies represent an attempt to resolve the conflicts between Native Americans and settlers?
- What factors shaped the history of relations between Native Americans and settlers?
- How did the National Bank work? What were the arguments for and against the rechartering of the National Bank?
- How did Andrew Jackson respond to decisions of the Supreme Court with which he disagreed? Why did he believe he was justified to act in these ways?
- How did the Texas Revolution come about?
- Why did Andrew Jackson evade Texas's request for admission to the Union?
- What was the Whig Party platform?
- What were the main ideas of Transcendentalism?
- What was the idea of "manifest destiny"? Why were many Americans confident in this assumption?

- How did the Mexican-American War begin? What were James Polk's motivations for the war?
- Why did the Americans win the Mexican-American War?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 4: The US Constitution starts with the words "We the People." What does "We the People" mean?
 - Question 91: Name one war fought by the United States in the 1800s.
 - Question 117: Name one American Indian tribe in the United States.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

With Andrew Jackson's background and Alexis de Tocqueville's insights fresh in mind, students can learn about the increasing democratization of America during the Jackson administration. In each of Jackson's major policy decisions, students should be able to draw out both the ways in which these policies benefited the common man and how they cemented the power of the presidency. At the same time, a spirit of optimistic expansion imbued American politics, eventually termed America's "manifest destiny" to settle from coast to coast. Confidence in the benefits of American freedom and self-government, coupled with other motivations and seemingly endless opportunities for expansion, fueled this spirit. Expansion, however, often involved displacing Native Americans in ways that lacked honor or justice. At America's then-southwestern border, Americans who had settled in Texas were fighting their own revolution against Mexico. The resulting Republic of Texas and its potential admission to the Union stalked the next decade of American politics, as the slavery question lurked over all other debates. Since the Nat Turner Rebellion, the Southern position on slavery had ossified, and the stakes in the "balance of power" struggle in the US Senate became even greater. The Texas question came to a head with the Mexican-American War, the consequences of which would re-ignite the slavery debate and drive the nation toward civil strife.

Teachers might best plan and teach Manifest Destiny with emphasis on the following approaches:

- When teaching about Andrew Jackson and his presidency, consider with students the theme of his democratic appeal, namely in favor of the common man. At its heart, this meant a faith in the rightness of the views of the common man and the defense of his station in life against commercial elites and wealthier coastal and urban interests. Note also this democratic view that government was too often corrupted by these elite interests, that the larger the size of government, the greater the likelihood of corruption and tyranny, and that a permanent bureaucracy created a monopoly on information and power that corrupt politicians and self-interested elites curried for their own benefit. Jackson brought nearly all of these positions to bear on a presidency in which he largely reduced the size of the government and rejected expansion, all the while embodying the ethos of the commoner. Consider with students the extent to which Jackson marked a revitalization and fulfillment of self-government as articulated in the founding view of limited government and the sovereignty of the people.
- As the epitome of Andrew Jackson's political philosophy and policies, teach about his tour de force against the National Bank of the United States. Jackson left no tactic unused and threw his entire personality and popularity against the bank and, in his eyes, in defense of the common man. Read and discuss with students Jackson's veto message.
- Teach about Nat Turner's revolt, the debate over slavery in the Virginia General Assembly of 1831–32 that followed, the series of tightening restrictions on slaves, and the hardening of the slaveholding position during the 1830s and 1840s.

- Note the continued North-South divide manifesting itself in the Nullification Crisis of 1833, and Andrew Jackson’s somewhat surprising position against the idea of nullification. Some at the time saw the tariff issue as merely a front for slaveholding states to preserve their power to protect slavery. Read and discuss with the class portions of the debate between Daniel Webster and Robert Hayne on the nature of the union to see the fault lines that would dominate the next half-century.
- Take the opportunity when discussing the Indian Removal Act to recap the history of relations between American settlers and Native Americans. *Land of Hope*’s treatment of this topic on pages 115–117 is very good. When it comes to a settled policy, few were ever solidified, and those that were formalized were rarely enforced or openly broken, by settlers or governments or sometimes by tribes. Some frontier settlements were lawless places where the presence of greed, dishonesty, and brutality were unmistakable. When teaching the resettlement chapter of American and Native American history in particular, it is important to capture the diversity of thoughts, motivations, and actions by the different parties: bad, good, and mixed. The general treatment of Native Americans is a bitter and sad part of America’s history, and unfortunately one that may have been better if a more deliberate and imaginative policy were devised, and if the view of the human person laid out in the Declaration of Independence had been more consistently referenced in relationships with the indigenous population. Read Theodore Frelinghuysen’s speech on the Indian Removal Bill, John Ross’ Address to the People of the United States, and Andrew Jackson’s defense of the Act to understand this part of American history. Additionally, spend time teaching about efforts to maintain Native American heritage, such as how Sequoyah and the Cherokee sought to preserve their culture.
- Explain to students how the growth in population in the North compared to the South would eventually allow Northern states to restrict slavery further and perhaps even abolish it with a constitutional amendment. Use the Missouri Compromise map handout (*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, pages 274–275) to show students the situation in 1820 compared to 1850. Slaveholders recognized that they had to expand the number of slave states if they were to prohibit such actions by Northerners. The challenge, however, was that they needed Northern states to acquiesce to such expansion. To do so, they appealed to the argument that slavery was a positive good, as articulated in the writings of John C. Calhoun. Students should read Calhoun’s speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions in order to examine his arguments and to understand how Calhoun explicitly rejects the American founding principles as captured in the Declaration of Independence. Students should work through and understand the serious faults in Calhoun’s arguments.
- Share the stories of the Texas Revolution, including the Alamo, Texas’s subsequent efforts to join the United States, and the effects of the Texas question on American politics.
- Discuss the immigration waves from Ireland and Germany during the 1840s, where most of the people settled first in New York and New England. And discuss the growing reform efforts in the areas of temperance, women’s political participation, and abolitionism.
- Outline for students the emerging American literary tradition, spending time especially with the romantics and Transcendentalists of New England. Ask students to think about these figures and their ideas in light of the new religious movements and the democratic spirit they learned about in the last lesson.
- Introduce and discuss the idea of “manifest destiny” with students. *Land of Hope*’s treatment of this topic on pages 154–155 is especially helpful. In brief, manifest destiny involved many different dimensions, some of which were noble; others less so. Even then, the meaning of this

expression in the minds of different people varied greatly. The common point is that many Americans believed—based on the situation at the time—that America was destined to reach from coast to coast across a comparably sparsely populated wilderness, and to do great things for freedom, human flourishing, and individuals in the process. This was the sentiment that influenced many decisions during the 1830s and 1840s. Read with students the parts of John Louis O’Sullivan’s “The Great Nation of Futurity,” in which he uses the phrase “manifest destiny” and attempts to explain what it means.

- Present the less-than-honorable origins and intentions behind the Mexican-American War within the contexts of the annexation of Texas, manifest destiny, the consequences of expansion for the slave-state/free-state balance of power, and the resistance to the war by figures such as Abraham Lincoln and Henry David Thoreau.
- Ask students to identify and compare the various advantages and disadvantages of each side at the outset of the war and how these shifted over the years. Having students take simple notes as a “T-Chart” can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Introduce students to the contemporary style of warfare by using images, maps, and artifacts. This approach will provide a foundation for their subsequent study of battles, help them to understand what happens in battle, and allow them to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Teach the Mexican-American War with a pace that captures the swiftness with which it was fought and concluded. Explain each side’s strategy at various stages of the war, tactics and battle plans, and the battles themselves in more general terms compared to the War of Independence and the War of 1812. Employ battle maps often. As with any conflict, draw attention to the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war. Of special interest in teaching this war is foreshadowing the many soldiers who would rise to famous generalships during the Civil War a dozen years later.
- Emphasize with students the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and its effects on American territory and politics.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the major policies of Andrew Jackson’s administration and their effects on American politics and democratic life (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the ideas behind “manifest destiny” and the ways in which this assumption showed itself during the 1830s and 1840s (1–2 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.6

The Early Republic | Lesson 4
Land of Hope, Pages 112-117, 126-127, 129-138

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was Andrew Jackson's position in the Nullification Crisis of 1823–33?
2. How did Andrew Jackson respond to the Supreme Court decision *Worcester v. Georgia*?
3. Name one reform movement from the first half of the nineteenth century mentioned in the text.
4. Name one American author from the first half of the nineteenth century mentioned in the text.
5. What was one idea of Transcendentalism?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.7

The Early Republic | Lesson 4
Land of Hope, Pages 146-156

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one passive or indirect way that slaves resisted their enslavement?
2. How did stances toward slavery change in slave states following Nat Turner's Rebellion?
3. Who was the prominent American who first led three hundred settlers into Texas?
4. What was Andrew Jackson's policy toward Texas's request for annexation?
5. What justification did America make for starting the Mexican-American War?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Study Guide — The Early Republic Test

Unit 3

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1787	Constitutional Convention
1788	Constitution ratified
1789	Elections held; First Congress convened; George Washington inaugurated; French Revolution begins
1800	Thomas Jefferson elected
1803	US purchases the Louisiana Territory from Napoleonic France
1812–15	War of 1812
1815	Battle of New Orleans
1816–19	Era of Good Feelings
1820	Missouri Compromise
1828	Andrew Jackson elected
1836	Texas independence
1845	US annexes Texas
1846–48	Mexican-American War

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

New Orleans	Lake Erie	Goliad
Washington City in the Federal District of Columbia	Lake Champlain	Republic of Texas
Northwest Territory	Florida Territory	Oklahoma Territory
Barbary Coast	Mexico	Oregon Country
Louisiana Territory	Tejas	Rio Grande
St. Louis	Deep South	California Territory
	Missouri	San Francisco Bay
	The Alamo	

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

George Washington	James Madison	John Marshall
John Adams	Eli Whitney	Napoleon Bonaparte
Thomas Jefferson	John Jay	Meriwether Lewis
Alexander Hamilton	Aaron Burr	William Clark

Sacagawea
 Davy Crockett
 Dolley Madison
 Tecumseh
 Oliver Perry
 Francis Scott Key
 Andrew Jackson
 James Monroe
 Henry Clay
 John C. Calhoun
 John Quincy Adams
 Daniel Webster

Alexis de Tocqueville
 Stephen F. Austin
 Joseph Smith
 William Lloyd Garrison
 Sam Houston
 Antonio López
 de Santa Anna
 Sequoyah
 Martin Van Buren
 William Henry Harrison
 John Tyler
 Brigham Young

Henry David Thoreau
 Nathaniel Hawthorne
 Elizabeth Cady Stanton
 Frederick Douglass
 Levi and Catharine Coffin
 Harriet Tubman
 James Polk
 Zachary Taylor
 Abraham Lincoln
 Winfield Scott
 John Frémont

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

Bill of Rights
 cabinet
 bureaucracy
 war debt
 Whiskey Rebellion
 French Revolution
 Judiciary Act of 1789
 Jay's Treaty
 Fugitive Slave Law
 cotton gin
 First Party System
 Alien and Sedition Acts
 Kentucky and Virginia
 Resolutions
 nullification
Marbury v. Madison
 judicial review
 Louisiana Purchase
 Napoleonic Wars
 Corps of Discovery
 Barbary Pirates
 US Marine Corps
 Act Prohibiting Importation
 of Slaves of 1807
 impressment
 Embargo Act of 1807

Battle of Tippecanoe
 war hawks
 War of 1812
 Battle of Lake Erie
 Burning of Washington
 Hartford Convention
 Battle of Horseshoe Bend
 Battle of New Orleans
 Treaty of Ghent
 "Era of Good Feelings"
 49th Parallel
 immigration
 internal improvements
 steel-cast plow
 mechanical reaper
 Second Great Awakening
 Evangelism
 Mormonism
 American System
McCulloch v. Maryland
 slave trade
 Missouri Compromise
 Monroe Doctrine
Democracy in America
 Nat Turner Rebellion
 gag rule

"positive good"
 "state sovereignty"
 "We the People"
 secession
 Nullification Crisis
 Bank of the United States
Worcester v. Georgia
 Indian Removal Act
 Cherokee
 Trail of Tears
 The Alamo
 Texas Revolution
 Second Party System
 railroad
 temperance
 abolitionism
 Underground Railroad
 personal liberty laws
 Transcendentalism
 manifest destiny
 Morse code
 annexation
 Spot Resolutions
 Mexican-American War
 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
 Mexican Cession

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well-prepared.

Thanksgiving Proclamation, George Washington
Farewell Address, George Washington
Fourth of July address, John Quincy Adams
Address to the People of the United States, John Ross
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson
Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, John C. Calhoun
“The Great Nation of Futurity,” John Louis O’Sullivan

TO KNOW BY HEART

Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.” —George Washington, Farewell Address

“Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious People. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other.” —John Adams, To the Officers of the Militia of Massachusetts

“Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever.” —Thomas Jefferson on slavery in America

“[America] goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.... Her glory is not dominion, but liberty.” —John Quincy Adams

“[He] loved his country partly because it was his own country, but mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with zeal for its advancement, prosperity, and glory, because he saw in such, the advancement, prosperity, and glory of human liberty, human right, and human nature.”
—Abraham Lincoln, eulogy for Henry Clay

“America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.” —Alexis de Tocqueville

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, James Madison, Dolley Madison, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
- The ebb and flow of the friendship between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson
- The death of George Washington
- Lucien Bonaparte's account of Napoleon's sale of Louisiana to the United States
- Entries from the diaries of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark
- Aaron Burr killing Alexander Hamilton in a duel
- William Henry Harrison's account of Tecumseh
- The burning of Washington, DC, including the Executive Mansion
- The defense of Fort McHenry and the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner"
- The Battle of New Orleans and how it occurred after a peace treaty had been signed—unknown to the battle participants
- The deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on July 4, 1826
- Andrew Jackson's many duels, rivalries, feats, and accomplishments, before he became president
- Margaret Bayard Smith's account of the inauguration of Andrew Jackson
- The 1831–32 slavery debate in the Virginia General Assembly
- Frederick Douglass's account of his experience with a slave breaker
- Toasts between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun regarding nullification at a Democratic Party dinner
- The passage of the Force Act and Henry Clay's deal-making to resolve the Nullification Crisis
- Accounts of the Battle of the Alamo
- Accounts of the start of the Trail of Tears
- Accounts of traveling the Oregon Trail
- The US Marines entering the "Halls of Montezuma" during the Mexican-American War

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The New Government

- ☐ What challenges did George Washington face at the start of and during his presidency?
- ☐ What were the competing visions for America's future based on the views of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson?
- ☐ What were Alexander Hamilton's greatest contributions to the young nation?
- ☐ What were the stances of George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson regarding the conflict between Great Britain and the French revolutionaries?
- ☐ How were the American and French Revolutions similar and different? What factors accounted for the very different outcomes?

- ☐ How did George Washington navigate foreign policy concerning the French Revolution and Great Britain?
- ☐ How did Eli Whitney's cotton gin change the course of slavery in America from what many during the founding generation had expected?
- ☐ How does the American federal judiciary system operate, based on the Judiciary Act?
- ☐ What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.
- ☐ In what sense may it be said that George Washington was America's "indispensable man"?
- ☐ How might John Adams's presidency be characterized?
- ☐ What risks emerged as the result of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions?
- ☐ What was so consequential about the election of 1800 and the subsequent change in administrations?

Lesson 2 | Prospects, Uncertainties, and War

- ☐ What were the major actions and characteristics of Thomas Jefferson's presidency?
- ☐ What were the three major foreign policy issues that Thomas Jefferson addressed?
- ☐ What was the impact of the Louisiana Purchase on America's future?
- ☐ What did Congress and Thomas Jefferson outlaw in 1808?
- ☐ What were Thomas Jefferson's views and actions, both personal and public, regarding slavery?
- ☐ What did the Supreme Court establish in *Marbury v. Madison*? How did John Marshall arrive at this determination?
- ☐ What role did John Marshall and the other Federalist-appointed judges play in the early decades of the republic?
- ☐ What were the causes of the War of 1812? How was war actually declared?
- ☐ What were the major moments during the War of 1812? How can we characterize America's degree of success during this war?
- ☐ Why was the Battle of New Orleans important for America's future, even though it was unwittingly fought after a peace treaty had been signed?
- ☐ What were the terms of the Treaty of Ghent?

Lesson 3 | The American Way

- ☐ How was America changing during the 1820s and 1830s, particularly concerning immigration, transportation, and the prospects for both business and the common man?
- ☐ What kind of religious and reform movements emerged during the 1820s and 1830s?
- ☐ What was life like for slaves during the early nineteenth century?
- ☐ How did the status of slavery change following the invention of the cotton gin? How was this similar to and different from the status of slavery in the founding generation—before 1789?
- ☐ In what ways did the division over slavery manifest itself, and how was this division usually addressed by politicians?
- ☐ Why was there disagreement over the admission of Missouri into the Union, especially compared to the admittance of other slave states previously? How did the Missouri Compromise resolve the issue for the time being?
- ☐ What was Henry Clay's "American System"?
- ☐ What did the Monroe Doctrine state? To what extent was it realistic at the time? How effective was it and why?

- ☐ What was the “Corrupt Bargain,” and how did it affect John Quincy Adams’s presidency?
- ☐ What did Andrew Jackson mean by “democracy”?
- ☐ Why did Andrew Jackson promote the common man?
- ☐ What risks did Andrew Jackson believe were threats to the well-being of the common man?
- ☐ What were Alexis de Tocqueville’s major observations about democracy in America?
- ☐ What risks to the American experiment in self-government did Alexis de Tocqueville observe in American society?

Lesson 4 | Manifest Destiny

- ☐ What were the arguments concerning slavery that delegates debated during the 1831–32 meeting of the Virginia General Assembly?
- ☐ How did the South’s stance toward slavery change in response to the Nat Turner Rebellion?
- ☐ Which of Andrew Jackson’s actions as president demonstrated his democratic ideas?
- ☐ How did the “state sovereignty” and “We the people” views of union differ from each other?
- ☐ What was at issue during the Nullification Crisis? What roles did Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay play during the crisis?
- ☐ What policies were adopted concerning Native Americans during the 1820s and 1830s? To what extent did these policies represent an attempt to resolve the conflicts between Native Americans and settlers?
- ☐ How did the National Bank work? What were the arguments for and against the rechartering of the National Bank?
- ☐ How did Andrew Jackson respond to decisions of the Supreme Court with which he disagreed? Why did he believe he was justified to act in these ways?
- ☐ How did the Texas Revolution come about?
- ☐ What was the Whig Party platform?
- ☐ What were the main ideas of Transcendentalism?
- ☐ What was the idea of “manifest destiny”? Why were many Americans confident in this assumption?
- ☐ How did the Mexican-American War begin? What were James Polk’s motivations for the war?
- ☐ Why did the Americans win the Mexican-American War?

Name _____

Date _____

Test — The Early Republic

Unit 3

TIMELINE

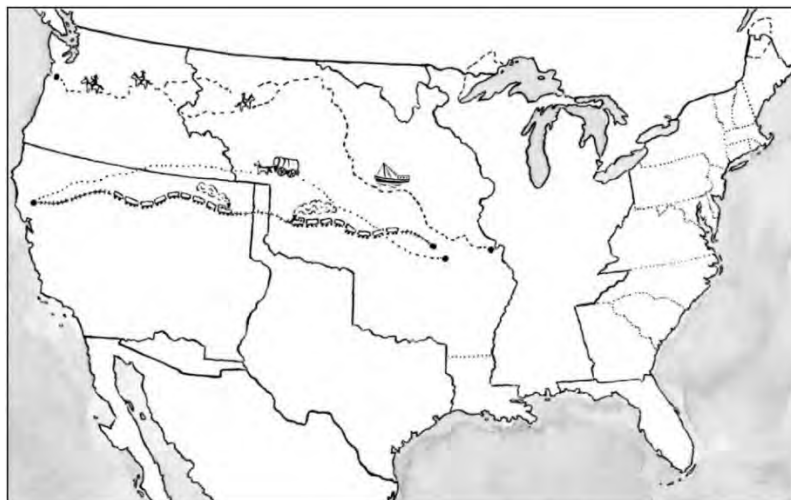
Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

1787	_____	A. Andrew Jackson elected
1788	_____	B. Battle of New Orleans
1789	_____	C. Constitution ratified
1800	_____	D. Constitutional Convention
1803	_____	E. Elections held; First Congress convened; George Washington inaugurated; French Revolution begins
1812–15	_____	F. Era of Good Feelings
1815	_____	G. Mexican-American War
1816–19	_____	H. Missouri Compromise
1820	_____	I. Texas independence
1828	_____	J. Thomas Jefferson elected
1836	_____	K. US annexes Texas
1845	_____	L. US purchases the Louisiana Territory from France
1846–48	_____	M. War of 1812

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Mark the location of each place on the map using dots, circling, and the corresponding letters:

A. New Orleans	F. Lake Erie	K. Oklahoma Territory
B. Washington, DC	G. Mexico	L. Oregon Country
C. Northwest Territory	H. Deep South	M. Rio Grande
D. Louisiana Territory	I. Missouri	N. California Territory
E. St. Louis	J. Republic of Texas	O. San Francisco Bay



Map courtesy of
A Student Workbook
for Land of Hope.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank.

2. Although his debt-reduction plan angered several special interest groups, _____'s financial plans helped restore the credit of the fledgling United States and placed the country on a path to prosperity based on early industrialism. In 1804, without firing a shot himself, he was shot and killed in a duel by his rival, Aaron Burr.
3. Despite Washington's efforts and warnings, the party spirit began to divide America even during his administration. The two unofficial parties in this first party system were the _____s, who tended to be more democratic, pro-France, and in favor of both an agrarian society and state governments; and the _____s, who envisioned a stronger national government, an industry-based society, and support for Great Britain.
4. Having served his country as a respected lawyer, revolutionary leader, ambassador, and Vice President—and arguably the most intelligent of the Founding Fathers—_____’s presidency suffered in part from his stubborn and cantankerous character but also from having to follow the magnanimous George Washington. It was during his tenure that the president first resided in the new capital of Washington, DC, in the Executive Mansion.
5. Domestic divisions over the Napoleonic Wars led to early challenges for the Constitution, including the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the assertions that states could declare a law unconstitutional, as expressed in the _____ and _____ Resolutions.
6. In a very un-Jeffersonian move, President Thomas Jefferson dispatched the US Marines to fight the _____ in Tripoli to end the exaction of tribute and assert the practice of freedom of the seas for American shipping.
7. Chief Justice John Marshall outlined the power of _____ in the majority decision for *Marbury v. Madison*, establishing the Supreme Court’s authority to judge laws to be unconstitutional and cementing the authority of both the federal courts and federal government.
8. The Jefferson administration doubled the size of America in the greatest land deal of all time (\$15 million for 500 million acres, or 3 cents per acre) when it purchased the _____ from Napoleonic France, which offered the land in order to raise money to launch its wars of conquest in Europe.
9. Known as the “Father of the Constitution,” _____’s first term as president consisted of a gradual, avoidable, and poorly handled “slipping-towards-war” with Great Britain, which deeply divided the nation. First Lady Dolley had to flee the Executive Mansion as the British burned Washington, DC.

10. The Indiana Territory governor-general William Henry Harrison fought the commanding Indian leader _____ at the Battle of Tippecanoe, forcing the latter to flee to British Canada, where three years later he would be killed in battle during the Thames Campaign in the War of 1812.
11. During the early 1800s, a religious revival known as the _____ along the frontier emphasized spiritualism and feeling. The movement increased the size of the distinctly American denominations of Baptists and Methodists and saw the emergence of Mormonism.
12. The rather quiet and gentlemanly _____ served his country with distinction ever since the Battle of Trenton, in which he had been severely wounded. As his reputation for statesmanship grew with his career, he not only secured the Louisiana Purchase for Thomas Jefferson but as Secretary of War he also helped the nation regroup after the Burning of Washington during the War of 1812. He ushered in the “Era of Good Feelings” and the most famous act of his presidency was the issuance of his foreign policy doctrine which warned European nations against starting new colonies in the Western Hemisphere.
13. In 1807 Congress passed and President Thomas Jefferson signed into law an Act Prohibiting _____ of _____, thus banning the practice at the first opportunity provided by the US Constitution.
14. Known as the “Great Compromiser,” _____ was a renowned statesman similarly despised and admired by friend and foe alike. He would help work out three agreements that would preserve the Union, beginning with the Missouri Compromise.
15. Congress and President Andrew Jackson enacted the _____ that authorized the federal government to negotiate treaties with Native Americans that would relocate them to territories in the west. When Native American populations refused to move voluntarily under the terms of treaties signed by what they consider imposter leaders, federal troops were used to escort Native Americans to the west by force and without proper care for their health or safety.
16. The most notable action of Jackson’s presidency was his battle against the _____, during which he defied both Congress and the Supreme Court in his belief of its unconstitutionality.
17. Western settlement of North America during the 1830s and ’40s was aided by new farming techniques and inventions, such as the steel-cast plow by John Deere and the mechanical reaper by Cyrus McCormick. Moreover, transportation was made easier by travelling by steamboat on the Mississippi River and by _____ over land.

18. Mexican forces under the leadership of their military-dictator _____ wiped out a force of Tennessee sharpshooters who ignored Samuel Houston's orders to retreat in the Battle of the Alamo. The event was dubbed an atrocity by the Texans and, together with the memory of the Goliad Massacre, the Texans were able to win their independence from Mexico.
19. Having campaigned with the slogan "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!," _____, in his inaugural address, promised to do four things: lower tariffs, establish an independent treasury system, settle the question about the Oregon Country with Great Britain, and secure the abundant and natural land of Texas from Mexico, in addition to promising only to serve one term. He accomplished each of these goals during his administration.
20. Asserting that the president purposefully provoked Mexican aggression by sending forces under Zachary Taylor beyond the River Nueces and to the banks of the Rio Grande, the first-year Whig Congressman _____ introduced demands that the president explain on exactly which spot in American territory the attack by Mexicans on American troops took place. Due to these "Spot Resolutions," this Congressman lost his seat in the House of Representatives in the next election.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and identify the source.

21. "Our _____ was made only for a _____ and _____ People. It is wholly _____ to the government of any other."

Speaker: _____

"Indeed I _____ for my country when I reflect that God is _____; that his justice cannot _____ forever."

Speaker: _____

Topic: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

22. The Battle of New Orleans

23. The 1831–32 slavery debate in the Virginia General Assembly

24. Accounts of the Trail of Tears

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and good writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

25. What were the competing visions for America's future based on the views of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson?

26. How were the American and French Revolutions similar and different? What factors accounted for the very different outcomes?
27. How did Eli Whitney's cotton gin change the course of slavery in America from what many during the founding generation had expected?
28. What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.
29. What was the impact of the Louisiana Purchase on America's future?
30. What were Thomas Jefferson's views and actions, both personal and public, regarding slavery?
31. What were the causes of the War of 1812? How was war actually declared?
32. Why was the Battle of New Orleans important for America's future, even though it was unwittingly fought after a peace treaty had been signed?
33. How was America changing during the 1820s and 1830s, particularly concerning immigration, transportation, and the prospects for both business and the common man?

34. What was life like for slaves during the early nineteenth century?
35. In what ways did the division over slavery manifest itself, and how was this division usually addressed by politicians?
36. What risks did Andrew Jackson believe were threats to the well-being of the common man?
37. What risks to the American experiment in self-government did Alexis de Tocqueville observe in American society?
38. What was at issue during the Nullification Crisis? What roles did Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay play during the crisis?
39. How did the National Bank work? What were the arguments for and against the rechartering of the National Bank?
40. How did Andrew Jackson respond to decisions of the Supreme Court with which he disagreed? Why did he believe he was justified to act in these ways?
41. What was the idea of “manifest destiny”? Why were many Americans confident in this assumption?

Writing Assignment — The Early Republic

Unit 3

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 500–800-word essay answering this question:

In what ways did the first half-century of American history under the US Constitution demonstrate further fulfillments of and departures from the ideas presented in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

George Washington

Alexander Hamilton

Thomas Jefferson

James Tallmadge

John Quincy Adams

James Monroe

Alexis de Tocqueville

Daniel Webster

Robert Hayne

Theodore Frelinghuysen

John Ross

Andrew Jackson

John C. Calhoun

John Louis O’Sullivan

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON**A Proclamation****PROCLAMATION**

October 3, 1789

Federal Hall | New York City, New York

Thanksgiving Proclamation

BACKGROUND

In response to a joint resolution of Congress, President George Washington issued this proclamation.

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By the President of the United States of America, a Proclamation.

Whereas it is the duty of all Nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favor—and whereas both Houses of Congress have by their joint Committee requested me

5 “to recommend to the People of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many signal favors of Almighty God especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness.”

Now therefore I do recommend and assign Thursday the 26th day of November next to be

10 devoted by the People of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being, who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be—That we may then all unite in rendering unto him our sincere and humble thanks—for his kind care and protection of the People of this Country previous to their becoming a Nation—for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favorable interpositions of his Providence which we

15 experienced in the course and conclusion of the late war—for the great degree of tranquility,

George Washington, “Thanksgiving Proclamation,” 3 October 1789, in *The Papers of George Washington*, “Presidential Series,” Vol. 4, 8 September 1789–15 January 1790, ed. Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 131–32.

Thanksgiving Proclamation
George Washington

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union, and plenty, which we have since enjoyed—for the peaceable and rational manner, in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national One now lately instituted—for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed; and the means we have of acquiring and
5 diffusing useful knowledge; and in general for all the great and various favors which he hath been pleased to confer upon us.

And also that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations and beseech him to pardon our national and other transgressions—to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our
10 several and relative duties properly and punctually—to render our national government a blessing to all the people, by constantly being a Government of wise, just, and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed—to protect and guide all Sovereigns and Nations (especially such as have shewn kindness unto us) and to bless them with good government, peace, and concord—To promote the knowledge and practice of true religion
15 and virtue, and the increase of science among them and us—and generally to grant unto all Mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.

Given under my hand at the City of New-York the third day of October in the year of our Lord 1789.

George Washington

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON

To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island

LETTER

August 21, 1790

BACKGROUND

During President George Washington's goodwill visit to Newport following Rhode Island's ratification of the Constitution, Moses Seixas—a leading official in Newport and a member of the local Jewish synagogue—publicly read a letter to Washington. Washington responded three days later in a letter of his own.

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Gentlemen:

While I receive, with much satisfaction, your Address replete with expressions of esteem; I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you, that I shall always retain grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced in my visit to Newport, from all classes of Citizens.

- 5 The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger which are past is rendered the more sweet, from a consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon prosperity and security. If we have wisdom to make the best use of the advantages with which we are now favored, we cannot fail, under the just administration of a good Government, to become a great and happy people.
- 10 The Citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy worthy of

George Washington, "To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island," 18 August 1790, in *The Papers of George Washington, 1748-1799*, "Presidential Series," Vol. 6, ed. W. W. Abbott et al. (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1996), 284-85.

Letter to the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island
George Washington

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imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my Administration and fervent wishes for my felicity. May the Children of the Stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other Inhabitants; while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid. May the father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in his own due time and way everlastingly happy.

TREASURY SECRETARY ALEXANDER HAMILTON

On the French Revolution

UNPUBLISHED WRITING FRAGMENT

1794

BACKGROUND

In an unpublished and unfinished piece, Alexander Hamilton expresses serious concerns over the irreligiosity of the French Revolution.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What are the opinions that threaten the foundations of religion, morality, and society?
2. Which two groups are the enemies of religion and government?
3. How is the French Revolution the practical development of these irreligious and anarchic opinions?

Alexander Hamilton, "Fragment on the French Revolution," 1794, in *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, Vol. 8, Federal Edition, ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), 425-29.

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Facts, numerous and unequivocal, demonstrate that the present aera is among the most extraordinary, which have occurred in the history of human affairs. Opinions, for a long time, have been gradually gaining ground, which threaten the foundations of Religion, Morality and Society. An attack was first made upon the Christian Revelation; for which natural Religion was offered as the substitute. The Gospel was to be discarded as a gross imposture; but the being and attributes of a God, the obligations of piety, even the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments were to be retained and cherished.

In proportion as success has appeared to attend the plan, a bolder project has been unfolded. The very existence of a Deity has been questioned, and in some instances denied.

The duty of piety has been ridiculed, the perishable nature of man asserted and his hopes bounded to the short span of his earthly state. Death has been proclaimed an Eternal Sleep—"the dogma of the *immortality* of the soul a *cheat* invented to torment the living for the benefit of the dead." Irreligion, no longer confined to the closets of concealed sophists, nor to the haunts of wealthy riot, has more or less displayed its hideous front among all classes.

Wise and good men took a lead in delineating the odious character of Despotism; in exhibiting the advantages of a moderate and well-balanced government, in inviting nations to contend for the enjoyment of rational liberty. Fanatics in political science have since exaggerated and perverted their doctrines. Theories of Government unsuited to the nature of man, miscalculating the force of his passions, disregarding the lessons of experimental wisdom, have been projected and recommended. These have every where attracted sectaries and every where the fabric of Government has been in different degrees undermined.

A league has at length been cemented between the apostles and disciples of irreligion and of anarchy. Religion and Government have both been stigmatised as abuses; as unwarrantable restraints upon the freedom of man; as causes of the corruption of his nature, intrinsically good; as sources of an artificial and false morality, which tyrannically robs him of the enjoyments for which his passions fit him; and as cloggs upon his progress to the perfection for which he was destined.

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As a corollary from these premisses, it is a favourite tenet of the sect that religious opinion of any sort is unnecessary to Society; that the maxims of a genuine morality and the authority of the Magistracy and the laws are a sufficient and ought to be the only security for civil rights and private happiness.

- 5 As another corollary, it is occasionally maintained by the same sect, that but a small portion of power is requisite to Government; that even this portion is only temporarily necessary, in consequence of the bad habits which have been produced by the errors of ancient systems; and that as human nature shall refine and ameliorate by the operation of a more enlightened plan, government itself will become useless, and Society will subsist and flourish free from its shackles.

If all the votaries of this new philosophy do not go the whole length of its frantic creed; they all go far enough to endanger the full extent of the mischiefs which are inherent in so wild and fatal a scheme; every modification of which aims a mortal blow at the vitals of human happiness.

- 15 The practical developement of this pernicious system has been seen in France. It has served as an engine to subvert all her antient institutions civil and religious, with all the checks that served to mitigate the rigour of authority; it has hurried her headlong through a rapid succession of dreadful revolutions, which have laid waste property, made havoc among the arts, overthrow cities, desolated provinces, unpeopled regions, crimsoned her soil with blood and deluged it in crime poverty and wretchedness; and all this as yet for no better purpose than to erect on the ruins of former things a despotism unlimited and untrouled; leaving to a deluded, an abused, a plundered, a scourged and an oppressed people not even the shadow of liberty, to console them for a long train of substantial misfortunes, of bitter sufferings.

- 25 This horrid system seemed awhile to threaten the subversion of civilized Society and the introduction of general disorder among mankind. And though the frightful evils, which have been its first and only fruits, have given a check to its progress, it is to be feared that the poison has spread too widely and penetrated too deeply, to be as yet eradicated. Its

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activity has indeed been suspended, but the elements remain concocting for new eruptions as occasion shall permit. It is greatly to be apprehended, that mankind is not near the end of the misfortunes, which it is calculated to produce, and that it still portends a long train of convulsion, Revolution, carnage, devastation, and misery.

- 5 Symptoms of the too great prevalence of this system in the United States are alarmingly visible. It was by its influence, that efforts were made to embark this country in a common cause with France in the early period of the present war; to induce our government to sanction and promote her odious principles and views with the blood and treasure of our citizens. It is by its influence, that every succeeding revolution has been approved or excused—
- 10 all the horrors that have been committed justified or extenuated—that even the last usurpation, which contradicts all the ostensible principles of the Revolution, has been regarded with complacency; and the despotic constitution engendered by it slyly held up as a model not unworthy of our Imitation.

In the progress of this system, impiety and infidelity have advanced with gigantic strides.

- 15 Prodigious crimes heretofore unknown among us are seen. The chief and idol of...[ENDS]

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON

To the People of America

LETTER

September 19, 1796

American Daily Advertiser | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Farewell Address

BACKGROUND

George Washington wrote this letter to the American people announcing his retirement from the Presidency after his second term. At the time, there were no term limits on the presidency.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is one of the main pillars supporting American independence, according to Washington?
2. How are the various geographical parts of the country connected to one another?
3. What are Washington's main criticisms of partisanship?
4. Which habits are necessary for political prosperity and popular government?
5. Why is Washington opposed to permanent alliances with other nations?
6. What should be the foreign policy of the United States in relation to other nations?

George Washington, "Farewell Address," 19 September 1796, in *George Washington: A Collection*, ed. W. B. Allen (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1988), 512–17.

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Friends, and Fellow Citizens:

The period for a new election of a Citizen, to Administer the Executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it
5 appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation,
10 which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your Suffrages have
15 twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire.

I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last
20 Election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our Affairs with foreign Nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the
25 pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

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The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the Organization and Administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the Passions agitated in every direction were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of Success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your Union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its Administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and Virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a

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preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

5 Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them
10 the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

15 The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in
20 your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment
25 to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our

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Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to You, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits and political Principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts; of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your Interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal Laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of Maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same Intercourse, benefitting by the Agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the National navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a Maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future Maritime strength of the

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Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one Nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious.

- 5 While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular Interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their Peace by foreign Nations; and, what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and Wars between
10 themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown Military establishments, which under any form of Government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded
15 as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

- These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of Patriotic desire. Is there a
20 doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective Subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts
25 of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason, to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

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In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by Geographical discriminations: Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of Party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other Districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render Alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen, in the Negotiation by the Executive; and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests [in] regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two Treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our Foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with Aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all Alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its

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own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution
5 which at any time exists, 'til changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the People to establish Government presupposes the duty of every Individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and Associations, under
10 whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the Constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party; often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the Community; and, ac-
15 cording to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the Mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or Associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become po-
20 tent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its
25 acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of

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Governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypotheses and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypotheses and opinion, and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the Society within the limits prescribed by the Laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human Mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an Individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

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Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public administration. It agitates the Community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the government and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in Governments of a Monarchical cast Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free Country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective Constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our

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country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote then as an object of primary importance, Institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible: avoiding occasions of expense by cultivat-

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ing peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of Peace to discharge the Debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the Conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human Nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one Nation against

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another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to War the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the Nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the Liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and Wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification: It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concession; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite Nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition[,] corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful Nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

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Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of
5 the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real Patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to
10 surrender their interests.

The Great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connections as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled, with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation.
15 Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities:

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If
20 we remain one People, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest
25 guided by justice shall Counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle

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our peace and prosperity in the toils of European Ambition, Rivalship, Interest, Humor or Caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent Alliances, with any portion of the foreign world. So far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it, for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements (I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy). I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all Nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of Commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with Powers so disposed; in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants, and to enable the Government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one Nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its Independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors and yet, of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from Nation to Nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my Countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression, I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which

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has hitherto marked the Destiny of Nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the Impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense
5 for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my Official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public Records and other evidences of my conduct must Witness to You and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

10 In relation to the still subsisting War in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793 is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of Your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

15 After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain I was well satisfied that our Country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a Neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter,
20 that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent powers has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a Neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every Nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of Peace and amity towards other Nations.

25 The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without

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interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my Administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my Country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its Service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the Mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several Generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow Citizens, the benign influence of good Laws under a free Government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN)

First Inaugural Address

SPEECH

March 4, 1801

Old Senate Chamber | U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President Thomas Jefferson delivered this address upon his inauguration in 1801.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What “sacred principle” does Jefferson invoke?
2. What has America “banished from our land” and what must still be cast out?
3. Has the American Republic been successful?
4. What does Jefferson say about American geography and culture?
5. What are the essential principles of American government?

Maryland Gazette (12 March 1801): 2—3.

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Friends and Fellow Citizens:

- Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward
- 5 me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies
- 10 beyond the reach of mortal eye—when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue, and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our
- 15 Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.
- 20 During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite
- 25 in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and

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one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own federal and republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation;

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entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them

5 inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter—with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from

10 injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything

15 dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest

20 friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild

25 and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy

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of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose preeminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional, and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past, and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

First Inaugural Address
Thomas Jefferson

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Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

5

REP. JAMES TALLMADGE, JR. (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN-NY)

On the Amendment to the Missouri Statehood Bill

SPEECH EXCERPTS

February 16, 1819

House of Representatives Chamber, U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

New York Representative James Tallmadge, Jr., offered these remarks on his proposed amendment to a bill to make the Missouri Territory a state.

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Sir, has it already come to this; that in the Congress of the United States . . . the subject of slavery has become a subject of so much feeling—of such delicacy, of such danger, that it cannot safely be discussed? . . . Are we to be told of the dissolution of the Union; of civil war, and of seas of blood? And yet, with such awful threatenings before us, do gentlemen,

5 in the same breath, insist upon the encouragement of this evil; upon the extensions of this monstrous scourge of the human race? An evil so fraught with such dire calamities to us as individuals, and to our nation, and threatening, in its progress, to overwhelm the civil and religious institutions of the country, with the liberties of the nation, ought at once to be met, and to be controlled. If its power, its influence, and its impending dangers have already

10 arrived at such a point that it is not safe to discuss it on this floor, and it cannot now pass under consideration as a proper subject for general legislation, what will be the result when it is spread through your widely extended domain? Its present threatening aspect, and the violence of its supporters so far from inducing me to yield to its progress, prompts me to resist its march. Now is the time. It must now be met, and the extension of the evil must

15 now be prevented, or the occasion is irrecoverably lost, and the evil can never be contracted.

Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, 1203–14.

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...Sir, we have been told, with apparent confidence, that we have no right to annex conditions to a state on its admission into the Union; and it has been urged that the proposed amendment, prohibiting the further introduction of slavery is unconstitutional. This position, asserted with so much confidence, remains unsupported by any argument, or by any authority derived from the Constitution itself. The Constitution strongly indicates an opposite conclusion, and seems to contemplate a difference between the old and the new states. The practice of the government has sanctioned this difference in many respects....

Sir, the bill now before us proves the correctness of my argument. It is filled with conditions and limitations. . . . And to all these amendments we have heard no objection; they have passed unanimously. But now, when an amendment prohibiting the further introduction of slavery is proposed, the whole House is put in agitation, and we are confidently told that it is unconstitutional to annex conditions on the admission of a new state into the Union. The result of all this is, that all amendments and conditions are proper, which suit a certain class of gentlemen, but whatever amendment is proposed, which does not comport with their interests or their views, is unconstitutional, and a flagrant violation of this sacred charter of our rights. In order to be consistent, gentlemen must go back and strike out the various amendments to which they have already agreed. The Constitution applies equally to all, or to none.

Sir, we have been told that this is a new principle for which we contend, never before adopted, or thought of. So far from this being correct, it is due to the memory of our ancestors to say, it is an old principle, adopted by them, as the policy of our country. Whenever the United States have had the right and the power, they have heretofore prevented the extension of slavery. The states of Kentucky and Tennessee were taken off from other states, and were admitted into the Union without condition, because their lands were never owned by the United States. The Territory Northwest of the Ohio is all the land which ever belonged to them. Shortly after the cession of those lands to the Union, Congress passed, in 1787, a compact which was declared to be unalterable, the sixth article

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of which provides that “there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment for crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.” In pursuance of this compact, all the states formed from that territory have been admitted into the Union upon various considerations, and among which the sixth
5 article of this compact is included as one. . . .

Sir, in the course of the debate on this subject, we have been told that, from the long habit of the Southern and Western people, the possession of slaves has become necessary to them, and an essential requisite in their living. It has been urged, from the nature of the climate and soil of the Southern countries, that the lands cannot be occupied or cultivated without
10 slaves. It has been said that the slaves prosper in those places, and that they are much better off there than in their own native country. We have even been told that, if we succeed, and prevent slavery across the Mississippi, we shall greatly lessen the value of property there, and shall retard, for a long series of years, the settlement of that country.

Sir, if the Western country cannot be settled without slaves, gladly would I prevent its
15 settlement till time shall be no more. If this class of arguments is to prevail, it sets all morals at defiance, and we are called to legislate on the subject, as a matter of mere personal interest. If this is to be the case, repeal all your laws prohibiting the slave trade; throw open this traffic to the commercial states of the East; and, if it better the condition of these wretched beings, invite the dark population of benighted Africa to be translated to the
20 shores of Republican America. But, sir, I will not cast upon this or upon that gentleman an imputation so ungracious as the conclusion to which their arguments would necessarily tend. I do not believe any gentleman on this floor could here advocate the slave trade, or maintain, in the abstract, the principles of slavery. I will not outrage the decorum, nor insult the dignity of this House, by attempting to argue in this place, as an abstract proposition,
25 the moral right of slavery. How gladly would the “legitimates of Europe chuckle” to find an American Congress in debate on such a question!

As an evil brought upon us without our own fault, before the formation of our government, and as one of the sins of that nation from which we have revolted, we must of necessity

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legislate upon this subject. It is our business so to legislate, as never to encourage, but always to control this evil; and, while we strive to eradicate it, we ought to fix its limits, and render it subordinate to the safety of the white population, and the good order of civil society.

5 Sir, on this subject the eyes of Europe are turned upon you. You boast of the freedom of your Constitution and your laws; you have proclaimed, in the Declaration of Independence, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and yet you have slaves in your country. The enemies of your government, and the legitimates of Europe, point to your inconsistencies, and blazon your supposed defects. If
10 you allow slavery to pass into territories where you have the lawful power to exclude it, you will justly take upon yourself all the charges of inconsistency; but, confine it to the original slaveholding states, where you found it at the formation of your government, and you stand acquitted of all imputation. . . .

15 Sir, I shall bow in silence to the will of the majority, on whichever side it shall be expressed; yet I confidently hope that majority will be found on the side of an amendment, so replete with moral consequences, so pregnant with important political results.

SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (FEDERALIST)

An Address Delivered at the Request of a Committee of the Citizens of Washington for Celebrating the Anniversary of Independence at the City of Washington on the Fourth of July

SPEECH EXCERPTS

July 4, 1821

U.S. House of Representatives | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President James Monroe's Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, gave this address to the U.S. House of Representatives on the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

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...And now, friends and countrymen, if the wise and learned philosophers of the elder world, the first observers of nutation and aberration, the discoverers of maddening ether and invisible planets, the inventors of Congreve rockets and Shrapnel shells, should find their hearts disposed to enquire what has America done for the benefit of mankind?

- 5 Let our answer be this: America, with the same voice which spoke herself into existence as a nation, proclaimed to mankind the inextinguishable rights of human nature, and the only lawful foundations of government. America, in the assembly of nations, since her admission among them, has invariably, though often fruitlessly, held forth to them the hand of honest friendship, of equal freedom, of generous reciprocity.

John Quincy Adams, *An Address Delivered at the Request of a Committee of the Citizens of Washington for Celebrating the Anniversary of Independence at the City of Washington on the Fourth of July, 1821* (Cambridge, Hilliard and Metcalf, 1821), 31-32, 34.

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She has uniformly spoken among them, though often to heedless and often to disdainful ears, the language of equal liberty, of equal justice, and of equal rights.

She has, in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of other nations while asserting and maintaining her own.

- 5 She has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart.

She has seen that probably for centuries to come, all the contests of that Aceldama the European world, will be contests of inveterate power, and emerging right.

- 10 Wherever the standard of freedom and Independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions and her prayers be.

But she goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy.

She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all.

She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.

- 15 She will commend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example.

She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom.

- 20 The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force....

She might become the dictatress of the world. She would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit....

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[America's] glory is not dominion, but liberty. Her march is the march of the mind. She has a spear and a shield: but the motto upon her shield is, Freedom, Independence, Peace. This has been her Declaration: this has been, as far as her necessary intercourse with the rest of mankind would permit, her practice.

PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN)**Annual Message to Congress****LETTER EXCERPTS**December 2, 1823
Washington, D.C.

Monroe Doctrine

BACKGROUND

President James Monroe sent his seventh Annual Message to Congress in 1823, as required by the Constitution.

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Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:...

A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers as respects our negotiations and transactions with each is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it that we should form a just estimate of our resources, revenue, and progress in every kind of improvement connected with the national prosperity and public defense. It is by rendering justice to other nations that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to resent injuries and redress wrongs that we may avoid them....

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the North West coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which

James Monroe, Annual Message, December 2, 1823, *Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 1st session, Senate Journal*, 12-19.

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they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of
5 the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers....

A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest and resume their equal station among the nations
10 of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world take a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest and of acquisition with a view to aggrandizement, which
15 mingles so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them; that Greece will become again an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes.

20 It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we
25 derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators.

The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the

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European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do.

It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers.

The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

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The late events in Spain and Portugal shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on
5 the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States.

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is,
10 not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.

But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously
15 different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of
20 Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course....

ALEXIS CHARLES HENRI CLÉREL, COMTE DE TOCQUEVILLE

De La Démocratie en Amérique, Volume I

BOOK EXCERPTS

1835

Saunders and Otley | London, England

BACKGROUND

The French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville wrote his book *Democracy in America* based on his observation of America during a nine-month tour of the country in 1831 and into the early part of 1832.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS****The Principle of the Sovereignty of the People in America**

Whenever the political laws of the United States are to be discussed, it is with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people that we must begin. The principle of the sovereignty of the people, which is to be found, more or less, at the bottom of almost all human institutions, generally remains concealed from view. It is obeyed without being recognized, or if for a moment it be brought to light, it is hastily cast back into the gloom of the sanctuary. “The will of the nation” is one of those expressions which have been most profusely abused by the wily and the despotic of every age. To the eyes of some it has been represented by the venal suffrages of a few of the satellites of power; to others by the votes of a timid or an interested minority; and some have even discovered it in the silence of a people, on the supposition that the fact of submission established the right of command.

In America the principle of the sovereignty of the people is not either barren or concealed, as it is with some other nations; it is recognized by the customs and

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Henry Reeve, trans. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835), I.I.IV, I.I.V, I.I.XII, I.I.XV, I.I.XVII-XVIII, II.II.II.

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proclaimed by the laws; it spreads freely, and arrives without impediment at its most remote consequences. If there be a country in the world where the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people can be fairly appreciated, where it can be studied in its application to the affairs of society, and where its dangers and its advantages may be foreseen, that country is assuredly America.

I have already observed that, from their origin, the sovereignty of the people was the fundamental principle of the greater number of British colonies in America. It was far, however, from then exercising as much influence on the government of society as it now does. Two obstacles, the one external, the other internal, checked its invasive progress. It could not ostensibly disclose itself in the laws of colonies which were still constrained to obey the mother-country: it was therefore obliged to spread secretly, and to gain ground in the provincial assemblies, and especially in the townships.

American society was not yet prepared to adopt it with all its consequences. The intelligence of New England, and the wealth of the country to the south of the Hudson (as I have shown in the preceding chapter), long exercised a sort of aristocratic influence, which tended to retain the exercise of social authority in the hands of a few. The public functionaries were not universally elected, and the citizens were not all of them electors. The electoral franchise was everywhere placed within certain limits, and made dependent on a certain qualification, which was exceedingly low in the North and more considerable in the South.

The American revolution broke out, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which had been nurtured in the townships and municipalities, took possession of the State: every class was enlisted in its cause; battles were fought, and victories obtained for it, until it became the law of laws.

A no less rapid change was effected in the interior of society, where the law of descent completed the abolition of local influences.

At the very time when this consequence of the laws and of the revolution was apparent to every eye, victory was irrevocably pronounced in favor of the democratic cause. All power was, in fact, in its hands, and resistance was no longer possible. The higher orders submitted without a murmur and without a struggle to an evil which was thenceforth inevitable. The ordinary fate of falling powers awaited them; each of their several members followed his own interests; and as it was impossible to wring the power from the hands of a people which they did not detest sufficiently to brave, their only aim was to secure its good-will at any price. The most democratic laws were consequently voted by the very men whose interests they impaired; and thus, although the higher classes did not excite the passions of the people against their order, they accelerated the triumph of the new state of things; so that by a singular change the democratic impulse was found to be most irresistible in the very States where the aristocracy had the firmest hold. The State of Maryland, which had been founded by men of rank, was the first to proclaim universal suffrage, and to introduce the most democratic forms into the conduct of its government.

When a nation modifies the elective qualification, it may easily be foreseen that sooner or later that qualification will be entirely abolished. There is no more invariable rule in the history of society: the further electoral rights are extended, the greater is the need of extending them; for after each concession the strength of the democracy increases, and its demands increase with its strength. The ambition of those who are below the appointed rate is irritated in exact proportion to the great number of those who are above it. The exception at last becomes the rule, concession follows concession, and no stop can be made short of universal suffrage.

At the present day the principle of the sovereignty of the people has acquired, in the United States, all the practical development which the imagination can conceive. It is unencumbered by those fictions which have been thrown over it in other countries, and it appears in every possible form according to the exigency of the occasion. Sometimes the laws are made by the people in a body, as at Athens; and sometimes its representatives,

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chosen by universal suffrage, transact business in its name, and almost under its immediate control.

5 In some countries a power exists which, though it is in a degree foreign to the social body, directs it, and forces it to pursue a certain track. In others the ruling force is divided, being partly within and partly without the ranks of the people. But nothing of the kind is to be seen in the United States; there society governs itself for itself. All power centres in its bosom; and scarcely an individual is to be met with who would venture to conceive, or, still less, to express, the idea of seeking it elsewhere. The nation participates in the making
10 of its laws by the choice of its legislators, and in the execution of them by the choice of the agents of the executive government; it may almost be said to govern itself, so feeble and so restricted is the share left to the administration, so little do the authorities forget their popular origin and the power from which they emanate.

15 **The American System of Townships and Municipal Bodies**

...Municipal freedom is not the fruit of human device; it is rarely created; but it is, as it were, secretly and spontaneously engendered in the midst of a semi-barbarous state of society. The constant action of the laws and the national habits, peculiar circumstances,
20 and above all time, may consolidate it; but there is certainly no nation on the continent of Europe which has experienced its advantages. Nevertheless local assemblies of citizens constitute the strength of free nations. Town-meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it....

25 In order to explain to the reader the general principles on which the political organization of the counties and townships of the United States rests, I have thought it expedient to choose one of the States of New England as an example, to examine the mechanism of its constitution, and then to cast a general glance over the country. The township and the
30 county are not organized in the same manner in every part of the Union; it is, however,

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easy to perceive that the same principles have guided the formation of both of them throughout the Union. I am inclined to believe that these principles have been carried further in New England than elsewhere, and consequently that they offer greater facilities to the observations of a stranger. The institutions of New England form a complete and regular whole; they have received the sanction of time, they have the support of the laws, and the still stronger support of the manners of the community, over which they exercise the most prodigious influence; they consequently deserve our attention on every account.

Limits of the Township

The township of New England is a division which stands between the commune and the canton of France, and which corresponds in general to the English tithing, or town. Its average population is from two to three thousand; so that, on the one hand, the interests of its inhabitants are not likely to conflict, and, on the other, men capable of conducting its affairs are always to be found among its citizens...

Existence of the Township

I have already observed that the principle of the sovereignty of the people governs the whole political system of the Anglo-Americans. Every page of this book will afford new instances of the same doctrine. In the nations by which the sovereignty of the people is recognized every individual possesses an equal share of power, and participates alike in the government of the State. Every individual is, therefore, supposed to be as well informed, as virtuous, and as strong as any of his fellow-citizens. He obeys the government, not because he is inferior to the authorities which conduct it, or that he is less capable than his neighbor of governing himself, but because he acknowledges the utility of an association with his fellow-men, and because he knows that no such association can exist without a regulating force. If he be a subject in all that concerns the mutual relations of citizens, he is free and responsible to God alone for all that concerns himself. Hence arises the maxim that every one is the best and the sole judge of his own private interest, and that society has no right

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to control a man's actions, unless they are prejudicial to the common weal, or unless the common weal demands his co-operation. This doctrine is universally admitted in the United States. I shall hereafter examine the general influence which it exercises on the ordinary actions of life; I am now speaking of the nature of municipal bodies.

5

The township, taken as a whole, and in relation to the government of the country, may be looked upon as an individual to whom the theory I have just alluded to is applied. Municipal independence is therefore a natural consequence of the principle of the sovereignty of the people in the United States: all the American republics recognize it more or less; but circumstances have peculiarly favored its growth in New England.

10

In this part of the Union the impulsion of political activity was given in the townships; and it may almost be said that each of them originally formed an independent nation. When the Kings of England asserted their supremacy, they were contented to assume the central power of the State. The townships of New England remained as they were before; and although they are now subject to the State, they were at first scarcely dependent upon it. It is important to remember that they have not been invested with privileges, but that they have, on the contrary, forfeited a portion of their independence to the State. The townships are only subordinate to the State in those interests which I shall term social, as they are common to all the citizens. They are independent in all that concerns themselves; and amongst the inhabitants of New England I believe that not a man is to be found who would acknowledge that the State has any right to interfere in their local interests. The towns of New England buy and sell, sue or are sued, augment or diminish their rates, without the slightest opposition on the part of the administrative authority of the State....

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Public Spirit of the Townships of New England

In America, not only do municipal bodies exist, but they are kept alive and supported by public spirit. The township of New England possesses two advantages which infallibly secure the attentive interest of mankind, namely, independence and authority. Its sphere is

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indeed small and limited, but within that sphere its action is unrestrained; and its independence gives to it a real importance which its extent and population may not always ensure.

- 5 It is to be remembered that the affections of men generally lie on the side of authority. Patriotism is not durable in a conquered nation. The New Englander is attached to his township, not only because he was born in it, but because it constitutes a social body of which he is a member, and whose government claims and deserves the exercise of his sagacity. In Europe the absence of local public spirit is a frequent subject of regret to those
- 10 who are in power; everyone agrees that there is no surer guarantee of order and tranquility, and yet nothing is more difficult to create. If the municipal bodies were made powerful and independent, the authorities of the nation might be disunited and the peace of the country endangered. Yet, without power and independence, a town may contain good subjects, but it can have no active citizens. Another important fact is that the township of New England
- 15 is so constituted as to excite the warmest of human affections, without arousing the ambitious passions of the heart of man. The officers of the country are not elected, and their authority is very limited. Even the State is only a second-rate community, whose tranquil and obscure administration offers no inducement sufficient to draw men away from the circle of their interests into the turmoil of public affairs. The federal government
- 20 confers power and honor on the men who conduct it; but these individuals can never be very numerous. The high station of the Presidency can only be reached at an advanced period of life, and the other federal functionaries are generally men who have been favored by fortune, or distinguished in some other career. Such cannot be the permanent aim of the ambitious. But the township serves as a centre for the desire of public esteem, the want
- 25 of exciting interests, and the taste for authority and popularity, in the midst of the ordinary relations of life; and the passions which commonly embroil society change their character when they find a vent so near the domestic hearth and the family circle.

- In the American States power has been disseminated with admirable skill for the purpose
- 30 of interesting the greatest possible number of persons in the common weal. Independently

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of the electors who are from time to time called into action, the body politic is divided into innumerable functionaries and officers, who all, in their several spheres, represent the same powerful whole in whose name they act. The local administration thus affords an unfailing source of profit and interest to a vast number of individuals.

5

The American system, which divides the local authority among so many citizens, does not scruple to multiply the functions of the town officers. For in the United States it is believed, and with truth, that patriotism is a kind of devotion which is strengthened by ritual observance. In this manner the activity of the township is continually perceptible; it is daily manifested in the fulfilment of a duty or the exercise of a right, and a constant though gentle motion is thus kept up in society which animates without disturbing it.

10

The American attaches himself to his home as the mountaineer clings to his hills, because the characteristic features of his country are there more distinctly marked than elsewhere.

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The existence of the townships of New England is in general a happy one. Their government is suited to their tastes, and chosen by themselves. In the midst of the profound peace and general comfort which reign in America the commotions of municipal discord are unfrequent. The conduct of local business is easy. The political education of the people has long been complete; say rather that it was complete when the people first set foot upon the soil. In New England no tradition exists of a distinction of ranks; no portion of the community is tempted to oppress the remainder; and the abuses which may injure isolated individuals are forgotten in the general contentment which prevails. If the government is defective (and it would no doubt be easy to point out its deficiencies), the fact that it really emanates from those it governs, and that it acts, either ill or well, casts the protecting spell of a parental pride over its faults. No term of comparison disturbs the satisfaction of the citizen: England formerly governed the mass of the colonies, but the people was always sovereign in the township where its rule is not only an ancient but a primitive state.

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The native of New England is attached to his township because it is independent and free: his co-operation in its affairs ensures his attachment to its interest; the well-being it affords

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him secures his affection; and its welfare is the aim of his ambition and of his future exertions: he takes a part in every occurrence in the place; he practises the art of government in the small sphere within his reach; he accustoms himself to those forms which can alone ensure the steady progress of liberty; he imbibes their spirit; he acquires a
5 taste for order, comprehends the union or the balance of powers, and collects clear practical notions on the nature of his duties and the extent of his rights.

Political Associations in the United States

10 In no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used, or more unsparingly applied to a multitude of different objects, than in America. Besides the permanent associations which are established by law under the names of townships, cities, and counties, a vast number of others are formed and maintained by the agency of private individuals.

15 The citizen of the United States is taught from his earliest infancy to rely upon his own exertions in order to resist the evils and the difficulties of life; he looks upon social authority with an eye of mistrust and anxiety, and he only claims its assistance when he is quite unable to shift without it. This habit may even be traced in the schools of the rising
20 generation, where the children in their games are wont to submit to rules which they have themselves established, and to punish misdemeanors which they have themselves defined. The same spirit pervades every act of social life. If a stoppage occurs in a thoroughfare, and the circulation of the public is hindered, the neighbors immediately constitute a deliberative body; and this extemporaneous assembly gives rise to an executive power
25 which remedies the inconvenience before anybody has thought of recurring to an authority superior to that of the persons immediately concerned. If the public pleasures are concerned, an association is formed to provide for the splendor and the regularity of the entertainment. Societies are formed to resist enemies which are exclusively of a moral nature, and to diminish the vice of intemperance: in the United States associations are
30 established to promote public order, commerce, industry, morality, and religion; for there

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is no end which the human will, seconded by the collective exertions of individuals, despairs of attaining.

I shall hereafter have occasion to show the effects of association upon the course of society,
5 and I must confine myself for the present to the political world. When once the right of association is recognized, the citizens may employ it in several different ways.

An association consists simply in the public assent which a number of individuals give to certain doctrines, and in the engagement which they contract to promote the spread of
10 those doctrines by their exertions. The right of association with these views is very analogous to the liberty of unlicensed writing; but societies thus formed possess more authority than the press. When an opinion is represented by a society, it necessarily assumes a more exact and explicit form. It numbers its partisans, and compromises their welfare in its cause: they, on the other hand, become acquainted with each other, and their
15 zeal is increased by their number. An association unites the efforts of minds which have a tendency to diverge in one single channel, and urges them vigorously towards one single end which it points out.

The second degree in the right of association is the power of meeting. When an association
20 is allowed to establish centres of action at certain important points in the country, its activity is increased and its influence extended. Men have the opportunity of seeing each other; means of execution are more readily combined, and opinions are maintained with a degree of warmth and energy which written language cannot approach.

25 Lastly, in the exercise of the right of political association, there is a third degree: the partisans of an opinion may unite in electoral bodies, and choose delegates to represent them in a central assembly. This is, properly speaking, the application of the representative system to a party.

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Thus, in the first instance, a society is formed between individuals professing the same opinion, and the tie which keeps it together is of a purely intellectual nature; in the second case, small assemblies are formed which only represent a fraction of the party. Lastly, in the third case, they constitute a separate nation in the midst of the nation, a government within the Government. Their delegates, like the real delegates of the majority, represent the entire collective force of their party; and they enjoy a certain degree of that national dignity and great influence which belong to the chosen representatives of the people. It is true that they have not the right of making the laws, but they have the power of attacking those which are in being, and of drawing up beforehand those which they may afterwards cause to be adopted....

Tyranny of the Majority

Unlimited power is in itself a bad and dangerous thing; human beings are not competent to exercise it with discretion, and God alone can be omnipotent, because His wisdom and His justice are always equal to His power. But no power upon earth is so worthy of honor for itself, or of reverential obedience to the rights which it represents, that I would consent to admit its uncontrolled and all-predominant authority. When I see that the right and the means of absolute command are conferred on a people or upon a king, upon an aristocracy or a democracy, a monarchy or a republic, I recognize the germ of tyranny, and I journey onward to a land of more hopeful institutions.

In my opinion the main evil of the present democratic institutions of the United States does not arise, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, but from their overpowering strength; and I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country as at the very inadequate securities which exist against tyranny.

When an individual or a party is wronged in the United States, to whom can he apply for redress? If to public opinion, public opinion constitutes the majority; if to the legislature, it represents the majority, and implicitly obeys its injunctions; if to the executive power, it is

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appointed by the majority, and remains a passive tool in its hands; the public troops consist of the majority under arms; the jury is the majority invested with the right of hearing judicial cases; and in certain States even the judges are elected by the majority. However iniquitous or absurd the evil of which you complain may be, you must submit to it as well
5 as you can....

If, on the other hand, a legislative power could be so constituted as to represent the majority without necessarily being the slave of its passions; an executive, so as to retain a certain degree of uncontrolled authority; and a judiciary, so as to remain independent of the two
10 other powers; a government would be formed which would still be democratic without incurring any risk of tyrannical abuse.

I do not say that tyrannical abuses frequently occur in America at the present day, but I maintain that no sure barrier is established against them, and that the causes which mitigate
15 the government are to be found in the circumstances and the manners of the country more than in its laws.

Power Exercised by the Majority in America upon Opinion

20 It is in the examination of the display of public opinion in the United States that we clearly perceive how far the power of the majority surpasses all the powers with which we are acquainted in Europe. Intellectual principles exercise an influence which is so invisible, and often so inappreciable, that they baffle the toils of oppression. At the present time the most absolute monarchs in Europe are unable to prevent certain notions, which are opposed to
25 their authority, from circulating in secret throughout their dominions, and even in their courts. Such is not the case in America; as long as the majority is still undecided, discussion is carried on; but as soon as its decision is irrevocably pronounced, a submissive silence is observed, and the friends, as well as the opponents, of the measure unite in assenting to its propriety. The reason of this is perfectly clear: no monarch is so absolute as to combine all

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the powers of society in his own hands, and to conquer all opposition with the energy of a majority which is invested with the right of making and of executing the laws.

5 The authority of a king is purely physical, and it controls the actions of the subject without subduing his private will; but the majority possesses a power which is physical and moral at the same time; it acts upon the will as well as upon the actions of men, and it represses not only all contest, but all controversy. I know no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America. In any constitutional state in Europe every sort of religious and political theory may be advocated and propagated
10 abroad; for there is no country in Europe so subdued by any single authority as not to contain citizens who are ready to protect the man who raises his voice in the cause of truth from the consequences of his hardihood. If he is unfortunate enough to live under an absolute government, the people is upon his side; if he inhabits a free country, he may find a shelter behind the authority of the throne, if he require one. The aristocratic part of
15 society supports him in some countries, and the democracy in others. But in a nation where democratic institutions exist, organized like those of the United States, there is but one sole authority, one single element of strength and of success, with nothing beyond it.

20 In America the majority raises very formidable barriers to the liberty of opinion: within these barriers an author may write whatever he pleases, but he will repent it if he ever step beyond them. Not that he is exposed to the terrors of an auto-da-fe, but he is tormented by the slights and persecutions of daily obloquy. His political career is closed forever, since he has offended the only authority which is able to promote his success. Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. Before he published his opinions
25 he imagined that he held them in common with many others; but no sooner has he declared them openly than he is loudly censured by his overbearing opponents, whilst those who think without having the courage to speak, like him, abandon him in silence. He yields at length, oppressed by the daily efforts he has been making, and he subsides into silence, as if he was tormented by remorse for having spoken the truth.

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- Fetters and headsmen were the coarse instruments which tyranny formerly employed; but the civilization of our age has refined the arts of despotism which seemed, however, to have been sufficiently perfected before. The excesses of monarchical power had devised a variety of physical means of oppression: the democratic republics of the present day have rendered
- 5 it as entirely an affair of the mind as that will which it is intended to coerce. Under the absolute sway of an individual despot the body was attacked in order to subdue the soul, and the soul escaped the blows which were directed against it and rose superior to the attempt; but such is not the course adopted by tyranny in democratic republics; there the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved. The sovereign can no longer say, "You shall think
- 10 as I do on pain of death;" but he says, "You are free to think differently from me, and to retain your life, your property, and all that you possess; but if such be your determination, you are henceforth an alien among your people. You may retain your civil rights, but they will be useless to you, for you will never be chosen by your fellow-citizens if you solicit their suffrages, and they will affect to scorn you if you solicit their esteem. You will remain
- 15 among men, but you will be deprived of the rights of mankind. Your fellow-creatures will shun you like an impure being, and those who are most persuaded of your innocence will abandon you too, lest they should be shunned in their turn. Go in peace! I have given you your life, but it is an existence in comparably worse than death."
- 20 Monarchical institutions have thrown an odium upon despotism; let us beware lest democratic republics should restore oppression, and should render it less odious and less degrading in the eyes of the many, by making it still more onerous to the few.
- Works have been published in the proudest nations of the Old World expressly intended
- 25 to censure the vices and deride the follies of the times; Labruyere inhabited the palace of Louis XIV when he composed his chapter upon the Great, and Moliere criticised the courtiers in the very pieces which were acted before the Court. But the ruling power in the United States is not to be made game of; the smallest reproach irritates its sensibility, and the slightest joke which has any foundation in truth renders it indignant; from the style of
- 30 its language to the more solid virtues of its character, everything must be made the subject

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of encomium. No writer, whatever be his eminence, can escape from this tribute of adulation to his fellow-citizens. The majority lives in the perpetual practice of self-applause, and there are certain truths which the Americans can only learn from strangers or from experience.

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If great writers have not at present existed in America, the reason is very simply given in these facts; there can be no literary genius without freedom of opinion, and freedom of opinion does not exist in America. The Inquisition has never been able to prevent a vast number of anti-religious books from circulating in Spain. The empire of the majority succeeds much better in the United States, since it actually removes the wish of publishing them. Unbelievers are to be met with in America, but, to say the truth, there is no public organ of infidelity. Attempts have been made by some governments to protect the morality of nations by prohibiting licentious books. In the United States no one is punished for this sort of works, but no one is induced to write them; not because all the citizens are immaculate in their manners, but because the majority of the community is decent and orderly.

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In these cases the advantages derived from the exercise of this power are unquestionable, and I am simply discussing the nature of the power itself. This irresistible authority is a constant fact, and its judicious exercise is an accidental occurrence.

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Effects of the Tyranny of the Majority upon the National Character of the Americans

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The tendencies which I have just alluded to are as yet very slightly perceptible in political society, but they already begin to exercise an unfavorable influence upon the national character of the Americans. I am inclined to attribute the singular paucity of distinguished political characters to the ever-increasing activity of the despotism of the majority in the United States. When the American Revolution broke out they arose in great numbers, for

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public opinion then served, not to tyrannize over, but to direct the exertions of individuals. Those celebrated men took a full part in the general agitation of mind common at that period, and they attained a high degree of personal fame, which was reflected back upon the nation, but which was by no means borrowed from it.

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In absolute governments the great nobles who are nearest to the throne flatter the passions of the sovereign, and voluntarily truckle to his caprices. But the mass of the nation does not degrade itself by servitude: it often submits from weakness, from habit, or from ignorance, and sometimes from loyalty. Some nations have been known to sacrifice their own desires to those of the sovereign with pleasure and with pride, thus exhibiting a sort of independence in the very act of submission. These peoples are miserable, but they are not degraded. There is a great difference between doing what one does not approve and feigning to approve what one does; the one is the necessary case of a weak person, the other befits the temper of a lackey.

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In free countries, where everyone is more or less called upon to give his opinion in the affairs of state; in democratic republics, where public life is incessantly commingled with domestic affairs, where the sovereign authority is accessible on every side, and where its attention can almost always be attracted by vociferation, more persons are to be met with who speculate upon its foibles and live at the cost of its passions than in absolute monarchies. Not because men are naturally worse in these States than elsewhere, but the temptation is stronger, and of easier access at the same time. The result is a far more extensive debasement of the characters of citizens.

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Democratic republics extend the practice of currying favor with the many, and they introduce it into a greater number of classes at once: this is one of the most serious reproaches that can be addressed to them. In democratic States organized on the principles of the American republics, this is more especially the case, where the authority of the majority is so absolute and so irresistible that a man must give up his rights as a citizen, and almost abjure his quality as a human being, if he intends to stray from the track which it lays down.

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In that immense crowd which throngs the avenues to power in the United States I found very few men who displayed any of that manly candor and that masculine independence of opinion which frequently distinguished the Americans in former times, and which constitutes the leading feature in distinguished characters, wheresoever they may be found. It seems, at first sight, as if all the minds of the Americans were formed upon one model, so accurately do they correspond in their manner of judging. A stranger does, indeed, sometimes meet with Americans who dissent from these rigorous formularies; with men who deplore the defects of the laws, the mutability and the ignorance of democracy; who even go so far as to observe the evil tendencies which impair the national character, and to point out such remedies as it might be possible to apply; but no one is there to hear these things besides yourself, and you, to whom these secret reflections are confided, are a stranger and a bird of passage. They are very ready to communicate truths which are useless to you, but they continue to hold a different language in public.

If ever these lines are read in America, I am well assured of two things: in the first place, that all who peruse them will raise their voices to condemn me; and in the second place, that very many of them will acquit me at the bottom of their conscience.

I have heard of patriotism in the United States, and it is a virtue which may be found among the people, but never among the leaders of the people. This may be explained by analogy; despotism debases the oppressed much more than the oppressor: in absolute monarchies the king has often great virtues, but the courtiers are invariably servile. It is true that the American courtiers do not say “Sire,” or “Your Majesty”—a distinction without a difference. They are forever talking of the natural intelligence of the populace they serve; they do not debate the question as to which of the virtues of their master is pre-eminently worthy of admiration, for they assure him that he possesses all the virtues under heaven without having acquired them, or without caring to acquire them; they do not give him their daughters and their wives to be raised at his pleasure to the rank of his concubines, but, by sacrificing their opinions, they prostitute themselves. Moralists and philosophers

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in America are not obliged to conceal their opinions under the veil of allegory; but, before they venture upon a harsh truth, they say, "We are aware that the people which we are addressing is too superior to all the weaknesses of human nature to lose the command of its temper for an instant; and we should not hold this language if we were not speaking to
5 men whom their virtues and their intelligence render more worthy of freedom than all the rest of the world." It would have been impossible for the sycophants of Louis XIV to flatter more dexterously. For my part, I am persuaded that in all governments, whatever their nature may be, servility will cower to force, and adulation will cling to power. The only means of preventing men from degrading themselves is to invest no one with that
10 unlimited authority which is the surest method of debasing them.

The Greatest Dangers of the American Republics Proceed from the Unlimited Power of the Majority

15 Governments usually fall a sacrifice to impotence or to tyranny. In the former case their power escapes from them; it is wrested from their grasp in the latter. Many observers, who have witnessed the anarchy of democratic States, have imagined that the government of those States was naturally weak and impotent. The truth is, that when once hostilities are begun between parties, the government loses its control over society. But I do not think
20 that a democratic power is naturally without force or without resources: say, rather, that it is almost always by the abuse of its force and the misemployment of its resources that a democratic government fails. Anarchy is almost always produced by its tyranny or its mistakes, but not by its want of strength.

It is important not to confound stability with force, or the greatness of a thing with its
25 duration. In democratic republics, the power which directs *e society is not stable; for it often changes hands and assumes a new direction. But whichever way it turns, its force is almost irresistible. The Governments of the American republics appear to me to be as much centralized as those of the absolute monarchies of Europe, and more energetic than they are. I do not, therefore, imagine that they will perish from weakness.

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If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minorities to desperation, and oblige them to have recourse to physical force. Anarchy will then be the result, but it will have been brought about by despotism.

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Mr. Hamilton expresses the same opinion in the “Federalist,” No. 51. “It is of great importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be, pursued until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit. In a society, under the forms of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign as in a state of nature, where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger: and as in the latter state even the stronger individuals are prompted by the uncertainty of their condition to submit to a government which may protect the weak as well as themselves, so in the former state will the more powerful factions be gradually induced by a like motive to wish for a government which will protect all parties, the weaker as well as the more powerful. It can be little doubted that, if the State of Rhode Island was separated from the Confederacy and left to itself, the insecurity of right under the popular form of government within such narrow limits would be displayed by such reiterated oppressions of the factious majorities, that some power altogether independent of the people would soon be called for by the voice of the very factions whose misrule had proved the necessity of it.”

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Jefferson has also thus expressed himself in a letter to Madison: “The executive power in our Government is not the only, perhaps not even the principal, object of my solicitude. The tyranny of the Legislature is really the danger most to be feared, and will continue to be so for many years to come. The tyranny of the executive power will come in its turn, but at a more distant period.” I am glad to cite the opinion of Jefferson upon this subject rather than that of another, because I consider him to be the most powerful advocate democracy has ever sent forth....

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Futures Condition of Three Races—Parts III and IV

The first negroes were imported into Virginia about the year 1621. *f In America, therefore, as well as in the rest of the globe, slavery originated in the South. Thence it spread from one settlement to another; but the number of slaves diminished towards the Northern States, and the negro population was always very limited in New England.

A century had scarcely elapsed since the foundation of the colonies, when the attention of the planters was struck by the extraordinary fact, that the provinces which were comparatively destitute of slaves, increased in population, in wealth, and in prosperity more rapidly than those which contained the greatest number of negroes. In the former, however, the inhabitants were obliged to cultivate the soil themselves, or by hired laborers; in the latter they were furnished with hands for which they paid no wages; yet although labor and expenses were on the one side, and ease with economy on the other, the former were in possession of the most advantageous system. This consequence seemed to be the more difficult to explain, since the settlers, who all belonged to the same European race, had the same habits, the same civilization, the same laws, and their shades of difference were extremely slight.

Time, however, continued to advance, and the Anglo-Americans, spreading beyond the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, penetrated farther and farther into the solitudes of the West; they met with a new soil and an unwonted climate; the obstacles which opposed them were of the most various character; their races intermingled, the inhabitants of the South went up towards the North, those of the North descended to the South; but in the midst of all these causes, the same result occurred at every step, and in general, the colonies in which there were no slaves became more populous and more rich than those in which slavery flourished. The more progress was made, the more was it shown that slavery, which is so cruel to the slave, is prejudicial to the master.

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But this truth was most satisfactorily demonstrated when civilization reached the banks of the Ohio. The stream which the Indians had distinguished by the name of Ohio, or Beautiful River, waters one of the most magnificent valleys that has ever been made the abode of man. Undulating lands extend upon both shores of the Ohio, whose soil affords
5 inexhaustible treasures to the laborer; on either bank the air is wholesome and the climate mild, and each of them forms the extreme frontier of a vast State: That which follows the numerous windings of the Ohio upon the left is called Kentucky, that upon the right bears the name of the river. These two States only differ in a single respect; Kentucky has admitted slavery, but the State of Ohio has prohibited the existence of slaves within its
10 borders.

Thus the traveller who floats down the current of the Ohio to the spot where that river falls into the Mississippi, may be said to sail between liberty and servitude; and a transient inspection of the surrounding objects will convince him as to which of the two is most
15 favorable to mankind. Upon the left bank of the stream the population is rare; from time to time one descries a troop of slaves loitering in the half-desert fields; the primaeval forest recurs at every turn; society seems to be asleep, man to be idle, and nature alone offers a scene of activity and of life. From the right bank, on the contrary, a confused hum is heard which proclaims the presence of industry; the fields are covered with abundant harvests,
20 the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and activity of the laborer, and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which is the reward of labor. The State of Kentucky was founded in 1775, the State of Ohio only twelve years later; but twelve years are more in America than half a century in Europe, and, at the present day, the population of Ohio exceeds that of Kentucky by two hundred and fifty thousand souls.
25 *j These opposite consequences of slavery and freedom may readily be understood, and they suffice to explain many of the differences which we remark between the civilization of antiquity and that of our own time.

Upon the left bank of the Ohio labor is confounded with the idea of slavery, upon the right
30 bank it is identified with that of prosperity and improvement; on the one side it is degraded,

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on the other it is honored; on the former territory no white laborers can be found, for they would be afraid of assimilating themselves to the negroes; on the latter no one is idle, for the white population extends its activity and its intelligence to every kind of employment. Thus the men whose task it is to cultivate the rich soil of Kentucky are ignorant and lukewarm; whilst those who are active and enlightened either do nothing or pass over into the State of Ohio, where they may work without dishonor.

It is true that in Kentucky the planters are not obliged to pay wages to the slaves whom they employ; but they derive small profits from their labor, whilst the wages paid to free workmen would be returned with interest in the value of their services. The free workman is paid, but he does his work quicker than the slave, and rapidity of execution is one of the great elements of economy. The white sells his services, but they are only purchased at the times at which they may be useful; the black can claim no remuneration for his toil, but the expense of his maintenance is perpetual; he must be supported in his old age as well as in the prime of manhood, in his profitless infancy as well as in the productive years of youth. Payment must equally be made in order to obtain the services of either class of men: the free workman receives his wages in money, the slave in education, in food, in care, and in clothing. The money which a master spends in the maintenance of his slaves goes gradually and in detail, so that it is scarcely perceived; the salary of the free workman is paid in a round sum, which appears only to enrich the individual who receives it, but in the end the slave has cost more than the free servant, and his labor is less productive.

The influence of slavery extends still further; it affects the character of the master, and imparts a peculiar tendency to his ideas and his tastes. Upon both banks of the Ohio, the character of the inhabitants is enterprising and energetic; but this vigor is very differently exercised in the two States. The white inhabitant of Ohio, who is obliged to subsist by his own exertions, regards temporal prosperity as the principal aim of his existence; and as the country which he occupies presents inexhaustible resources to his industry and ever-varying lures to his activity, his acquisitive ardor surpasses the ordinary limits of human cupidity: he is tormented by the desire of wealth, and he boldly enters upon every path which fortune opens to him; he becomes a sailor, a pioneer, an artisan, or a laborer with

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the same indifference, and he supports, with equal constancy, the fatigues and the dangers incidental to these various professions; the resources of his intelligence are astonishing, and his avidity in the pursuit of gain amounts to a species of heroism.

5 But the Kentuckian scorns not only labor, but all the undertakings which labor promotes; as he lives in an idle independence, his tastes are those of an idle man; money loses a portion of its value in his eyes; he covets wealth much less than pleasure and excitement; and the energy which his neighbor devotes to gain, turns with him to a passionate love of field sports and military exercises; he delights in violent bodily exertion, he is familiar with the
10 use of arms, and is accustomed from a very early age to expose his life in single combat. Thus slavery not only prevents the whites from becoming opulent, but even from desiring to become so.

As the same causes have been continually producing opposite effects for the last two
15 centuries in the British colonies of North America, they have established a very striking difference between the commercial capacity of the inhabitants of the South and those of the North. At the present day it is only the Northern States which are in possession of shipping, manufactures, railroads, and canals. This difference is perceptible not only in comparing the North with the South, but in comparing the several Southern States. Almost
20 all the individuals who carry on commercial operations, or who endeavor to turn slave labor to account in the most Southern districts of the Union, have emigrated from the North. The natives of the Northern States are constantly spreading over that portion of the American territory where they have less to fear from competition; they discover resources there which escaped the notice of the inhabitants; and, as they comply with a system which
25 they do not approve, they succeed in turning it to better advantage than those who first founded and who still maintain it.

Were I inclined to continue this parallel, I could easily prove that almost all the differences which may be remarked between the characters of the Americans in the Southern and in
30 the Northern States have originated in slavery; but this would divert me from my subject,

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and my present intention is not to point out all the consequences of servitude, but those effects which it has produced upon the prosperity of the countries which have admitted it.

The influence of slavery upon the production of wealth must have been very imperfectly known in antiquity, as slavery then obtained throughout the civilized world; and the nations which were unacquainted with it were barbarous. And indeed Christianity only abolished slavery by advocating the claims of the slave; at the present time it may be attacked in the name of the master, and, upon this point, interest is reconciled with morality.

As these truths became apparent in the United States, slavery receded before the progress of experience. Servitude had begun in the South, and had thence spread towards the North; but it now retires again. Freedom, which started from the North, now descends uninterruptedly towards the South. Amongst the great States, Pennsylvania now constitutes the extreme limit of slavery to the North: but even within those limits the slave system is shaken: Maryland, which is immediately below Pennsylvania, is preparing for its abolition; and Virginia, which comes next to Maryland, is already discussing its utility and its dangers.

Of Individualism in Democratic Countries

I have shown how it is that in ages of equality every man seeks for his opinions within himself: I am now about to show how it is that, in the same ages, all his feelings are turned towards himself alone. Individualism is a novel expression, to which a novel idea has given birth. Our fathers were only acquainted with egotism. Egotism is a passionate and exaggerated love of self, which leads a man to connect everything with his own person, and to prefer himself to everything in the world. Individualism is a mature and calm feeling,

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which disposes each member of the community to sever himself from the mass of his fellow-creatures; and to draw apart with his family and his friends; so that, after he has thus formed a little circle of his own, he willingly leaves society at large to itself. Egotism originates in blind instinct: individualism proceeds from erroneous judgment more than
5 from depraved feelings; it originates as much in the deficiencies of the mind as in the perversity of the heart. Egotism blights the germ of all virtue; individualism, at first, only saps the virtues of public life; but, in the long run, it attacks and destroys all others, and is at length absorbed in downright egotism. Egotism is a vice as old as the world, which does not belong to one form of society more than to another: individualism is of democratic
10 origin, and it threatens to spread in the same ratio as the equality of conditions.

Amongst aristocratic nations, as families remain for centuries in the same condition, often on the same spot, all generations become as it were contemporaneous. A man almost always knows his forefathers, and respects them: he thinks he already sees his remote
15 descendants, and he loves them. He willingly imposes duties on himself towards the former and the latter; and he will frequently sacrifice his personal gratifications to those who went before and to those who will come after him. Aristocratic institutions have, moreover, the effect of closely binding every man to several of his fellow-citizens. As the classes of an aristocratic people are strongly marked and permanent, each of them is regarded by its own
20 members as a sort of lesser country, more tangible and more cherished than the country at large. As in aristocratic communities all the citizens occupy fixed positions, one above the other, the result is that each of them always sees a man above himself whose patronage is necessary to him, and below himself another man whose co-operation he may claim. Men living in aristocratic ages are therefore almost always closely attached to something placed
25 out of their own sphere, and they are often disposed to forget themselves. It is true that in those ages the notion of human fellowship is faint, and that men seldom think of sacrificing themselves for mankind; but they often sacrifice themselves for other men. In democratic ages, on the contrary, when the duties of each individual to the race are much more clear, devoted service to any one man becomes more rare; the bond of human affection is
30 extended, but it is relaxed.

Amongst democratic nations new families are constantly springing up, others are constantly falling away, and all that remain change their condition; the woof of time is every instant broken, and the track of generations effaced. Those who went before are soon forgotten; of those who will come after no one has any idea: the interest of man is confined to those in close propinquity to himself. As each class approximates to other classes, and intermingles with them, its members become indifferent and as strangers to one another. Aristocracy had made a chain of all the members of the community, from the peasant to the king: democracy breaks that chain, and severs every link of it. As social conditions become more equal, the number of persons increases who, although they are neither rich enough nor powerful enough to exercise any great influence over their fellow-creatures, have nevertheless acquired or retained sufficient education and fortune to satisfy their own wants. They owe nothing to any man, they expect nothing from any man; they acquire the habit of always considering themselves as standing alone, and they are apt to imagine that their whole destiny is in their own hands. Thus not only does democracy make every man forget his ancestors, but it hides his descendants, and separates his contemporaries from him; it throws him back forever upon himself alone, and threatens in the end to confine him entirely within the solitude of his own heart.

SEN. DANIEL WEBSTER (NR-MA) & SEN. ROBERT HAYNE (D-SC)

On the Resolution Concerning Federal Land Policy

DEBATE EXCERPTS

January 25-27, 1830

Webster-Hayne Debate

BACKGROUND

Senators Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Hayne of South Carolina exchanged speeches in a debate concerning Senator Samuel Foot of Connecticut's resolution to abolish the office of Surveyor General and temporarily suspend the sale of new public lands.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How does Hayne understand the relationship between the federal government and state governments?
2. How does Webster understand the relationship between the federal government and state governments?
3. What preserves the Union and when should it be adapted or abolished, according to each senator?

Livingston, Edward and Clayton, John and Smith, William and Rowan, John and Benton, Thomas and Hayne, Robert and Webster, Daniel. *The Webster-Hayne Debate on the Nature of the Constitution: Selected Documents*. Liberty Fund, 1830.

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Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina
January 25, 1830

...Thus it will be seen, Mr. President, that the South Carolina doctrine is the republican
5 doctrine of '98; that it was first promulgated by the Fathers of the Faith—that it was
maintained by Virginia and Kentucky, in the worst of times—that it constituted the very
pivot on which the political revolution of that day turned—that it embraced the very
principles the triumph of which at that time “saved the Constitution at its last gasp;” and
which New England Statesmen were not unwilling to adopt, when they believed themselves
10 to be the victims of unconstitutional legislation! Sir, as to the doctrine that the Federal
Government is the exclusive judge of the extent as well as the limitations of its powers, it
seems to be utterly subversive of the sovereignty and independence of the States. It makes
but little difference, in my estimation, whether Congress or the Supreme Court, are
invested with this power. If the Federal Government, in all or any of its departments, are to
15 prescribe the limits of its own authority; and the States are bound to submit to the decision,
and are not to be allowed to examine and decide for themselves, when the barriers of the
Constitution shall be overleaped, this is practically “a Government without limitation of
powers;” the States are at once reduced to mere petty corporations, and the people are
entirely at your mercy. I have but one word more to add. In all the efforts that have been
20 made by South Carolina to resist the unconstitutional laws which Congress has extended
over them, she has kept steadily in view the preservation of the Union, by the only means
by which she believes it can be long preserved—a firm, manly, and steady resistance against
usurpation. The measures of the Federal Government have, it is true, prostrated her
interests, and will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin. But this evil, great as
25 it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest, a
principle which, substituting the discretion of Congress for the limitations of the
Constitution, brings the States and the people to the feet of the Federal Government, and
leaves them nothing they can call their own. Sir, if the measures of the Federal Government
were less oppressive, we should still strive against this usurpation. The South is acting on a
30 principle she has always held sound—resistance to unauthorized taxation. These, Sir, are
the principles which induced the immortal Hampden to resist the payment of a tax of

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twenty shillings—"Would twenty shillings have ruined his fortune? No—but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle on which it was demanded, would have made him a slave." Sir, if, in acting on these high motives—if, animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait in the Southern character, we should be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence, who is there with one noble and generous sentiment in his bosom, who would not be disposed in the language of Burke, to exclaim, "you must pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts
January 26 and 27, 1830

...If any thing be found in the National Constitution, either by original provision, or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the People know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established, unacceptable to them, so as to become, practically, a part of the Constitution, they will amend it, at their own sovereign pleasure. But while the people choose to maintain it, as it is; while they are satisfied with it, and refuse to change it; who has given, or who can give, to the State Legislatures a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise? Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the People have any power to do any thing for themselves; they imagine there is no safety for them, any longer than they are under the close guardianship of the State Legislatures. Sir, the People have not trusted their safety, in regard to the general Constitution, to these hands. They have required other security, and taken other bonds. They have chosen to trust themselves, first, to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the Government itself, in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers, under their oaths of office, and subject to their responsibility to them; just as the People of a State trust their own State Governments with a similar power. Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents, whenever they see cause. Thirdly, they have reposed trust in the Judicial power, which, in order that it might be trust-worthy, they have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as was practicable. Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely, in

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case of necessity, or high expediency, on their known and admitted power, to alter or amend the Constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections. And, finally, the People of the United States have, at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized any State Legislature to construe or interpret their high
5 instrument of Government; much less to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation.

If, sir, the People, in these respects, had done otherwise than they have done, their Constitution could neither have been preserved, nor would it have been worth preserving. And, if its plain provisions shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated
10 in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every State, but as a poor dependent on State permission. It must borrow leave to be; and will be, no longer than State pleasure, or State discretion, sees fit to grant the indulgence, and to prolong its poor existence.

But, sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The People have preserved this, their
15 own chosen Constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown, grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault, it cannot be; evaded, undermined, nullified, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the People, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great
20 branches of our public trust—faithfully to preserve, and wisely to administer it.

Mr. President, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate, with no previous deliberation such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full,
25 and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it, without expressing, once more, my deep conviction, that, since it respects nothing less than the Union of the States, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, sir, in my career, hitherto, to

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have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the

5 discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and, although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread

10 farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness. I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty, when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of

15 disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the People when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread

20 out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in Heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with

25 civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather behold the gorgeous Ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as, What is all this worth? Nor those other words

30 of delusion and folly, Liberty first, and Union afterwards—but every where, spread all over

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in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole Heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

SENATOR THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN (NATIONAL-REPUBLICAN - NJ)

On the Bill for an Exchange of Lands with the Indians

SPEECH EXCERPTS

April 6, 1830

U.S. Senate Chamber | U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey delivered this speech in debate over the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which would have the federal government pursue treaties to move Native American tribes east of the Mississippi River to the west of the river.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Frelinghuysen request from the government?
2. If Georgia continues to encroach upon Indian territory, how should the government respond?
3. Who does Frelinghuysen quote to support his argument?
4. Why should the government protect the Indians?

Theodore Frelinghuysen, *On the Bill for an Exchange of Lands with the Indians Residing in any of the States or Territories, and for their Removal West of the Mississippi*, April 6, 1830. From the Digital Library of Georgia Internet Archives:
<https://archive.org/details/speechofmrfrelin00freliala/page/28/mode/2up/>.

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...Let the General Government come out, as it should, with decided and temperate firmness and officially announce to Georgia, and the other States, that if the Indian tribes choose to remain, they will be protected against all interference and encroachment; and such is my confidence in the sense of justice, in the respect for law, prevailing in the great
5 body of this portion of our fellow citizens, that I believe they would submit to the authority of the nation. I can expect no other issue. But if the General Government be urged to the crisis, never to be anticipated, of appealing to the last resort of her powers; and when reason, argument, and persuasion fail, to raise her strong arm to repress the violations of the supreme law of the land, I ask, is it not in her bond, Sir? Is her guaranty a rope of sand?
10 This effective weapon has often been employed to chastise the poor Indians, sometimes with dreadful vengeance I fear, and shall not their protection avail to draw it from the scabbard? Permit me to refer the Senate to the views of Mr. Jefferson, directly connected with this delicate, yet sacred duty of protection. In 1791, when he was Secretary of State, there were some symptoms of collision on the Indian subject. This induced the letter from
15 him to General Knox, then our Secretary of War, a part of which I will read:

“I am of opinion that Government should firmly maintain this ground: that the Indians have a right to the occupation of their lands, independent of the States within whose chartered limits they happen to be; that until they cede them by treaty, or other transaction equivalent to a treaty, no act of a State can give a right to such lands; that neither under the
20 present constitution, nor the ancient confederation, had any State or persons a right to treat with the Indians, without the consent of the General Government; that that consent has never been given by any treaty for the cession of the lands in question; that the Government is determined to exert all its energy for the patronage and protection of the rights of the Indians, and the preservation of peace between the United States and them; and that if any
25 settlements are made on lands not ceded by them, without the previous consent of the United States, the Government will think itself bound, not only to declare to the Indians that such settlements are without the authority or protection of the United States, but to remove them also by public force.”

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Mr. Jefferson seems to have been disturbed by no morbid sensibilities. He speaks out as became a determined statesman. We can trace in this document the same spirit which shed its influence on a more eventful paper—the declaration of our rights, and of our purpose to maintain and defend them. He looked right onward, in the broad path of public duty; and if, in his way, he met the terrors of State collision and conflict, he was in no degree intimidated. The faith of treaties was his guide; and he would not flinch in his purposes, nor surrender the Indians to State encroachments. Let such decided policy go forth in the majesty of our laws now, and, Sir, Georgia will yield. She will never encounter the responsibilities or the horrors of a civil war. But if she should, no stains of blood will be on our skirts—on herself the guilt will abide forever.

Mr. President, if we abandon these aboriginal proprietors of our soil—these early allies and adopted children of our forefathers, how shall we justify it to our country? To all the glory of the past, and the promise of the future? Her *good name* is worth all else besides that contributes to her greatness. And, as I regard this crisis in her history, the time has come when this unbought treasure shall be plucked from dishonor, or abandoned to reproach.

How shall we justify this trespass to ourselves? Sir, we may deride it, and laugh it to scorn now; but the occasion *will* meet every man, when he *must* look inward, and make honest inquisition there. Let us beware how, by oppressive encroachments upon the sacred privileges of our Indian neighbors, we minister to the agonies of future remorse.

I have, in my humble measure, attempted to discharge a public and most solemn duty towards an interesting portion of my fellow men. Should it prove to have been as fruitless as I know it to be below the weight of their claims, yet even then, Sir, it will have its consolations. Defeat in such a cause is far above the triumphs of unrighteous power—and in the language of an eloquent writer—“I had rather receive the blessing of one poor Cherokee, as he casts his last look back upon his country, for having, though in vain, attempted to prevent his banishment, than to sleep beneath the marble of all the Caesars....”

GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

Address to the People of the United States

ADDRESS EXCERPTS

July 1830

BACKGROUND

The General Council of the Cherokee Nation made this appeal to the American people and its representatives, written primarily, it is believed, by Cherokee Chief John Ross.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. When did United States policy towards the Cherokee change, according to Ross?
2. What does Ross believe will be some of the consequences if the Cherokee are forced to move?
3. What is the essence of Ross's final argument for why the United States should not force the Cherokee to move?

E.C. Tracy, *Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts, Late Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1845): 444-448.

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...[I]n the midst of our sorrows, we do not forget our obligations to our friends and benefactors. It was with sensations of inexpressible joy that we have learned that the voice of thousands in many parts of the United States has been raised in our behalf, and the numerous memorials offered in our favor, in both houses of Congress. . . .Our special
5 thanks are due however, to those honorable men, who so ably and eloquently asserted our rights, in both branches of the national legislature. . . .

Before we close this address, permit us to state what we conceive to be our relations with the United States. After the peace of 1785, the Cherokees were an independent people; absolutely so, so much as any people on earth. They had been allies to Great Britain, and as
10 a faithful ally, took a part in the colonial war on her side.... [Great Britain] acknowledged the independence of the United States and made peace. The Cherokees therefore stood alone; and in these circumstances continued the war. They were then under no obligations to the United States any more than to Great Britain, France, or Spain. The United States never subjugated the Cherokees; on the contrary, our fathers remained in possession of
15 their country, and with arms in their hands.

The people of the United States sought a peace; and, in 1785, the Treaty of Hopewell was formed, by which the Cherokees came under the protection of the United States and submitted to such limitation of sovereignty as are mentioned in that instrument. None of these limitations however, effected in the slightest degree their rights of self-government
20 and inviolate territory.

. . . When the federal Constitution was adopted the Treaty of Hopewell was contained, with all other treaties, as the supreme law of the land. In 1791, the Treaty of Holston was made, by which the sovereignty of the Cherokees was qualified as follows: The Cherokees acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other
25 sovereign. They engaged that they would not hold any treaty with a foreign power, with any separate state of the Union, or with individuals. They agreed that the United States should have the exclusive right of regulating their trade; that the citizens of the United States have a right of way in one direction through the Cherokee country; and that if an

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Indian should do injury to a citizen of the United States, he should be delivered up to be tried and punished. A cession of lands was also made to the United States. On the other hand, the United States paid a sum of money; offered protection; engaged to punish citizens of the United States who should do any injury to the Cherokees; abandoned white settlers on Cherokee lands to the discretion of the Cherokees, stipulated that white men should not hunt on these lands, nor even enter the country without a passport; and gave a solemn guaranty of all Cherokees lands not ceded. This treaty is the basis of all subsequent compacts; and in none of them are the relations of the parties at all changed.

The Cherokees have always fulfilled their engagements. . . .

The people of the United States will have the fairness to reflect that all the treaties between them and the Cherokees were made at the sole invitation and for the benefit of the whites; that valuable considerations were given for every stipulation, on the part of the United States; that it is impossible to reinstate the parties in their former situation; that there are now hundreds of thousands of citizens of the United States residing upon lands ceded by the Cherokees in these very treaties, and that our people have trusted their country to the guaranty of the United States. If this guaranty fails them, in what can they trust, and where can they look for protection?

We are aware that some persons suppose it will be for our advantage to remove beyond the Mississippi. We think otherwise. Our people universally think otherwise. Thinking that it would be fatal to their interests, they have almost to a man sent their memorial to Congress, deprecating the necessity of a removal. . . . It is incredible that Georgia should ever have enacted the oppressive laws, to which reference is here made, unless she had supposed that something extremely terrific in its character was necessary in order to make the Cherokees willing to remove. We are not willing to remove; and if we could be brought to this extremity, it would be not by argument, not because our judgment was satisfied, not because our condition will be improved; but only because we cannot endure to be deprived of our national and individual rights and subjected to a process of intolerable oppression.

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We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to claim without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of treaties, guaranty our residence, and our privileges and secure us against intruders. Our only request is that these treaties may be fulfilled, and these laws
5 executed.

But if we are compelled to leave our country, we see nothing but ruin before us. The country west of the Arkansas territory is unknown to us. From what we can learn of it, we have no prepossessions in its favor. All the inviting parts of it, as we believe, are preoccupied by various Indian nations, to which it has become assigned. They would regard us as intruders
10 and look upon us with an evil eye. The far greater part of that region is, beyond all controversy, badly supplied with wood and water; and no Indian tribe can live as agriculturists without these articles. All our neighbors in case of our removal, though crowded into our near vicinity, would speak a language totally different from ours and practice different customs. The original possessors of that region are now wandering
15 savages, lurking for prey in the neighborhood. They have always been at war, and would be easily tempted to turn their arms against peaceful emigrants. Were the country to which we are urged much better than it is represented to be, and were it free from objections which we have made to it, still it is not the land of our birth, nor of our affections. It contains neither the scenes of our childhood, nor the graves of our fathers. . . .

20 It is under a sense of the most pungent feelings that we make this, perhaps our last appeal to the good people of the United States. . . . Shall we be compelled by a civilized and Christian people, with whom we have lived in perfect peace for the last forty years, and for whom we have willingly bled in war, to bid a final adieu to our homes, our farms, our streams, and our beautiful forests? No. We are still firm. We intend still to cling with our
25 wonted affection to the land which gave us birth and which every day of our lives brings to us new and stronger ties of attachment. . . . On the soil which contains the ashes of our beloved men we wish to live—on this soil we wish to die.

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We entreat those to whom the preceding paragraphs are addressed to remember the great law of love, "Do to others as ye would that others should do to you." Let them remember that of all nations on the earth, they are under the greatest obligations to obey this law. We pray them to remember that, for the sake of principle, their forefathers were compelled to
5 leave, therefore driven from the old world, and that the winds of persecution wafted them over the great waters and landed them on the shores of the new world, when the Indian was the sole lord and proprietor of these extensive domains. Let them remember in what way they were received by the savage of America, when power was in his hand, and his ferocity could not be restrained by any human arm. We urge them to bear in mind that
10 those who would now ask of them a cup of cold water, and a spot of earth, a portion of their own patrimonial possessions on which to live and die in peace, are the descendants of those, whose origin as inhabitants of North America history and tradition are alike insufficient to reveal. Let them bring to remembrance all these facts, and they cannot, and we are sure they will not, fail to remember and sympathize with us in these our trials and sufferings.

PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON (D-TN)**Annual Message to Congress****LETTER EXCERPTS**December 6, 1830
Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President Andrew Jackson sent his second Annual Message to Congress in 1830, as required by the Constitution.

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...It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north and Louisiana on the south to the settlement of the whites it will incalculably strengthen the southwestern frontier and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasions without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi and the

President Andrew Jackson's Message to Congress "On Indian Removal"; 12/6/1830; Presidential Messages, 1789 - 1875; Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

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western part of Alabama of Indian occupancy, and enable those States to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the States; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress
5 of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community.

What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms
10 embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization and religion?

The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern
15 States were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward, and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to land where their existence may be prolonged and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers;
20 but what do they more than our ancestors did or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land our forefathers left all that was dear in earthly objects. Our children by thousands yearly leave the land of their birth to seek new homes in distant regions. Does Humanity weep at these painful separations from everything, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It
25 is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unconstrained in body or in mind, developing the power and facilities of man in their highest perfection. These remove hundreds and almost thousands of miles at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new homes from

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the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this Government when, by events which it can not control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly
5 embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions! If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy.

And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled, civilized Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the General
10 Government toward the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the States and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement....

PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON (D-TN)

Veto Message from the President of the United States, returning the Bank Bill, with his objections, &c.

LETTER EXCERPTS

July 10, 1832
Washington, D.C.**BACKGROUND**

President Andrew Jackson sent this message to the Senate accompany his veto of a bill passed to re-charter the Bank of the United States.

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...It is maintained by the advocates of the bank that its constitutionality in all its features ought to be considered as settled by precedent and by the decision of the Supreme Court. To this conclusion I cannot assent. Mere precedent is a dangerous source of authority, and should not be regarded as deciding questions of constitutional power except where the acquiescence of the people and the states can be considered as well settled. So far from this being the case on this subject, an argument against the bank might be based on precedent. One Congress, in 1791, decided in favor of a bank; another, in 1811, decided against it. One Congress, in 1815, decided against a bank; another, in 1816, decided in its favor. Prior to the present Congress, therefore, the precedents drawn from that source were equal. If we resort to the states, the expressions of legislative, judicial, and executive opinions against the bank have been probably to those in its favor as four to one. There is nothing in precedent, therefore, which, if its authority were admitted, ought to weigh in favor of the act before me.

Andrew Jackson, "Veto message from the President of the United States, returning the bank bill, with his objections, &c. To the Senate . . ." Washington, Herald Office, 1832.

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If the opinion of the Supreme Court covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the coordinate authorities of this government. The Congress, the Executive, and the Court must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution swears that he will support it as he
5 understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the president to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval as it is of the supreme judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the
10 judges, and on that point the president is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve....

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to
15 their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities,
20 and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower
25 its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.

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Nor is our government to be maintained or our Union preserved by invasions of the rights and powers of the several states. In thus attempting to make our general government strong we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and states as much as possible to themselves—in making itself felt not in its power, but in its beneficence; not in
5 its control, but in its protection; not in binding the states more closely to the center, but leaving each to move unobstructed in its proper orbit.

Experience should teach us wisdom. Most of the difficulties our government now encounters and most of the dangers which impend over our Union have sprung from an abandonment of the legitimate objects of government by our national legislation, and the
10 adoption of such principles as are embodied in this act. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by act of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires we have in the results of our legislation arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man, in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the foundations of our Union. It is time
15 to pause in our career to review our principles, and if possible revive that devoted patriotism and spirit of compromise which distinguished the sages of the Revolution and the fathers of our Union. If we cannot at once, in justice to interests vested under improvident legislation, make our government what it ought to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, against any prostitution
20 of our government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many, and in favor of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy.

I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me ample grounds for contentment and peace. In the difficulties which surround us and the dangers which
25 threaten our institutions there is cause for neither dismay nor alarm. For relief and deliverance let us firmly rely on that kind Providence which I am sure watches with peculiar care over the destinies of our Republic, and on the intelligence and wisdom of our

Veto Message on the Bank of the United States
Andrew Jackson

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countrymen. Through His abundant goodness and heir patriotic devotion our liberty and Union will be preserved.

SEN. JOHN C. CALHOUN (D-SC)

On the Reception of Abolition Petitions

SPEECH EXCERPT

February 6, 1837

U.S. Senate Chamber, U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

John C. Calhoun delivered this speech in the U.S. Senate in response to petitions submitted by abolitionists demanding an end to slavery in the District of Columbia and the abolition of the slave trade across state lines.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Calhoun argue to be the effect of enslavement in America on African Americans? Why?
2. In which ways does Calhoun take exception to northern criticism of the effects of slavery on European Americans?
3. What does Calhoun mean by a “positive good”? What evidence does he claim to support his assertion?
4. How does Calhoun argue that slaves are treated better than laborers in the north?
5. If slavery were to be abolished, what is Calhoun’s fear?
6. What do Calhoun’s tone and words suggest about the changing stance of southerners on the issue of slavery, especially with respect to northern criticism and policies against it?

John C. Calhoun, *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Ross M. Lence (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1992), 472-76.

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...Abolition and Union cannot co-exist. As the friend of the Union I openly proclaim it, and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time it will be beyond the power of man to arrest the course of events. We of the South will not, cannot, surrender our institutions. To maintain the existing relations between the two

5 races, inhabiting that section of the Union, is indispensable to the peace and happiness of both. It cannot be subverted without drenching the country in blood, and extirpating one or the other of the races. Be it good or bad, it has grown up with our society and institutions, and is so interwoven with them, that to destroy it would be to destroy us as a people. But let me not be understood as admitting, even by implication, that the existing relations be-

10 tween the two races in slaveholding States is an evil—far otherwise; I hold it to be a good, as it has thus far proved itself to be to both, and will continue to prove so if not disturbed by the fell spirit of abolition. I appeal to facts. Never before has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. It came among us in a low,

15 degraded, and savage condition, and in the course of a few generations it has grown up under the fostering care of our institutions, reared as they have been to its present comparatively civilized condition. This, with the rapid increase of numbers, is conclusive proof of the general happiness of the race, in spite of all the exaggerated tales to the contrary. In the mean time, the white or European race has not degenerated. It has kept pace with its

20 brethren in other sections of the Union where slavery does not exist. It is odious to make comparison; but I appeal to all sides whether the South is not equal in virtue, intelligence, patriotism, courage, disinterestedness, and all the high qualities which adorn our nature. I ask whether we have not contributed our full share of talents and political wisdom in forming and sustaining this political fabric; and whether we have not constantly inclined most

25 strongly to the side of liberty, and been the first to see and first to resist the encroachments of power. In one thing only are we inferior—the arts of gain; we acknowledge that we are less wealthy than the Northern section of this Union, but I trace this mainly to the fiscal action of this Government, which has extracted much from and spent little among us. Had it been the reverse—if the exaction had been from the other section, and the expenditure

30 with us, this point of superiority would not be against us now, as it was not at the formation

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of this Government. But I take higher ground. I hold that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States between the two, is, instead of an evil, a good—a positive good. I feel myself
5 called upon to speak freely upon the subject where the honor and interests of those I represent are involved. I hold then that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other. Broad and general as is this assertion, it is fully borne out by history. This is not the proper occasion, but if it were, it would not be difficult to trace the various devices by
10 which the wealth of all civilized communities has been so unequally divided, and to show by what means so small a share has been allotted to those by whose labor it was produced, and so large a share given to the non-producing classes. The devices are almost innumerable, from the brute force and gross superstition of ancient times, to the subtle and artful fiscal contrivances of modern. I might well challenge a comparison between them and the
15 more direct, simple, and patriarchal mode by which the labor of the African race is, among us, commanded by the European. I may say with truth, that in few countries so much is left to the share of the laborer, and so little exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention paid to him in sickness or infirmities of age. Compare his condition with the tenants of the poor houses in the more civilized portions of Europe—look at the sick, and the
20 old and infirm slave, on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poor house. But I will not dwell on this aspect of the question; I turn to the political; and here I fearlessly assert that the existing relation between the two races in the South, against which these blind fanatics are waging war,
25 forms the most solid and durable foundation on which to rear free and stable political institutions. It is useless to disguise the fact. There is and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization, a conflict between labor and capital. The condition of society in the South exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from this conflict; and which explains why it is that the political condition of the slaveholding States has been
30 so much more stable and quiet than that of the North. The advantages of the former, in this

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respect, will become more and more manifest if left undisturbed by interference from without, as the country advances in wealth and numbers. We have, in fact, but just entered that condition of society where the strength and durability of our political institutions are to be tested; and I venture nothing in predicting that the experience of the next generation will

5 fully test how vastly more favorable our condition of society is to that of other sections for free and stable institutions, provided we are not disturbed by the interference of others, or shall have sufficient intelligence and spirit to resist promptly and successfully such interference. It rests with ourselves to meet and repel them. I look not for aid to this Government, or to the other States; not but there are kind feelings towards us on the part of the

10 great body of the nonslaveholding States; but as kind as their feelings may be, we may rest assured that no political party in those States will risk their ascendancy for our safety. If we do not defend ourselves none will defend us; if we yield we will be more and more pressed as we recede; and if we submit we will be trampled under foot. Be assured that emancipation itself would not satisfy these fanatics—that gained, the next step would be to raise the

15 negroes to a social and political equality with the whites; and that being effected, we would soon find the present condition of the two races reversed. They and their northern allies would be the masters, and we the slaves; the condition of the white race in the British West India Islands, bad as it is, would be happiness to ours. There the mother country is interested in sustaining the supremacy of the European race. It is true that the authority of the

20 former master is destroyed, but the African will there still be a slave, not to individuals but to the community,—forced to labor, not by the authority of the overseer, but by the bayonet of the soldiery and the rod of the civil magistrate. Surrounded as the slaveholding States are with such imminent perils, I rejoice to think that our means of defence are ample, if we shall prove to have the intelligence and spirit to see and apply them before it is too late. All

25 we want is concert, to lay aside all party differences, and unite with zeal and energy in repelling approaching dangers. Let there be concert of action, and we shall find ample means of security without resorting to secession or disunion. I speak with full knowledge and a thorough examination of the subject, and for one, see my way clearly. One thing alarms me—the eager pursuit of gain which overspreads the land, and which absorbs every faculty

30 of the mind and every feeling of the heart. Of all passions avarice is the most blind and

On the Reception of Abolition Petitions
John C. Calhoun

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compromising—the last to see and the first to yield to danger. I dare not hope that any thing I can say will arouse the South to a due sense of danger; I fear it is beyond the power of mortal voice to awaken it in time from the fatal security into which it has fallen.

JOHN LOUIS O’SULLIVAN

“The Great Nation of Futurity”

EDITORIAL EXCERPTS

November 6, 1839

The United States Democratic Review

BACKGROUND

The United States Democratic Review’s founder and editor, John Louis O’Sullivan, published this editorial in 1839.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Where does America derive its origins from, according to O’Sullivan?
2. What are the principles of America?
3. What is America’s destiny?

John Louis O’Sullivan, “The Great Nation of Futurity,” *The United States Democratic Review* (6 November 1839): 426-30.

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The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them,
5 and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation
10 of futurity.

It is so destined, because the principle upon which a nation is organized fixes its destiny, and that of equality is perfect, is universal. It presides in all the operations of the physical world, and it is also the conscious law of the soul—the self-evident dictates of morality, which accurately defines the duty of man to man, and consequently man's rights as man.
15 Besides, the truthful annals of any nation furnish abundant evidence, that its happiness, its greatness, its duration, were always proportionate to the democratic equality in its system of government. . . .

What friend of human liberty, civilization, and refinement, can cast his view over the past history of the monarchies and aristocracies of antiquity, and not deplore that they ever
20 existed? What philanthropist can contemplate the oppressions, the cruelties, and injustice inflicted by them on the masses of mankind, and not turn with moral horror from the retrospect?

America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defence of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations,
25 of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes. We have had patriots to defend our homes, our liberties, but no aspirants to crowns

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or thrones; nor have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy.

5 We have no interest in the scenes of antiquity, only as lessons of avoidance of nearly all their examples. The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. We point to the everlasting truth on the first page of our national
10 declaration, and we proclaim to the millions of other lands, that "the gates of hell"—the powers of aristocracy and monarchy—"shall not prevail against it."

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever
15 dedicated to the worship of the Most High—the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere—its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood—of "peace and good will amongst men." . . .

20 Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfilment of our mission—to the entire development of the principle of our organization
25 —freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man—the immutable truth

“The Great Nation of Futurity”
John Louis O’Sullivan

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and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than

5 that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?

UNIT 4

The American Civil War

1848–1877

45-50-minute classes | 14-18 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

LESSON 1	1848–1854	The Expansion of Slavery	3-4 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1854–1861	Toward Civil War	3-4 classes	p. 15
LESSON 3	1861–1865	The Civil War	4-5 classes	p. 22
LESSON 4	1865–1877	Reconstruction	2-3 classes	p. 32
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment			p. 39
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 57

Why Teach the American Civil War

“Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.”

These famous opening lines from President Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg express why the Civil War was fought. Whether America, founded in liberty and equality, could long endure depended on whether the nation’s original contradiction, slavery, could be abolished while still preserving the country’s existence as a union. American students must know how the ideas at the heart of their country were undermined by

slavery; but they must also learn how heroic Americans committed to America's founding ideas made great sacrifices and sometimes gave their lives, so that these ideas of liberty and equality might prevail over the dehumanizing tyranny of slavery. And students must learn that, like those in Lincoln's audience, it is up to each American to oppose tyranny and dehumanization to ensure that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. That slavery was the original contradiction in America, and that slavery is immoral, unjust, dehumanizing, and in violation of the inherent dignity and equal possession of natural rights of each person, as are any ways in which one person or group of people is favored over another due to the color of their skin.
2. That at its heart, the Civil War was fought over the issue of slavery: first, whether slavery would expand in America; next, whether it would be permitted at all; and last, whether the half of the country that opposed slavery would let the country be divided and the injustice to continue elsewhere, instead of fighting to preserve a union that would guarantee liberty and abolish slavery.
3. That President Abraham Lincoln exemplified American statesmanship as he piloted the nation toward fulfillment of its founding ideas, ended the barbarous and tyrannical institution of slavery, and nevertheless abided by the rule of law in doing so.
4. That the period of Reconstruction following the Civil War witnessed a realization of civil rights for freedmen, producing greater degrees of justice and equality that would nevertheless be challenged both during Reconstruction and in following decades.

What Teachers Should Consider

The American Civil War is one of the most important events in American history if only for its attempt to prove, with the blood of hundreds of thousands of Americans, that a people may freely govern themselves and organize themselves to preserve the liberty and equal natural rights of all.

Many students may not know that America was founded on these ideas. Fewer, perhaps, know that America even succeeded in proving these ideas true, striving to live up to them for twenty years, before such progress was eclipsed after Reconstruction. Although subsequent decades would manifest different kinds of failures to guarantee the equal protection of natural rights in certain parts of the country, the Civil War demonstrated that some statesmen and a considerable portion of Americans were committed to carrying out America's founding promise to the point of bloodshed.

Teachers will greatly benefit from studying not only the war itself but also the thoughts, words, and deeds of the statesman who conducted the war for the Union: President Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln's ideas and speeches, and his political actions, should constitute for students a model of prudence, both in the public arena and in their own lives. His understanding of the issue of slavery, not merely in the abstract but as it existed in America, can teach students much about their country and its history.

This unit should begin, therefore, with an understanding of slavery as it was found in America in 1848. The teacher should especially emphasize the changes in the status and practice of slavery since the founding in 1776. The teacher should also emphasize changes in legal and public opinion toward the institution since the Constitution went into effect in 1789. In brief, both had entrenched slavery instead of keeping it on the gradual path to extinction, where the founding generation had arguably placed it.

Abraham Lincoln saw these legal and public opinion shifts most clearly, and he saw that such changes struck directly at the ideas on which America was founded. In brief, his entire public career as well as the founding of the Republican Party were devoted to checking this change, to returning slavery to the path of extinction, and to fulfilling the founding ideas of constitutional self-government. Lincoln's arguments to these ends dominate the crescendo leading to war in spring of 1861. At its heart, this is what the Civil War was about.

The teacher will be able to enrich his or her students by cultivating their imaginations with the events, battles, and images of the Civil War, the bloodiest conflict in which Americans have ever been involved. Strategy, battles, and the general history of the war should be taught in detail. The teacher should learn and share accounts and images of the important moments and figures who contributed to Union victory in 1865. Meanwhile, Lincoln's careful yet effective maneuverings—both to preserve the Union and to seize the constitutional opportunity afforded him to emancipate the slaves—should be followed in detail.

The unit best concludes with a study of the period known as Reconstruction. Perhaps never in history was so much hoped for, achieved, and mismanaged in so short a period of time with respect to liberty and equality under the law. Students should learn to appreciate both the sacrifices of the Civil War and its immediate achievements during Reconstruction. Nevertheless, students should also learn about the emergence of different kinds of injustice, especially for African Americans living in the former rebel states: injustices that would be perpetuated for a century.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

No Property in Man, Sean Wilentz

Fateful Lightning, Allen Guelzo

Abraham Lincoln, Lord Charnwood

Lincoln and the American Founding, Lucas Morel

The Essential Douglass: Selected Writings and Speeches, Frederick Douglass

The Columbian Orator, ed. David Blight

Crisis of the House Divided, Harry Jaffa

A New Birth of Freedom, Harry Jaffa

The American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

The U.S. Constitution: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (ConstitutionReader.com)

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Civil Rights in American History
Constitution 101

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

Battle Cry of Freedom, James McPherson
Reconstruction, Allen Guelzo
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Short History of the Civil War, James Stokesbury

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Frederick Douglass
Speech on the Oregon Bill, John C. Calhoun
Peoria speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln
Uncle Tom's Cabin, Harriet Beecher Stowe
Dred Scott v. Sandford, Roger Taney
Speech on the *Dred Scott* decision, Abraham Lincoln
"House Divided" speech, Abraham Lincoln
The Seventh Lincoln-Douglas Debate, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas
"The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?," Frederick Douglass
Fragment on the Constitution and Union, Abraham Lincoln
First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln
Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln
Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln
Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln
Civil Rights Act of 1866
13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments
Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZ

Lesson 1 — The Expansion of Slavery

1848–1854

3–4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how the defenders of slavery began to assert that slavery was a “positive good” that ought to be expanded throughout the country instead of an existing evil that should be contained and kept on the path to extinction.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 128–129, 156–162

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

Battle Cry of Freedom

Pages 6–144

A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 157–162

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 94–98

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 9

Civil Rights in American History

Lecture 3

Constitution 101

Lecture 6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 128–129, 156–162, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 94–98) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate Lincoln’s speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Mason-Dixon Line

Minnesota

Mexico

Oregon

California

Kansas-Nebraska Territory

Persons

Henry Clay
John C. Calhoun
Daniel Webster
James K. Polk
Abraham Lincoln
Zachary Taylor
Millard Fillmore

Frederick Douglass
Sojourner Truth
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Harriet Tubman
William Lloyd Garrison
Franklin Pierce
Stephen Douglas

Terms and Topics

The Great Triumvirate
Wilmot Proviso
“positive good”
King Cotton
antebellum
Gold Rush
secession
Compromise of 1850
Fugitive Slave Law
abolitionism

*Narrative of the Life of
Frederick Douglass*
Uncle Tom’s Cabin
Underground Railroad
Hillsdale College
Know-Nothing Party
Kansas-Nebraska Act
popular sovereignty

Primary Sources

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Frederick Douglass
Speech on the Oregon Bill, John C. Calhoun
Uncle Tom’s Cabin, Harriet Beecher Stowe
Peoria speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln

To Know by Heart

“The African Chief”—William Cullen Bryant

“The Hunters of Men”—John Greenleaf Whittier

“Knowledge makes a man unfit to be a slave.”—Frederick Douglass

“I have observed this in my experience of slavery—that whenever my condition was improved, instead of its increasing my contentment, it only increased my desire to be free, and set me to thinking of plans to gain my freedom. I have found that, to make a contented slave, it is necessary to make a thoughtless one. It is necessary to darken his moral and mental vision, and, as far as possible, to annihilate the power of reason.”
—Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*

Timeline

1846–48	Mexican-American War
1849	California Gold Rush
1850	Compromise of 1850
1852	<i>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</i> published

1854

Kansas-Nebraska Act

Images

Historical figures and events

Photographs and depictions of the life of slaves and the horrors of slavery

Maps of the free-versus-slave-state breakdown when changes occur; Electoral College outcomes

Pictures of first-edition copies of *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Statue of Frederick Douglass (on the Hillsdale College campus)

Copy of newspaper in which Lincoln's Peoria speech was first printed

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Abraham Lincoln prior to the Civil War
- Childhood biography of Abraham Lincoln
- Scenes from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
- Frederick Douglass's letter to his former master, Thomas Auld, 1848
- Actions of Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad
- Levi Coffin's accounts from the Underground Railroad
- Frederick Douglass's letter to Harriet Tubman, 1868
- James Marshall's account of striking gold at Sutter's Mill

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What general prediction about the future of slavery did the Framers of the Constitution make?
- What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution went into effect, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
- What was life like for slaves in the South? What was a slave auction like?
- Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for the slaveholding interest, especially following the growth of the United States between 1846 and 1848?
- What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Was it really a "compromise"? Why or why not?
- What were the two most controversial parts of the Compromise of 1850? What were their effects? What did the compromise settle, and what did it not settle?
- What were the various kinds of abolitionist activities engaged in by Northern abolitionists?
- What roles did Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Tubman, and Harriet Beecher Stowe play in the abolitionist movement?
- How did the Underground Railroad work?
- What did the Kansas-Nebraska Act do?
- What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Where did the idea come from and why?
- Question from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The status of slavery in 1848 was markedly different than it was when the Founders crafted the Constitution in 1787. The gradual decline in the profitability of slavery, evident during the founding, was forecast to continue—but this trend reversed direction upon the invention of the cotton gin in 1793. From then on, the demand for slave labor in the Southern states rapidly compounded. But the free population in the South was vastly outstripped by the burgeoning population of the North. If nothing changed, demographics and geography would eventually give Americans living in the North the power to limit slavery through law and perhaps even abolish it entirely through a constitutional amendment. Slaveholders in the South needed to change this trajectory by expanding slavery westward into the territories. Students need to understand that to justify such expansion, slavery advocates in the South had to change the opinion of Northerners: either to believe slavery to be morally beneficial or, at the very least, to view slavery as merely another option to be decided by the majority, what Stephen Douglas called “popular sovereignty.” Moral relativism, the idea that “might makes right,” and a belief in unfettered democracy through the vote of the majority were the slaveholders’ pillars in arguing to preserve slavery. Students should understand that Abraham Lincoln favored government “of the people, by the people, and for the people” but also saw how popular sovereignty’s neutrality concerning slavery violated both equality and consent, as well as liberty itself. Lincoln went about waging an oratorical war in defense of objective standards of truth and justice, of good and evil. They should also learn how abolitionists, of both African and European descent, continued to publicize the horrors of slavery for Americans in Northern states far removed from witnessing slavery firsthand. Abolitionists also shepherded escaped slaves to freedom in the Northern states and Canada.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Expansion of Slavery with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the status of slavery over the initial decades of the country’s history. At the founding, slavery was generally either openly condemned by those in the North or defended by those in the South. Its toleration by northern delegates and others who were opposed to slavery at the time of the founding was for the sake of a unity that even many abolitionists believed was the only eventual path toward abolition. The Declaration of Independence established the country on principles of equality that could and would be cited to demand the end of slavery, the Northwest Ordinance had prohibited the expansion of slavery, the Constitution refused to give legal standing to the institution, and many states had restricted or abolished slavery outright. Lastly, many leading Founders, including those who held slaves, believed that the profitability of slavery was gradually but decisively waning and that slavery would die out on its own in a relatively short period of time. However, the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney four years after the adoption of the Constitution greatly increased the profitability of slavery in the cotton-growing states of the South and thereby create a significant (and regional) interest in perpetuating the institution of slavery. The new economics of slavery that would grow out of the cotton gin and the vast cotton industry questioned the assumption and changed the projection of the founding generation concerning the viability and eventual demise of slavery.
- Help students to imagine and understand the dehumanizing and brutal tyranny of slavery. Although students should understand that the ways in which various slaveholders treated their slaves varied, from the downright barbaric to more familial—in order to see how many slavery apologists tried to justify slavery—they must nevertheless understand that the sheer fact that some people owned other human beings is and always will be morally reprehensible. Moreover, as

Frederick Douglass argued, slavery actually dehumanized the master as well as the slave. William Cullen Bryant's "The African Chief" may be helpful here.

- Teach students that despite this attempted defense of slavery, the institution almost certainly weakened the South as a whole while supporting the lifestyle of the elite few. For all other Southerners, slavery depreciated the value and wages of labor by non-slaves, limited innovation, and thwarted economic development in the South. The Civil War would reveal the weakness of the position in which Southerners' insistence on slavery had placed them. Students might benefit from hearing read aloud and imagining Alexis de Tocqueville's antebellum float down the Ohio River: "[T]he traveller who floats down the current of the Ohio...may be said to sail between liberty and servitude; and a transient inspection of the surrounding objects will convince him which of the two is most favourable to mankind. Upon the left bank of the stream the population is rare; from time to time one [discovers] a troop of slaves loitering in the half-desert fields; the primeval forest recurs at every turn; society seems to be asleep, man to be idle, and nature alone offers a scene of activity and of life. From the right bank, on the contrary, a confused hum is heard, which proclaims the presence of industry; the fields are covered with abundant harvests; the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and activity of the laborer; and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which are the reward of labor" (trans. Henry Reeve, 1848).
- Likewise, consider with students the contributions to America's tremendous wealth and prosperity throughout its history. There were the Southern plantation owners and many businesses and individuals in the North who profited handsomely from slavery, even as the degree of prosperity generated by slavery was dwarfed by other factors. These factors included Americans' unprecedented freedom to innovate and invest, the ability to patent ideas and inventions, the protection of private property rights, and above all the productive work of citizens within a free marketplace governed by the rule of law and consent of the governed. The great achievements of individual families through the Homestead Act of 1862 demonstrates the point, both for immigrants to America and for the freedmen who would also take advantage of such freedom and opportunity after the Civil War. In brief, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are the catalysts for allowing human beings to unleash the most prosperous and technologically advanced economy in history. A simple comparison of the Northern to the Southern economy, infrastructure, and society before and during the Civil War illustrates the case, as Tocqueville shows above.
- Teach students how the slavery issue nearly resulted in civil war over the question of expanding slavery into the territories acquired from Mexico after the Mexican-American War, brought to a head when California, after a population surge during the California Gold Rush, applied to become a state without slavery. California's lone admission as a free state would have increased Northern power in Congress and the Electoral College against Southern states on the issue of slavery.
- Spend some time discussing the Compromise of 1850, which was not really a "compromise" in the real sense of the word. A "compromise" would involve all parties sacrificing something of their position to achieve a common outcome. The Compromise of 1850, however, was not one bill but five separate bills that had five separate lines of voting. Students should understand what each of these acts did, especially the Fugitive Slave Law. Using the Missouri Compromise map handout (*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, pages 274–275), help students track the changed situation under the Compromise of 1850. This orchestration begun by Henry Clay but completed

by Stephen Douglas may have avoided war in the short term, but it only deepened and delayed the divisions tearing at the country over the next ten years.

- Ask students about the effects of the Fugitive Slave Law, which compelled Northerners to assist in capturing escaped slaves and encouraged the practice of abducting free African Americans living in the North and forcing them into slavery. Perhaps use John Greenleaf Whittier's poem, "The Hunters of Men."
- Teach students about the various parts of the abolitionist movement and its major figures. Students should learn that there was great diversity among abolitionists, especially in their underlying views about America's governing principles and the best way to abolish slavery. For instance, William Lloyd Garrison actually agreed with the slaveholder reading of the Constitution while Frederick Douglass moved from this view to that of Abraham Lincoln that the Constitution was pro-freedom. One might read aloud with students some portions of Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, important works in making Northerners, most of whom had never seen slavery in practice, aware of its moral evil. Other abolitionists, such as Harriet Tubman and those running the Underground Railroad, heroically worked to lead escaped slaves to freedom. In general, most abolitionists appealed to the principles of equality stated in the Declaration of Independence in justifying their cause.
- Tell students the childhood and political biography of Abraham Lincoln, to show how he rose from poverty and obscurity to become arguably America's greatest president.
- Consider having students learn what the Kansas-Nebraska Act did. Focus specifically on the idea of popular sovereignty as used by Stephen Douglas, and the idea that right and wrong amount to the mere will of the majority opinion, which happens to be what many people today believe constitutes truth and the moral rightness of political decisions. Using the Missouri Compromise map handout (*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, pages 274–275), help students track the changed situation under the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
- Have students read and answer guiding questions on parts of Lincoln's speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act in response to the act of this name. Students should understand that Lincoln saw slavery to be, above all, a moral question, and one that every American ought to take seriously as such. Lincoln also believed that moral relativism over the question of slavery, as conveyed in the idea of popular sovereignty, was antithetical to the ideas of the Declaration of Independence, and that slavery was simply a form of majority tyranny, the very danger latent in democracy that the Founders had warned against. Finally, Lincoln condemned the Kansas-Nebraska Act as achieving a complete reversal of the stance the Constitution, the Northwest Ordinance, and the founding generation had toward slavery: that it should be contained until it was abolished and by no means allowed to spread.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how subsequent events undermined the Founders' projections regarding the future of slavery and how and why slavery became an increasingly divisive political issue, especially between 1848 and 1854 (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the biography of one of the following: Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, or Abraham Lincoln (3–4 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The American Civil War | Lesson 1

Land of Hope, Pages 156–162**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. The acquisition of western lands following the war with _____ and the discovery of gold in _____ brought the issue of slavery's expansion to a head in the late 1840s.
2. What was the name of the compromise bill regarding the expansion of slavery that Congress passed in 1850?
3. What was the name of the part of this compromise that Northerners hated most and worked to circumvent?
4. What infrastructure project motivated Illinois Democratic Senator Stephen Douglas to propose the creation of the Kansas-Nebraska Territory?
5. What would Stephen Douglas's proposal of popular sovereignty in the Kansas-Nebraska Territory permit to occur in western territories north of the 36° 30' parallel for the first time since the Missouri Compromise of 1820?

Lesson 2 — Toward Civil War

1854–1861

3–4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how Abraham Lincoln and the new Republican Party’s opposition to the expansion of slavery led slaveholding states to secede from the Union, resulting in civil war.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 162–173

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

Battle Cry of Freedom

Pages 145–307

A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 163–181

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 94–98

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The Great American Story

Lecture 9

Civil Rights in American History

Lecture 3

Constitution 101

Lecture 6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 162–173, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 94–98) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate excerpts from Abraham Lincoln’s speech on the *Dred Scott* decision and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate Abraham Lincoln’s “House Divided” speech and excerpts from the Seventh Lincoln-Douglas Debate and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 4: Students read and annotate Frederick Douglass’s “The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?” and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON**Geography & Place**

Kansas-Nebraska Territory
Kansas

Harpers Ferry
Fort Sumter

Persons

Abraham Lincoln
Frederick Douglass
Franklin Pierce
Stephen Douglas
Preston Brooks
Charles Sumner

James Buchanan
Dred Scott
Walt Whitman
Roger Taney
John Brown

Terms and Topics

Kansas-Nebraska Act
Bleeding Kansas
a house divided
popular sovereignty
Democratic Party
Republican Party
Dred Scott v. Sandford

Lincoln-Douglas Debates
objective truth
“don’t care,” “I care not”
moral relativism
majority tyranny
“apple and frame” metaphor
Wilberforce University

Primary Sources

Dred Scott v. Sandford, Roger Taney
Speech on the *Dred Scott* Decision, Abraham Lincoln
“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln
The Seventh Lincoln-Douglas Debate, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas
“The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?,” Frederick Douglass
Fragment on the Constitution and Union, Abraham Lincoln

To Know by Heart

“A house divided against itself cannot stand.”—Abraham Lincoln, paraphrasing from the words of Jesus of Nazareth in the Bible

Timeline

1854	Kansas-Nebraska Act; Republican Party founded
1857	<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>
1859	John Brown raid on Harpers Ferry
1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter

Images

Historical figures and events
Depictions of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Campaign materials
Map of the 1860 election results
Fort Sumter

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- The breakdown of civil dialogue resulting in Preston Brooks's attack on Charles Sumner
- What the Lincoln-Douglas Debates were like in terms of setting, format, length, etc., especially compared to civil dialogue and debate today
- The scenes at the nominating conventions for each party in 1860
- John Daingerfield's account of John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry
- John Brown's letter to his pastor, 1859, and last words before his execution
- Aaron Stevens's letter to his brother, 1858
- The young girl who suggested to Abraham Lincoln that he grow a beard
- The first shots fired on Fort Sumter and its surrender

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What was Bleeding Kansas, what was it like, and why did it happen? How did it show the weakness of popular sovereignty?
- When and why did the Republican Party emerge?
- According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* recast the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the founding ideas of equality?
- According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* threaten to make slavery legal anywhere in the union?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that the *Dred Scott* decision should not be considered as having set a legitimate precedent?
- What was Abraham Lincoln's view of equality?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that Stephen Douglas's personal stance of how he does not care ("I care not") how a state or territory votes on slavery is dangerous and indefensible? How was this connected to Lincoln's predictions regarding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln believe popular sovereignty without an argument on the morality of slavery amounted to majority tyranny?
- What question and answer did Abraham Lincoln consider to be the solution to the issue of the expansion of slavery?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln see the question of the morality of slavery to be at the heart of America's founding?
- How did Abraham Lincoln end up winning the 1860 election?
- Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his "apple of gold, frame of silver" metaphor.
- How did President-Elect Abraham Lincoln navigate the period between his election and the first shots at Fort Sumter? How did the country descend into war during this period?
- How was slavery the true cause of the Civil War?
- In what ways did the Confederacy reject the principle of equality from the Declaration of Independence and insist on the inequality of the races?

- Question from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 94: Abraham Lincoln is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 sparked the little-known Abraham Lincoln to redouble his efforts to engage in the growing national debate over slavery in America. He saw a tremendous threat in the argument put forward by the bill's sponsor, Stephen Douglas, that slavery was not a moral question but rather one that should simply be decided by the will of the majority. From 1854 to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Lincoln would combat the idea that the morality of slavery was to be determined merely by majority opinion. Students should come to see this arc to Lincoln's words and deeds. They should understand how he took up and articulated the heart of the matter regarding the morality of slavery and that slavery struck at America's founding idea that all men are created equal. Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* interpreted the Constitution to legitimize slavery, and Lincoln argued against both popular sovereignty and Taney's position throughout his debates with Douglas. The moral question regarding slavery, manifesting itself in the practical questions of the expansion of slavery, is what a civil war would be fought over. After all, the formal move to secession—a constitutionally debatable claim also at issue in the approach to war—and the war itself were triggered in response to Lincoln being elected president on the position that slavery was wrong and should not be expanded.

Teachers might best plan and teach Toward Civil War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Perhaps consider John Quincy Adams's words on civil debate and its enemies: "[W]here prejudice has not acquired an uncontrolled ascendancy, and faction is yet confined within the barriers of peace; the voice of eloquence will not be heard in vain" (Inaugural Oration as Boylston professor of rhetoric and oratory in Harvard College, 1806). Emphasize the breakdown in civil dialogue in the several violent episodes related to slavery preceding the Civil War: Bleeding Kansas, Preston Brooks's attack on Charles Sumner, and John Brown's raid on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry. Go into some detail to bring these events alive for students. For example, it was Colonel Robert E. Lee who led federal troops to put down Brown's uprising.
- Clarify the party alignment that was emerging in 1854. The Democratic Party was dividing between those who favored the principle of "popular sovereignty," in which a state or territory could vote to allow slavery or not, and those who explicitly favored slavery. Meanwhile, the Republican Party was founded in 1854 in opposition to laws encouraging the spread of slavery. The split of the Democratic Party and the consolidation of the Republican Party in 1860 assured the election of Lincoln and significantly contributed to the coming of the Civil War.
- Consider Abraham Lincoln's arguments against Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that asserted that slaves are not humans but only property, and that the Constitution protects their enslavement just as it does any other property. To do so, have students read Lincoln's critique at home and then read aloud in class parts of Taney's decision. Lincoln points out that Taney's ruling rejected the Founders' view on slavery and would lead, in tandem with Stephen Douglas's popular sovereignty, to the spread of slavery throughout the country. By extension, this reasoning would also allow for other forms of majority tyranny. Questions on pages 175–178 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Help students think through Lincoln's understanding of the morality of slavery and its relationship to the founding ideas of America: that all men are created equal, have unalienable

rights, and that legitimate government is based on the consent of the governed. Students should see that the practical question regarding the expansion of slavery ultimately turned on the moral status of slavery.

- Have students read portions of the Seventh Lincoln-Douglas Debate at home and discuss it alongside Lincoln's "House Divided" speech in class. Consider the apparently benign stance that Stephen Douglas takes in his position of popular sovereignty, that he does not care about what a group of people does regarding slavery, so long as the majority opinion decides it. Students should be asked why this is problematic.
- Present the settings and atmosphere of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates as imaginatively as possible.
- Help students to understand the various pressures that were mounting on the Southern states during the 1850s, from increased abolitionist activities to the sheer industrial might of the Northern states to a burgeoning plantation debt as other countries produced more cotton and the price of cotton fell as a result.
- Tell students the stories of Lincoln's speeches and his reception during these years, including the founding of the Republican Party and the various conventions in 1856 and especially 1860. Students should sense the drama of the times.
- Have students read at home Frederick Douglass's "The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?" and read aloud in class Abraham Lincoln's Fragment on the Constitution and Union. Help students understand the arguments in each with respect to the American founding and slavery. Of special note is Douglass's change in view on the Declaration and Constitution regarding slavery.
- Provide a clear overview of events between Lincoln's election and South Carolina's attack on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. Students should learn both Lincoln and the South's accounts of what happened.
- There were, of course, other factors and dimensions that impelled each side to fight the Civil War. Students should be familiar with these, as well as the view of most Southerners that the war was about defending what they saw as the rights of their states. This view and Lincoln's counterview and incumbent duty to preserve the Union and Constitution may have been the occasion for the Civil War, but students should understand that the war was, at its heart, fought over whether slavery would be permitted to spread and so remain indefinitely, or be restricted and returned to the path to extinction on which the founding generation had left it. This question was, in turn, based on the morality of slavery, which Abraham Lincoln would later maintain in his Gettysburg Address was a question about the rejection or fulfillment of the ideas on which America was founded.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how Abraham Lincoln argued that the issue of the expansion of slavery was at its heart a moral question and why it was so important that American public opinion should understand it as such (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the story of how Abraham Lincoln won the 1860 election and review the subsequent events leading up to the opening shots of the Civil War fired on Fort Sumter (2–3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The American Civil War | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 162–173

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What happened in the Kansas Territory following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
2. What did Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney's opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* rule regarding federal prohibitions on the expansion of slavery?
3. Who debated Stephen Douglas on the moral implications of popular sovereignty in 1858 in the midst of elections that would determine who would be appointed the next Illinois Senator to Congress?
4. What event led South Carolina and six other Southern states to secede and form the Confederate States of America?
5. Significantly, who fired the first shots of the Civil War?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 4 — Formative Quiz

Covering Lessons 1–2
10–15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution went into effect, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
2. What was John C. Calhoun's idea that slavery was a "positive good"? Why did he argue this, and how did this change from previous arguments about slavery?
3. How did the idea of slavery as a "positive good" challenge the Constitution's stance on slavery and the path on which the founding generation had set slavery?
4. How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
5. What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Who advocated it and why?
6. According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* threaten to make slavery legal everywhere in the union?
7. Why did Abraham Lincoln believe the idea of popular sovereignty determining the morality of slavery amounted to majority tyranny?
8. How was slavery the ultimate cause of the Civil War?

Lesson 3 — The Civil War

1861–1865

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the major figures, common soldiers, strategy, and specific battles of the American Civil War, including a close study of the statesmanship of President Abraham Lincoln.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 173–189

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

Battle Cry of Freedom

Pages 308–852

A Short History of the Civil War

As helpful

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 179–187

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 109–112

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The Great American Story

Lecture 10

Constitution 101

Lecture 7

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read and annotate Lincoln's first inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 173–189, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 109–112) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and second inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Fort Sumter

Richmond

Union

West Virginia

Confederacy

Border States

Nevada
Appomattox Court House
Ford's Theatre

Washington, DC
Gettysburg

Persons

Abraham Lincoln
Jefferson Davis
Alexander Stephens
Robert E. Lee
George McClellan
Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson
Ambrose Burnside
P. G. T. Beauregard
Winfield Scott
James Longstreet
Nathan Bedford Forrest

John Bell Hood
Braxton Bragg
Joseph Hooker
Clara Barton
George Meade
Ulysses S. Grant
William Tecumseh Sherman
Martin Delany
Robert Gould Shaw
John Wilkes Booth

Terms and Topics

secession
"states' rights"
Anaconda Plan
Confederate States of America
railroads
minié ball
Army of the Potomac
Army of Northern Virginia
American Red Cross
Battle of First Manassas/
Bull Run
ironclads
USS *Monitor**
CSS *Virginia*
trench warfare
Battle of Shiloh
Peninsula Campaign
abolition
Battle of Antietam

Battles of Fredericksburg
and Chancellorsville
Battle of Fort Wagner
Siege and Battle of Vicksburg
Battle of Gettysburg
Pickett's Charge
54th Massachusetts Regiment
Battles of Chickamauga
and Chattanooga
writ of habeas corpus
Battles of the Wilderness
and Spotsylvania
Peace Democrats
scorched earth warfare
Sherman's "March to the Sea"
Forty Acres and a Mule
Burning of Atlanta
Andersonville Prison
Siege of Richmond

Primary Sources

First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln
Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln
Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln
Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

*A previous version referred to the USS *Merrimack* instead of the USS *Monitor*.

To Know by Heart

Gettysburg Address—Abraham Lincoln
 “So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won.”—William Tecumseh Sherman telegram
 announcing the fall of Atlanta to Abraham Lincoln
 “Not for themselves but for their country.” — Epitaph for “Old Simon”
 the Private Soldier, Monument at Antietam
 “The Master”—Edwin Arlington Robinson

Timeline

1860	Abraham Lincoln elected President; South Carolina and six states secede
1861–65	Civil War
March 4, 1861	Lincoln Inaugurated as President of the United States
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter; four additional states secede
September 17, 1862	Battle of Antietam
September 22, 1862	Abraham Lincoln announces the Emancipation Proclamation
January 1, 1863	Emancipation Proclamation takes effect
July 1–3, 1863	Battle of Gettysburg
July 4, 1863	Fall of Vicksburg
1864 (Fall)	Fall of Atlanta
1864	Abraham Lincoln reelected
1865	Second inaugural address
April 9, 1865	Robert E. Lee surrenders at Appomattox
April 14–15, 1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president
February 12	Lincoln’s Birthday

Images

Historical figures and events
 Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
 Soldier uniforms, weaponry, flags
 Depictions and photographs of figures at various scenes and moments and in battle
 Maps: overall strategies, specific battles
 Relevant forts
 Battle scene depictions and photographs
 Medical equipment
 Reenactment photos
 Pictures of the Emancipation Proclamation, Gettysburg Address, etc.
 Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment Memorial
 Lincoln Memorial
 Statue of Abraham Lincoln (Hillsdale College campus)

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and roles of Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman in the Civil War
- Robert E. Lee's letter to his wife, Mary, December 27, 1856
- Robert E. Lee's denial of Abraham Lincoln's offer to command the Union forces
- William Howard Russell's account of the First Battle of Bull Run/Manassas
- Sullivan Ballou's letter to his wife, Sarah, on the eve of the First Battle of Bull Run/Manassas, 1861
- Alexander Stephens proclaims that slavery is the "cornerstone" of the Confederacy
- Columbus Huddle's letter to his father after the Battle of Shiloh, 1862
- How Stonewall Jackson got his nickname
- Battle of the ironclads
- The single bloodiest day for the American people remains September 17, 1862, the Battle of Antietam, with 23,000 dead, wounded, or missing; to this day, fallen soldiers' remains continue to be found
- William Child's letter to his wife after the Battle of Antietam, 1862
- Samuel Chase's account of Abraham Lincoln proclaiming emancipation
- Abraham Lincoln's letter to George McClellan, October 1862
- Abraham Lincoln's Order for Sabbath Observance, 1862
- Clara Barton's letter to her cousin, Vira, December 1862
- The killing of Stonewall Jackson by friendly fire
- Samuel Cabbie's letter to his wife
- Louisa Alexander's letter to her husband, Archer, 1863
- Lewis Douglass's letter to his fiancée, Amelia Loguen, 1863
- William T. House's letter from Vicksburg to his fiancée, Linda Brigham, 1863
- Hannah Johnson's letter to President Lincoln, 1863
- David Hunter's letter to Jefferson Davis on reprisals for mistreatment of African American soldiers, 1863
- John Burrill's letter from Gettysburg to his fiancée, Ell, 1863
- Fighting at Little Round Top and Pickett's Charge
- Alfred Pleasonton's accounts from Gettysburg
- George Pickett's letter from Gettysburg to his fiancée, La Salle Corbell, 1863
- The writing and delivery of the Gettysburg Address
- Henrietta Lee's letter to David Hunter on the burning of her house, 1864
- Martha Liggan's letter to the mother of a Confederate soldier, 1864
- Thomas Bowen's letter to his mother, 1864
- William Pegram's letter to his wife, 1864
- Accounts of the burning of Atlanta
- Joshua Chamberlain's letter to his sister on the surrender of the Confederate forces, 1865
- William Tecumseh Sherman's letter to Anna Gilman Bowen, 1864
- Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House
- Robert E. Lee's Farewell Address to his Army, General Order No. 9, 1865
- Ulysses S. Grant's letter to his wife, Julia
- Frances Watkins Harper's letter to William Still

- Abraham Lincoln's cabinet meeting regarding healing with the South just hours before his assassination
- Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent hunt for John Wilkes Booth
- Abraham Lincoln's funeral train

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What was the Southern states' argument for the constitutionality of secession?
- What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his first inaugural address?
- What were Abraham Lincoln's goals in his first inaugural address? What was his tone?
- How did Southern states decide to secede? Which segment of the Southern population were those who actually decided for secession?
- What were Jefferson Davis's arguments on the morality and expansion of slavery, the North, and states' rights and secession?
- What was important about Virginia's decision to secede? How did it come about?
- What were Abraham Lincoln's goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
- Why and how did Abraham Lincoln need to keep the border states in the Union?
- What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war? All else being equal, which side would have won?
- What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- How did each of the following battles begin, what happened in them, and what was their significance: First Bull Run, Peninsula Campaign, Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, the Battle of the Wilderness, Sherman's March to the Sea?
- How did the Civil War reshape the currency and banking systems of the United States?
- What was the significance of the Homestead Act of 1862 in the midst of the Civil War? What was so remarkable about this act in terms of the government's interest in private land ownership?
- How important were military victories to Lincoln politically?
- What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg, in the Virginia and Maryland theater of war?
- What was General Lee's strategic purpose for taking the war north, into Pennsylvania?
- How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
- What happened during the first four days of July 1863?
- In summary, what did Abraham Lincoln argue in the Gettysburg Address?
- Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?
- Why did General Sherman come to be hated in the postwar South?
- How was Abraham Lincoln perceived by his contemporaries?
- Based on his second inaugural address, how did Abraham Lincoln see the hand of God in the war and its outcome?
- What were the most significant moments in the Civil War?
- What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?

- What was the death toll of the war? In proportion to population, what would such a war cost today?
- What were Abraham Lincoln's plans for reconstruction following the Civil War, as outlined in his second inaugural address and from what we know of his private meetings in the war's final weeks?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 92: Name the U.S. war between the North and the South.
 - Question 93: The Civil War had many important events. Name one.
 - Question 94: Abraham Lincoln is famous for many things. Name one.
 - Question 95: What did the Emancipation Proclamation do?
 - Question 96: What U.S. war ended slavery?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The American Civil War may be the defining event in American history. The outcome of the Civil War determined whether the nation would live according to the principles of liberty, equality under law, and self-government, or reject those truths in favor of slavery, inequality, and tyrannical rule. Students should appreciate this about the bloodiest conflict in their nation's history. They should also know the stories of the heroic actions both leaders and of ordinary citizens in that war, understand the strategies employed in general and in specific battles, and consider the key moments and factors that led the Union to ultimate victory. Additionally, students have an unmatched opportunity to understand statesmanship through the careful study of Abraham Lincoln's thoughts, speeches, and actions as he led the nation through the Civil War.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Civil War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the arguments by the South and by Abraham Lincoln regarding the idea of "states' rights" and the constitutionality of secession, particularly by reading and discussing Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address. Students should understand that there is no such thing as a "state right," since rights belong only to persons. States (as governments) possess powers (not rights), as outlined in their state and in the federal Constitution, which the states are to use to protect the rights and the common good of their citizens (including from encroachment by the federal government by appealing to the Constitution itself). Lincoln's first inaugural address presents the case for how secession is unconstitutional and how he, having taken an oath in his office as president, can and must preserve the Constitution and Union.
- Help students to see how the decision by Southern states to secede was largely determined by a small elite or even merely by governors. In Virginia, for example, the governor himself made the decision to secede without consulting the legislature. Moreover, insofar as slavery was the chief interest the South wanted to preserve, only a minority of Southerners owned slaves and even a smaller minority owned a large number of slaves on plantations. The majority of Southerners were not slaveholders and while fighting for their states would preserve slavery, many common Southerners fought for the argument of states' rights rather than to preserve the institution of slavery.
- Emphasize that the governing state known as the Confederacy was founded on the rejection of the principle of equality from the Declaration of Independence, and on an argument of the inequality of races, as asserted in Alexander Stephens's "Cornerstone Speech."

- Teach students about the delicacy with which Abraham Lincoln had to approach the border states (slave states that remained in the Union) and why this delicacy was needed. Have students work with Lincoln's first inaugural address, one purpose of which was to keep wavering states in the Union.
- Explain that Abraham Lincoln's first goal in fighting the Civil War was to preserve the Union. It is important that students understand Lincoln's reasoning. He was against slavery and wanted it abolished, but his constitutional obligation was to preserve the Union. If he acted otherwise, he would violate the Constitution and the rule of law, becoming no better than the seceding states and forfeiting his moral authority as the defender of the rule of law. Students should also know that while Lincoln did not believe he could abolish slavery alone or that abolishing slavery was the purpose for fighting the war, he nonetheless believed, like many of the Founders, that the only way to abolish slavery would be if the Union were preserved.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had at the outset of the war and how these shifted during the war. Having students take simple notes, as a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Build students' familiarity with the style of warfare in the mid-19th century, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Present to students explanations of each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Have students track strategy changes on the Civil War map handout (*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, pages 278–279). Of special note are the Union's Anaconda Plan, James Longstreet's development of trench warfare, the Mississippi theater of war and the siege and battle of Vicksburg, and Robert E. Lee's strategy preceding Gettysburg, among others.
- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war, especially Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, George McClellan, George Meade, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman.
- Share with students the unity found within the Union ranks in the cause of the United States and eventually the abolition of slavery. 1.3 million Union men of European ancestry fought in the Civil War and 180,000 African American men volunteered for the Union forces, making up nearly 10 percent of the Union army. Of all Union soldiers, 600,000 were wounded and approximately 360,000 Union men were killed.
- Teach the war, especially the major battles and military campaigns, in some detail. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often and have students track battles and campaigns on the Civil War map handout (*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, pages 278–279). *A Short History of the Civil War* is a great aid for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of these battles from this work, too.
- Help students to note the major themes running through the early years of the war, namely how Confederate commanders carried the day repeatedly despite the North's growing advantages, and how they exhibited military leadership and decisiveness. Students should also appreciate how unpopular Abraham Lincoln was in the North during much of the war.
- Have students come to know Abraham Lincoln, in his personal life, interior thoughts and troubles, and his great love for his country. Students should also engage frequently with the

reasoning and decision-making that marks Lincoln as being perhaps the greatest statesman in American history.

- Explain to students the proposal that freedmen should migrate to Africa after gaining their freedom, especially that this idea was initially shared by a large swath of Americans, including African American abolitionists and Abraham Lincoln. Their main reason for entertaining this proposal was a belief that any people treated so cruelly under slavery would want revenge on their owners afterward, as well as a doubt that most Southerners would actually treat African Americans equally (a projection that Jim Crow would prove to be accurate). The reason abolitionists, African Americans, and Lincoln entertained this proposal was not because they believed African Americans should not live in the United States; indeed, there were already nearly half a million free African Americans peaceably living among Americans of European descent in the North at the time of the Civil War.
- Based on his writings, words, and deeds, show students how Abraham Lincoln always believed in the equal human dignity of African Americans and grew over the course of his career to see that African Americans were equal socially as well, a growth in understanding that he knew more Americans would need to develop in order for African Americans to be treated truly as equals. As his own experience showed, he believed this would take some time, particularly in slave-holding states.
- Note that Congress (with the support of Lincoln) outlawed slavery in Washington, DC, in 1862, an action made numerically possible with the absence of Southern congressmen.
- Read aloud in class the Emancipation Proclamation and teach students the technicalities Abraham Lincoln navigated in thinking of it, drawing it up, and the timing of its promulgation. He had to retain the border states, abide by the Constitution, achieve victory, and earn the support of public opinion in order for slaves to be effectively freed—and he did it all. Students should understand that Lincoln’s justification for freeing the slaves involved exercising his executive powers as commander-in-chief of the armed forces during an armed rebellion. This is why Lincoln only had the authority to apply the Emancipation Proclamation to those states in actual rebellion, why it could not be applied to slave-holding border states not in rebellion, and why he knew that after the war, an amendment to the Constitution would be necessary to bring emancipation to all the states and make it permanent.
- Have students read and hold a seminar conversation on the Gettysburg Address. It is a magnificent work of oratory, but it also gets at the heart of the American founding and the ideas that maintain the United States. It also shows the importance of defending and advancing those ideas, both in the Civil War and in our own day, as is incumbent on every American citizen. Questions on page 187 of *A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Note the importance of Abraham Lincoln’s choice of Ulysses S. Grant as General-in-Chief of the entire Union Army. Grant’s decisiveness combined with William Tecumseh Sherman’s boldness proved essential in prosecuting the war from late 1863 onward.
- Recap the war by considering major statistics, including the number of casualties and deaths on each side. Ask what stance Americans today should have towards those who fought in the Civil War, distinguishing between Northern soldiers and Southern soldiers. When considering Southern soldiers, be sure to note the tragic death of so many Americans, even if they were fighting for a confederate government dedicated to preserving slavery. As noted previously, most of those doing the actual fighting for the South did not own slaves and believed that they were fighting for their country as well.

- Read and have a seminar conversation about Abraham Lincoln’s second inaugural address. Lincoln addresses many topics within the speech, both reflecting on the war and outlining a plan for after the war. In some respects, this speech is “part two” of what Lincoln began to assert in the Gettysburg Address. One of the main ideas Lincoln suggests, however, is that the Civil War was a punishment for the whole nation. This punishment was not necessarily for the mere existence of slavery but because, unlike the founding generation, the nation had in the time since the founding not continued to work for the abolition of the evil of slavery. While no country will ever be perfect, a people should work to make sure its laws do not promote the perpetuation of a practice that violates the equal natural rights of its fellow citizens.
- To set up the following unit, outline for students Abraham Lincoln’s preliminary plans for reconstruction, and impress upon students the immense historical consequences of Lincoln’s assassination.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: By considering his speeches and the Emancipation Proclamation, explain how Abraham Lincoln understood the purpose(s) of the Civil War, both absolutely and as the war unfolded (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Recite by heart the Gettysburg Address.

Assignment 3: Retell the history of the Civil War (4–5 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The American Civil War | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 173–189

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What foreign relations goal did the Confederacy place much hope in, especially early in the Civil War, due to international demand for Southern cotton?
2. Who was the first Union general whom Lincoln eventually removed from command for what amounted to a pattern of hesitation in battle, hesitation that may have cost the Union several chances to win the war relatively soon?
3. What was the name of the order given by President Lincoln that freed the slaves in the rebelling states?
4. Name one of the two Union generals who were key in successfully conducting the Union armies from 1864 onward?
5. What happened on April 14, 1865 (Good Friday), at Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC?

Lesson 4 — Reconstruction

1865–1877

2–3 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the remarkable fulfillment of civil rights for freedmen during Reconstruction despite the objections of some and then the reversal of many of those realizations in former confederate states during Reconstruction and after its end in 1877.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages 190–204
See below.

Teacher Texts

Reconstruction
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

As helpful.
Pages 188–199
Pages 114–117

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Civil Rights in American History

Lecture 11
Lectures 4 and 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 190–204, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 114–117) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and excerpts from the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Nebraska
Colorado

Promontory Point, Utah
Alaska

Persons

Andrew Johnson
Thaddeus Stevens

Edwin Stanton
Hiram Revels

Ulysses S. Grant
Lewis Howard Latimer

Elijah McCoy
Rutherford B. Hayes

Terms and Topics

Reconstruction
Presidential Reconstruction
Congressional Reconstruction
Radical Republicans
freedmen
13th, 14th, 15th Amendments
incorporation
1864 Reconstruction Act
military districts
Freedmen's Bureau
impeachment
Civil Rights Act of 1866
sharecropping
black codes

poll tax
literacy test
Reconstruction Act of 1867
scalawags and carpetbaggers
Ku Klux Klan
lynching
Ku Klux Klan Acts
Transcontinental Railroad
Seward's Folly
Crédit Mobilier Scandal
Panic of 1873
Jim Crow
Compromise of 1877

Primary Sources

Civil Rights Act of 1866
13th Amendment
14th Amendment
15th Amendment
Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

To Know by Heart

First lines of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments

Timeline

1865–77	Reconstruction
1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president
1868	First African American elected to Congress
1877	Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes becomes president

Last Monday in May	Memorial Day (originally Decoration Day, 1868)
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Images

Historical figures and events
Maps showing the gradual re-admittance of Southern states
Photographs of African Americans in the South, both in freedom and with the heavy restrictions placed on their freedom

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Frederick Douglass reflecting on the Emancipation Proclamation taking effect
- Booker T. Washington's account of news of the end of the Civil War reaching him as a slave
- Sidney Andrew's account from Charleston, South Carolina following the Civil War
- The swearing in of Hiram Revels to the U.S. Senate
- Grenville Dodge's account of the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Point, Utah

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the two major issues facing Andrew Johnson and Republicans in the North during the early years of Reconstruction?
- What were the similarities and differences between Abraham Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction and that of the Radical Republicans, especially concerning means, manner, and ends?
- What were the sources of tension between Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans especially?
- How did Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction actions differ from those of the Radical Republicans?
- What did a Confederate state have to do to be readmitted fully into the Union?
- Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, what did each do?
- What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13th Amendment?
- In what ways did governments of the former Confederacy attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction? How did they respond to the actions of Republicans in the North?
- What did the Freedmen's Bureau do?
- How can Ulysses S. Grant's presidency be characterized?
- What did the Ku Klux Klan Acts do?
- Why did the North lose much of its prewar zeal for reform?
- What happened in the election of 1876 and subsequent compromise of 1877?
- What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the former Confederacy, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 63: There are four amendments to the U.S. Constitution about who can vote. Describe one of them.
 - Question 97: What amendment gives citizenship to all persons born in the United States?
 - Question 98: When did all men get the right to vote?
 - Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.
 - Question 127: What is Memorial Day?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Even before the battlefield fighting was over, a new kind of struggle would emerge to determine the status of former slaves now made free. In decisive ways, Abraham Lincoln's assassination was devastating for the prospects of healing the nation while effectively securing the equal rights of freedmen. Not only was the desire for vengeance that Lincoln attempted to abate unleashed against the South, but the Republicans

controlling Congress themselves fought bitterly with President Andrew Johnson over the purpose and method of Reconstruction. While some remarkable gains were made for African Americans in the South, particularly in fulfilling in law the core ideas enunciated in the American founding and fought for by the Union, objections to such fulfillments remained, new injustices were established, and the management of Reconstruction was in disarray. The Compromise of 1877 ended the period of Reconstruction, leaving the protections African Americans had gained without federal protection, resulting in decades of restrictions on their rights and liberties.

Teachers might best plan and teach Reconstruction with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the effect of Abraham Lincoln’s assassination on Reconstruction and the future of America, especially as regards civil rights for African Americans. Lincoln’s focus was healing the nation while simultaneously providing for the effective and long-term establishment of equal rights for African Americans. Lincoln was succeeded after his assassination by Vice President Andrew Johnson.
- The transformation of a society away from decades of slavery was no small task. Depict Reconstruction as being tragically undermined and strained by the conflicts between congressional Republicans (who strongly opposed slavery), President Andrew Johnson (a pro-Union Democrat with little sympathy for former slaves), and lawmakers in the Southern states (who mostly wished to restrict the rights of the new freedmen), all of whom operated out of distrust following a painful and bloody Civil War.
- Have students read the three amendments to the Constitution and the laws passed during Reconstruction, especially the Civil Rights Act of 1866, related to the abolition of slavery and citizenship of freedmen. It is important to note the major and meaningful efforts Republicans made to guarantee the rights of African Americans. Questions on pages 197–199 of *A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Have students track the re-admittance of Confederate states on the Reconstruction map handout (*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, pages 280–281).
- Teach students about both the important gains and protections Republicans won for African Americans during Reconstruction as well as the ways in which these were undermined by actions in the former Confederate states and Johnson himself. Students should gain an appreciation of the remarkable speed and degrees to which former slaves were incorporated into the civil body early in Reconstruction, including the thousands of African Americans who would hold office at the local, state, and even federal level. But they should also understand the ways that Johnson resisted equal treatment of African Americans and in doing so encouraged and allowed certain bad policies (such as “black codes” passed by state legislatures and movements such as what would become the Ku Klux Klan) in the former Confederacy. In fact, many of the reversals of reconstruction began during the presidential reconstruction of Johnson, who was decidedly against secession but by no means opposed to slavery. Congress repeatedly had to override his vetoes and enact Constitutional amendments to prevent his defense of inequalities. Such Congressional action, however, also laid the groundwork for the expansion of federal power into and over state law, especially through the 14th Amendment and military government.
- Have students learn about the ways in which many civil rights achievements were thwarted or undone both during and after Reconstruction. For instance, spend time discussing how as Southerners were refranchised, African American officials were voted out of office and how “black codes” would eventually become Jim Crow laws. Discuss how “black codes” limited

freedmen's civil rights and imposed economic restrictions, including making being unemployed illegal, prohibiting landownership, requiring long-term labor contracts, prohibiting assemblies of freedmen only, prohibiting teaching freedmen to read or write, segregating public facilities, prohibiting freedmen from serving on juries, and carrying out corporal punishments for violators, among other restrictions and injustices. Read sample black codes aloud in class and discuss, such as the Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana. Note also the use of poll taxes and literacy tests to prohibit African Americans from voting.

- Explain how sharecropping made it nearly impossible for freedmen to accumulate enough capital to purchase their own land or set-off on a different pursuit. Moreover, students should be aware of the struggle facing freedmen who were still in a society prejudiced against them, without capital, land, or even the ability to read.
- Explain the emergence of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the power that their intimidation of African Americans and Republicans had in diminishing the political participation of freedmen.
- Teach students how Republicans passed and President Ulysses S. Grant signed into law the Ku Klux Klan Acts to prohibit intimidation of freedmen exercising their civil rights. Grant also empowered the president to use the armed forces against those who tried to deny freedmen equal protection under the laws. Nonetheless, such measures were usually sloppily enforced.
- At the same time, note the improvements during Reconstruction in building hospitals, creating a public school system, securing civil rights in principle, and fostering community within the freedmen community, especially in marital and family stability and through vibrant churches.
- Explain that Reconstruction effectively ended with the Compromise of 1877 that settled the disputed election of 1876. Congress (now controlled by the Democratic Party) would allow Republican Rutherford B. Hayes to be declared president in exchange for his withdrawing federal troops in former confederate states. Point out that in the backdrop was both continuing Southern resistance and a gradual waning of Northern zeal for (and political interest in) reform within the South.
- Ask students to consider the tragic nature of Reconstruction: a time of so much hoped for and achieved in applying the principle of equal natural rights was repeatedly undermined and mismanaged, then suddenly ended for political expediency, enabling new forms of injustice in certain areas of the country, after a war to end injustice had consumed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Americans.
- Nevertheless, make sure students do not lose sight of the momentous achievements in liberty, equality, and self-government fulfilled because of the Civil War. Students should appreciate the very significant achievements of Lincoln and the Civil War while looking forward to future generations of Americans who would seek to live up to the fundamental principles of America in their own times.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: From what would have been the perspective of Abraham Lincoln, explain the ways in which Reconstruction was successful and the ways in which it was not successful (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the story of how freedmen had their freedom, natural rights, and civil rights guaranteed during Reconstruction and how certain former confederate governments curtailed or removed those freedoms both during and after Reconstruction (2–3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The American Civil War | Lesson 4
Land of Hope, Pages 190–204

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one of the questions that the North had to answer when dealing with the South following the Civil War?
2. What event in the days following Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House led to a far messier, distrustful, and vengeful form of Reconstruction than may otherwise have been the case?
3. What did the Republicans in Congress do to Andrew Johnson?
4. What military hero was elected president in 1868?
5. In the Compromise of 1877, what did Republicans promise the South if the Democrats on the electoral commission would choose the Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as president?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Study Guide — The American Civil War Test

Unit 4

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1846–48	Mexican-American War
1849	California Gold Rush
1850	Compromise of 1850
1854	Kansas-Nebraska Act; Republican Party founded
1857	<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>
1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
1861–65	Civil War
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter
1863	Emancipation Proclamation takes effect
July 1–3, 1863	Battle of Gettysburg
1864	Abraham Lincoln reelected
April 9, 1865	Robert E. Lee surrenders at Appomattox Court House
April 14–15, 1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president
1865–77	Reconstruction
1877	Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes becomes president

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Mexico	Fort Sumter	West Virginia
California	Union	Border States
Kansas-Nebraska Territory	Confederacy	Appomattox Court House
Harpers Ferry	Richmond	Ford's Theatre

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

Henry Clay	Frederick Douglass	James Buchanan
John C. Calhoun	Sojourner Truth	Roger Taney
Daniel Webster	Harriet Beecher Stowe	John Brown
James K. Polk	Harriet Tubman	Jefferson Davis
Abraham Lincoln	William Lloyd Garrison	Robert E. Lee
Zachary Taylor	Franklin Pierce	George McClellan
Millard Fillmore	Stephen Douglas	

Thomas “Stonewall”
Jackson
Clara Barton
George Meade
Ulysses S. Grant

William Tecumseh Sherman
Martin Delany
Robert Gould Shaw
John Wilkes Booth
Andrew Johnson

Thaddeus Stevens
Hiram Revels
Elijah McCoy
Lewis Howard Latimer
Rutherford B. Hayes

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

The Great Triumvirate
Wilmot Proviso
“positive good”
antebellum
gold rush
Compromise of 1850
Fugitive Slave Law
abolitionism
*Narrative of the Life of
Frederick Douglass*
Uncle Tom’s Cabin
Underground Railroad
Know-Nothing Party
Kansas-Nebraska Act
“popular sovereignty”
Bleeding Kansas
“a house divided”
Democratic Party
Republican Party
Dred Scott v. Sandford
Lincoln-Douglas Debates
objective truth
“don’t care”
moral relativism

majority tyranny
“apple and frame”
metaphor
Wilberforce University
secession
states’ rights
Confederate States of
America
railroads
minié ball
Anaconda Plan
Army of the Potomac
Army of Northern Virginia
American Red Cross
trench warfare
ironclads
USS *Monitor*
CSS *Virginia*
abolition
Pickett’s Charge
54th Massachusetts Regiment
writ of habeas corpus
Peace Democrats
scorched-earth warfare

Burning of Atlanta
Andersonville Prison
Reconstruction
Radical Republicans
freedmen
13th, 14th, and 15th
Amendments
1864 Reconstruction Act
military districts
Freedmen’s Bureau
impeachment
Civil Rights Act of 1866
sharecropping
black codes
Reconstruction Act of 1867
scalawags and
carpetbaggers
Ku Klux Klan
lynching
Ku Klux Klan Acts
Transcontinental Railroad
Crédit Mobilier Scandal
Panic of 1873
Jim Crow
Compromise of 1877

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle’s outcome.

First Manassas/Bull Run
Shiloh
Peninsula Campaign
Antietam
Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville

Fort Wagner
Vicksburg
Gettysburg
Chickamauga and Chattanooga
The Battle of the Wilderness

The Battle of Spotsylvania
Sherman's "March to the Sea"

Siege of Richmond

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Frederick Douglass

Speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln

Uncle Tom's Cabin, Harriet Beecher Stowe

Dred Scott v. Sandford, Roger Taney

The *Dred Scott* Decision and Slavery Speech, Abraham Lincoln

"House Divided" speech, Abraham Lincoln

Lincoln-Douglas Debates, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas

"The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?," Frederick Douglass

"Fragment on the Constitution and Union," Abraham Lincoln

First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln

Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln

Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

Civil Rights Act of 1866

13th Amendment

14th Amendment

15th Amendment

Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

TO KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

"Knowledge makes a man unfit to be a slave."—Frederick Douglass

"So you're the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war."—Abraham Lincoln

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."—Abraham Lincoln

"Battle Hymn of the Republic," first stanza—Julia Ward Howe

Gettysburg Address—Abraham Lincoln

"So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won."—William Tecumseh Sherman

"Not for themselves but for their country." — Epitaph for a monument at Antietam

First lines of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biographies and the roles of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Abraham Lincoln prior to the Civil War
- Childhood biography of Abraham Lincoln
- Scenes from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
- Actions of Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad
- The first shots fired on Fort Sumter
- Biographies and roles of Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman in the Civil War
- Fighting at Little Round Top and Pickett's Charge
- Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House
- Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent killing of John Wilkes Booth
- Frederick Douglass reflecting on the Emancipation Proclamation taking effect
- The swearing in of Hiram Revels to the U.S. Senate
- Completion of the Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Point, Utah

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

- ☐ What general prediction about the future of slavery did the Framers of the Constitution make?
- ☐ What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution went into effect, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
- ☐ What was life like for slaves in the South? What was a slave auction like?
- ☐ Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for the slaveholding interest?
- ☐ What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Was it really a "compromise"? Why or why not?
- ☐ What were the two most controversial parts of the Compromise of 1850? What were their effects?
- ☐ What were the various kinds of abolitionist activities engaged in by Northern abolitionists?
- ☐ What roles did Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Tubman, and Harriet Beecher Stowe play in the abolitionist movement?
- ☐ How did the Underground Railroad work?
- ☐ What did the Kansas-Nebraska Act do?
- ☐ What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Where did the idea come from and why?

Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

- ☐ What was Bleeding Kansas, what was it like, and why did it happen?
- ☐ According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* recast the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the founding ideas of equality?

- ☐ According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* threaten to make slavery legal anywhere in the union?
- ☐ Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that Stephen Douglas's personal stance of how he does not care ("I care not") how a state or territory votes on slavery is dangerous and indefensible? How was this connected to Lincoln's predictions regarding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision?
- ☐ Why did Abraham Lincoln believe popular sovereignty without an argument on the morality of slavery amounted to majority tyranny?
- ☐ What question and answer did Abraham Lincoln consider to be the solution to the issue of the expansion of slavery?
- ☐ Why did Lincoln see the question of the morality of slavery to be at the heart of America's founding?
- ☐ How did Abraham Lincoln end up winning the 1860 election?
- ☐ Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his "apple of gold, frame of silver" metaphor.
- ☐ How did Abraham Lincoln navigate the period between his election and the first shots at Fort Sumter? How did the country descend into war during this period?
- ☐ How was slavery the true cause of the Civil War?
- ☐ In what ways did the Confederacy reject the principle of equality from the Declaration of Independence and insist on the *inequality* of the races?

Lesson 3 | The Civil War

- ☐ What was the Southern states' argument for the constitutionality of secession?
- ☐ What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his first inaugural address?
- ☐ How did Southern states decide to secede? Which segment of the Southern population were those who actually decided for secession?
- ☐ What were Jefferson Davis's arguments on the morality and expansion of slavery, the North, and states' rights and secession?
- ☐ What was important about Virginia's decision to secede? How did it come about?
- ☐ What were Abraham Lincoln's goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
- ☐ Why and how did Abraham Lincoln need to keep the border states in the Union?
- ☐ What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?
- ☐ What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- ☐ What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- ☐ How did the Civil War reshape the currency and banking systems of the United States?
- ☐ What was the significance of the Homestead Act of 1862 in the midst of the Civil War? What was so remarkable about this act in terms of the government's interest in private land ownership?
- ☐ What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg, in the Virginia and Maryland theater of war?
- ☐ How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
- ☐ In summary, what did Abraham Lincoln argue in the Gettysburg Address?
- ☐ Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?

- ☐ What were the most significant moments in the Civil War?
- ☐ What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?
- ☐ What were Abraham Lincoln's plans for reconstruction following the Civil War, as outlined in his second inaugural address and from what we know of his private meetings in the war's final weeks?

Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

- ☐ What were the two major issues facing Andrew Johnson and Republicans in the North during the early years of Reconstruction?
- ☐ What were the similarities and differences between Abraham Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction and that of the Radical Republicans, especially concerning means, manner, and ends?
- ☐ What were the sources of tension between Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans especially?
- ☐ How did Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction actions differ from those of the Radical Republicans?
- ☐ What did a Confederate state have to do to be readmitted fully into the Union?
- ☐ Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, what did each do?
- ☐ What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13th Amendment?
- ☐ In what ways did Southern states attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction? How did they respond to the actions of Republicans in the North?
- ☐ What did the Freedmen's Bureau do?
- ☐ How can Ulysses S. Grant's presidency be characterized?
- ☐ What did the Ku Klux Klan Acts do?
- ☐ What happened in the election of 1876 and the subsequent Compromise of 1877?
- ☐ What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the South, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?

Name _____

Date _____

Test — The American Civil War

Unit 4

TIMELINE

Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------|---|
| 1846–48 | _____ | A. Abraham Lincoln assassinated; |
| 1849 | _____ | Andrew Johnson becomes president |
| 1850 | _____ | B. Abraham Lincoln reelected |
| 1854 | _____ | C. Attack on Fort Sumter |
| 1857 | _____ | D. Battle of Gettysburg |
| 1860 | _____ | E. California Gold Rush |
| 1861–65 | _____ | F. Civil War |
| April 12, 1861 | _____ | G. Compromise of 1850 |
| 1863 | _____ | H. Compromise of 1877; |
| July 1–3, 1863 | _____ | Rutherford B. Hayes president |
| 1864 | _____ | I. <i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i> |
| April 9, 1865 | _____ | J. Election of Abraham Lincoln; South |
| April 14–15, 1865 | _____ | Carolina secedes |
| 1865–77 | _____ | K. Emancipation Proclamation takes effect |
| 1877 | _____ | L. Kansas-Nebraska Act; |
| | | Republican Party founded |
| | | M. Mexican-American War |
| | | N. Reconstruction |
| | | O. Robert E. Lee surrenders at Appomattox |
| | | Court House |

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

- Outline and label the Union states, border states, and Confederate states.
- Label Charleston, Gettysburg, Richmond, Vicksburg, and Washington, DC.



Map courtesy of *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank.

3. The balance in power between free and slave states since the Missouri Compromise was upset by the acquisition of Texas, the Mexican-American War, and the lands procured from that conflict. The question of slavery and its expansion nearly resulted in civil war in 1850 when the California _____ enlarged California's population suddenly and the territory petitioned for admittance to the Union as a free state.
4. Although the _____ kept the Union together, it was not really a compromise but a series of separate laws. While it may have postponed conflict, distrust and animosity festered over the next decade, especially in light of the hated Fugitive Slave Law, which attempted to force Northerners to assist in capturing runaway slaves.
5. An escaped slave who taught himself to read and write in the North, _____ became a leading abolitionist and orator, powerfully employing his sufferings in slavery to move the hearts and minds of Northerners.
6. Most Northerners never came into contact with slavery, especially in the most Northern regions of the country. While most Northerners believed slavery was morally wrong, many lacked a passion for abolition until _____'s book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, brought the horrors of slavery to the living rooms and imaginations of Northerners. Abraham Lincoln attributed the Civil War to this "little lady."
7. Also having escaped from slavery, _____ was a veteran conductor on the Underground Railroad, working with hundreds of Northern abolitionists to shepherd escaped slaves to the North and into Canada.
8. As abolitionist and pro-slavery advocates flocked west of Missouri to determine whether slavery would exist there, the open conflict between these two groups known as _____ prefigured the blood that would be shed over the question of slavery in the coming civil war.
9. In 1854, former Whigs, Free Soilers, and abolitionists formed the _____ in opposition to the Democratic Party. Unlike the Democratic Party, which had come to promote slavery openly in the South and leave the question to majority vote in the North and West, this new party stood explicitly against the moral evil of the expansion of slavery.
10. In 1856, America's first historically black university, named _____ after the English abolitionist, was founded in central Ohio.
11. _____ argued for the alleged benevolence of slavery based on life at his plantation and strongly defended the right of Southern states to secede. He resigned his seat in the United States Senate to become the president of the Confederate States of America.

12. Within the Maryland and Virginia theater of war, the Union forces were called the Army of _____ and the Confederate forces were called the Army of _____.
13. Having graduated at the top of his class at West Point and having served the United States faithfully for thirty-two years, _____'s care for, as he put it, "my relatives, my children, my home," (i.e., Virginia) outweighed his doubts about the constitutionality of secession. He would be the most accomplished Confederate general and fight until the very end of the war.
14. Having graduated near the bottom of his class at West Point and having lived a tumultuous life of poverty and drinking, _____'s repeated, bold, and well-executed successes in the Mississippi-Tennessee theater garnered him a promotion to General-in-Chief of the Union forces, a position he would use to lead the Union to ultimate victory.
15. The most famous United States Colored Infantry Regiment was the _____. Its tragic attack on Fort Wagner in South Carolina showed Northerners that the war's purpose, which Abraham Lincoln was about to broaden to include the end of slavery, was being fought for by those whom it was attempting to set free.
16. _____ proved to be one of the Union's most successful and controversial generals, especially after his "March to the Sea" campaign of scorched-earth warfare. He justified it by saying, "War is hell." While such tactics may have hastened the South's willingness to surrender, they also escalated the bitterness between the North and South into the years after the war.
17. Abraham Lincoln's reelection prospects were dismal for much of 1864 until the capture and burning of _____ a few weeks before the election projected a victory for the Union and bolstered Lincoln to victory at the ballot box that November.
18. On the night of April 14 at Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC, actor and Southern sympathizer _____ shot Abraham Lincoln, who died the next morning, just six days after the Civil War ended. The assassin's motive may have been outrage at public support for Lincoln's drive to expand voting rights for African Americans.
19. With the Southern states out of the Union for the time being, Congress and the Northern states passed the Reconstruction Amendments: the _____ Amendment explicitly prohibited slavery, the _____ Amendment established citizenship regardless of race, and the _____ Amendment guaranteed voting rights to all citizens regardless of race.
20. The first African Americans were elected to the U.S. Congress in 1868. Over the next decade, hundreds of African Americans were elected as Republicans to state and local offices, fifteen were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and one, _____, was elected to the U.S. Senate.

21. Although African Americans were freed following the Civil War, many Southern governments tried to limit their rights through _____, including making being unemployed illegal, prohibiting assemblies of freedmen only, prohibiting teaching freedmen to read or write, segregating public facilities, prohibiting freedmen from serving on juries, and carrying out corporal punishments for violators, among other restrictions and injustices.
22. Republicans passed and President Grant signed into law the _____ Acts to prohibit intimidation of freedmen from exercising their civil rights and to empower the president to use the armed forces against those who tried to deny freedmen equal protection under the laws.
23. Rutherford B. Hayes and Republicans on the electoral commission abandoned the protections afforded to freedmen through the federal military districts in the South in exchange for Democrats supporting Hayes for the presidency, in what was known as the _____. The suddenness of the change in the South resulted in an undoing of some civil rights achievements of Reconstruction and paved the way for other forms of injustice.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

24. Antietam

25. Gettysburg

26. "March to the Sea"

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

27. "_____ makes a man unfit to be a _____."—Frederick Douglass

28. "A house divided against itself cannot stand."—_____

29. "...and that government of the _____

Gettysburg Address—Abraham Lincoln

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

30. Retell a scene from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* or *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

31. Tell the story of Pickett's Charge.

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

32. What had been the general prediction about the future of slavery by the Framers of the Constitution? Why did this not happen?
33. What was life like for slaves in the South? What was a slave auction like?
34. Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for the slaveholding interest?
35. According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* threaten to make slavery legal anywhere in the Union?
36. What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Why did Abraham Lincoln believe popular sovereignty without an argument on the morality of slavery amounted to majority tyranny?
37. Why did Lincoln see the question of the morality of slavery to be at the heart of that on which America was founded?
38. Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his "apple of gold, frame of silver" metaphor.
39. What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his first inaugural address?

40. What were Abraham Lincoln's goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
41. What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?
42. What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until Gettysburg in the Virginia and Maryland theater of war?
43. How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
44. What were the most significant moments in the Civil War? What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?
45. What were the similarities and differences between Abraham Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction and that of the Radical Republicans, especially concerning means, manner, and ends?
46. What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13th Amendment?
47. In what ways did former confederate states attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction?
48. What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the former confederacy, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?

Writing Assignment — The American Civil War

Unit 4

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 500–800-word essay answering the question...

In what ways did the American Civil War prove true the principles on which America was founded while still giving the nation a “new birth of freedom”?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Frederick Douglass

Abraham Lincoln

Harriet Beecher Stowe

Roger Taney

Stephen Douglas

The United States Congress

The American People

E.D. Estillette

SENATOR JOHN C. CALHOUN (D-SC)

On the Oregon Bill

SPEECH EXCERPT

June 27, 1848

U.S. Senate Chamber, U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Senator John C. Calhoun gave this speech in response to the Oregon Bill, which sought to organize the new territory along anti-slavery principles.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How does Calhoun portray the conflict between the North and the South?
2. How does Calhoun use the Constitution to justify his argument?
3. What theoretical proposition is the cause of the Union's destruction, according to Calhoun?
4. According to Calhoun, what is the relationship between the government and individual liberty?

John C. Calhoun, "On the Oregon Bill," 27 June 1848, in *The Works of John C. Calhoun*, Vol. 4, ed. Richard Kenner Crallé (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1888), 503–12.

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...The first question which offers itself for consideration is — Have the Northern States the power which they claim, to prevent the Southern people from emigrating freely, with their property, into territories belonging to the United States, and to monopolize them for their exclusive benefit?...

- 5 Now, I put the question solemnly to the Senators from the North: Can you rightly and justly exclude the South from territories of the United States, and monopolize them for yourselves, even if, in your opinion, you should have the power? It is this question I wish to press on your attention with all due solemnity and decorum. The North and the South stand in the relation of partners in a common Union, with equal dignity and equal rights.
- 10 We of the South have contributed our full share of funds, and shed our full share of blood for the acquisition of our territories. Can you, then, on any principle of equity and justice, deprive us of our full share in their benefit and advantage? Are you ready to affirm that a majority of the partners in a joint concern have the right to monopolize its benefits to the exclusion of the minority, even in cases where they have contributed their full share to the
- 15 concern?...

- I turn now to my friends of the South, and ask: What are you prepared to do? If neither the barriers of the constitution nor the high sense of right and justice should prove sufficient to protect you, are you prepared to sink down into a state of acknowledged inferiority; to be stripped of your dignity of equals among equals, and be deprived of your equality of
- 20 rights in this federal partnership of States? If so, you are woefully degenerated from your sires, and will well deserve to change condition with your slaves;—but if not, prepare to meet the issue. The time is at hand, if the question should not be speedily settled, when the South must rise up, and bravely defend herself, or sink down into base and acknowledged inferiority; and it is because I clearly perceive that this period is favorable for settling it, if
- 25 it is ever to be settled, that I am in favor of pressing the question now to a decision—not because I have any desire whatever to embarrass either party in reference to the Presidential election. At no other period could the two great parties into which the country is divided be made to see and feel so clearly and intensely the embarrassment and danger caused by the question. Indeed, they must be blind not to perceive that there is a power in action that

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must burst asunder the ties that bind them together, strong as they are, unless it should be speedily settled. Now is the time, if ever. Cast your eyes to the North, and mark what is going on there; reflect on the tendency of events for the last three years in reference to this the most vital of all questions, and you must see that no time should be lost.

- 5 I am thus brought to the question, How can the question be settled? It can, in my opinion, be finally and permanently adjusted but one way,—and that is on the high principles of justice and the constitution. Fear not to leave it to them. The less you do the better. If the North and South cannot stand together on their broad and solid foundation, there is none other on which they can. If the obligations of the constitution and justice be too feeble to
- 10 command the respect of the North, how can the South expect that she will regard the far more feeble obligations of an act of Congress? Nor should the North fear that, by leaving it where justice and the constitution leave it, she would be excluded from her full share of the territories. In my opinion, if it be left there, climate, soil, and other circumstances would fix the line between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States in about 36° 30'. It may
- 15 zigzag a little, to accommodate itself to circumstances—sometimes passing to the north, and at others passing to the south of it; but that would matter little, and would be more satisfactory to all, and tend less to alienation between the two great sections, than a rigid, straight, artificial line, prescribed by an act of Congress.

- And here, let me say to Senators from the North;—you make a great mistake in supposing
- 20 that the portion which might fall to the south of whatever line might be drawn, if left to soil, and climate, and circumstances to determine, would be closed to the white labor of the North, because it could not mingle with slave labor without degradation. The fact is not so. There is no part of the world where agricultural, mechanical, and other descriptions of labor are more respected than in the South, with the exception of two descriptions of employ-
- 25 ment—that of menial and body servants. No Southern man—not the poorest or the lowest—will, under any circumstance, submit to perform either of them. He has too much pride for that, and I rejoice that he has. They are unsuited to the spirit of a freeman. But the man who would spurn them feels not the least degradation to work in the same field with his slave; or to be employed to work with them in the same field or in any mechanical

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operation; and, when so employed, they claim the right,—and are admitted, in the country portion of the South—of sitting at the table of their employers. Can as much, on the score of equality, be said of the North? With us the two great divisions of society are not the rich and poor, but white and black; and all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper class, and are respected and treated as equals, if honest and industrious; and hence have a position and pride of character of which neither poverty nor misfortune can deprive them.

But I go further, and hold that justice and the constitution are the easiest and safest guard on which the question can be settled, regarded in reference to party. It may be settled on that ground simply by non-action—by leaving the territories free and open to the emigration of all the world, so long as they continue so,—and when they become States, to adopt whatever constitution they please, with the single restriction, to be republican, in order to their admission into the Union. If a party cannot safely take this broad and solid position and successfully maintain it, what other can it take and maintain? If it cannot maintain itself by an appeal to the great principles of justice, the constitution, and self-government, to what other, sufficiently strong to uphold them in public opinion, can they appeal? I greatly mistake the character of the people of this Union, if such an appeal would not prove successful, if either party should have the magnanimity to step forward, and boldly make it. It would, in my opinion, be received with shouts of approbation by the patriotic and intelligent in every quarter. There is a deep feeling pervading the country that the Union and our political institutions are in danger, which such a course would dispel, and spread joy over the land.

Now is the time to take the step, and bring about a result so devoutly to be wished. I have believed, from the beginning, that this was the only question sufficiently potent to dissolve the Union, and subvert our system of government; and that the sooner it was met and settled, the safer and better for all. I have never doubted but that, if permitted to progress beyond a certain point, its settlement would become impossible, and am under deep conviction that it is now rapidly approaching it,—and that if it is ever to be averted, it must be done speedily. In uttering these opinions I look to the whole. If I speak earnestly, it is to

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save and protect all. As deep as is the stake of the South in the Union and our political institutions, it is not deeper than that of the North. We shall be as well prepared and as capable of meeting whatever may come, as you.

Now, let me say, Senators, if our Union and system of government are doomed to perish,
5 and we to share the fate of so many great people who have gone before us, the historian, who, in some future day, may record the events ending in so calamitous a result, will devote his first chapter to the ordinance of 1787, lauded as it and its authors have been, as the first of that series which led to it. His next chapter will be devoted to the Missouri compromise, and the next to the present agitation. Whether there will be another beyond, I know not. It
10 will depend on what we may do.

If he should possess a philosophical turn of mind, and be disposed to look to more remote and recondite causes, he will trace it to a proposition which originated in a hypothetical truism, but which, as now expressed and now understood, is the most false and dangerous of all political errors. The proposition to which I allude, has become an axiom in the minds
15 of a vast many on both sides of the Atlantic, and is repeated daily from tongue to tongue, as an established and incontrovertible truth; it is,—that “all men are born free and equal.” I am not afraid to attack error, however deeply it may be intrenched, or however widely extended, whenever it becomes my duty to do so, as I believe it to be on this subject and occasion.

20 Taking the proposition literally (it is in that sense it is understood), there is not a word of truth in it. It begins with “all men are born,” which is utterly untrue. Men are not born. Infants are born. They grow to be men. And concludes with asserting that they are born “free and equal,” which is not less false. They are not born free. While infants they are incapable of freedom, being destitute alike of the capacity of thinking and acting, without
25 which there can be no freedom. Besides, they are necessarily born subject to their parents, and remain so among all people, savage and civilized, until the development of their intellect and physical capacity enables them to take care of themselves. They grow to all the freedom of which the condition in which they were born permits, by growing to be men.

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Nor is it less false that they are born “equal.” They are not so in any sense in which it can be regarded; and thus, as I have asserted, there is not a word of truth in the whole proposition, as expressed and generally understood.

If we trace it back, we shall find the proposition differently expressed in the Declaration of Independence. That asserts that “all men are created equal.” The form of expression, though less dangerous, is not less erroneous. All men are not created. According to the Bible, only two—a man and a woman—ever were—and of these one was pronounced subordinate to the other. All others have come into the world by being born, and in no sense, as I have shown, either free or equal. But this form of expression being less striking and popular, has given way to the present, and under the authority of a document put forth on so great an occasion, and leading to such important consequences, has spread far and wide, and fixed itself deeply in the public mind. It was inserted in our Declaration of Independence without any necessity. It made no necessary part of our justification in separating from the parent country, and declaring ourselves independent. Breach of our chartered privileges, and lawless encroachment on our acknowledged and well-established rights by the parent country, were the real causes,—and of themselves sufficient, without resorting to any other, to justify the step. Nor had it any weight in constructing the governments which were substituted in the place of the colonial. They were formed of the old materials and on practical and well-established principles, borrowed for the most part from our own experience and that of the country from which we sprang.

If the proposition be traced still further back, it will be found to have been adopted from certain writers in government who had attained much celebrity in the early settlement of these States, and with whose writings all the prominent actors in our revolution were familiar. Among these, Locke and Sydney were prominent. But they expressed it very differently. According to their expression, “all men in the state of nature were free and equal.” From this the others were derived; and it was this to which I referred when I called it a hypothetical truism;—to understand why, will require some explanation.

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Man, for the purpose of reasoning, may be regarded in three different states: in a state of individuality; that is, living by himself apart from the rest of his species. In the social; that is, living in society, associated with others of his species. And in the political; that is, living under government. We may reason as to what would be his rights and duties in either, without taking into consideration whether he could exist in it or not. It is certain, that in the first, the very supposition that he lived apart and separated from all others would make him free and equal. No one in such a state could have the right to command or control another. Every man would be his own master, and might do just as he pleased. But it is equally clear, that man cannot exist in such a state; that he is by nature social, and that society is necessary, not only to the proper development of all his faculties, moral and intellectual, but to the very existence of his race. Such being the case, the state is a purely hypothetical one; and when we say all men are free and equal in it, we announce a mere hypothetical truism; that is, a truism resting on a mere supposed state that cannot exist, and of course one of little or no practical value.

But to call it a state of nature was a great misnomer, and has led to dangerous errors; for that cannot justly be called a state of nature which is so opposed to the constitution of man as to be inconsistent with the existence of his race and the development of the high faculties, mental and moral, with which he is endowed by his Creator.

Nor is the social state of itself his natural state; for society can no more exist without government, in one form or another, than man without society. It is the political, then, which includes the social, that is his natural state. It is the one for which his Creator formed him,—into which he is impelled irresistibly,—and in which only his race can exist and all its faculties be fully developed.

Such being the case, it follows that any, the worst form of government, is better than anarchy; and that individual liberty, or freedom, must be subordinate to whatever power may be necessary to protect society against anarchy within or destruction from without; for the safety and well-being of society is as paramount to individual liberty, as the safety and well-being of the race is to that of individuals; and in the same proportion the power necessary

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for the safety of society is paramount to individual liberty. On the contrary, government has no right to control individual liberty beyond what is necessary to the safety and well-being of society. Such is the boundary which separates the power of government and the liberty of the citizen or subject in the political state, which, as I have shown, is the natural
5 state of man—the only one in which his race can exist, and the one in which he is born, lives, and dies.

It follows from this that all the quantum of power on the part of the government, and of liberty on that of individuals, instead of being equal in all cases, must necessarily be very unequal among different people, according to their different conditions. For just in proportion as a people are ignorant, stupid, debased, corrupt, exposed to violence within, and
10 danger from without, the power necessary for government to possess, in order to preserve society against anarchy and destruction, becomes greater and greater, and individual liberty less and less, until the lowest condition is reached,—when absolute and despotic power becomes necessary on the part of the government, and individual liberty extinct. So, on the
15 contrary, just as a people rise in the scale of intelligence, virtue, and patriotism, and the more perfectly they become acquainted with the nature of government, the ends for which it was ordered, and how it ought to be administered, and the less the tendency to violence and disorder within, and danger from abroad,—the power necessary for government becomes less and less, and individual liberty greater and greater. Instead, then, of all men
20 having the same right to liberty and equality, as is claimed by those who hold that they are all born free and equal, liberty is the noble and highest reward bestowed on mental and moral development, combined with favorable circumstances. Instead, then, of liberty and equality being born with men,—instead of all men and all classes and descriptions being equally entitled to them, they are high prizes to be won, and are in their most perfect state,
25 not only the highest reward that can be bestowed on our race, but the most difficult to be won,—and when won, the most difficult to be preserved.

They have been made vastly more so by the dangerous error I have attempted to expose,—that all men are born free and equal,—as if those high qualities belonged to man without effort to acquire them, and to all equally alike, regardless of their intellectual and moral

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condition. The attempt to carry into practice this, the most dangerous of all political errors, and to bestow on all,— without regard to their fitness either to acquire or maintain liberty,—that unbounded and individual liberty supposed to belong to man in the hypothetical and misnamed state of nature, has done more to retard the cause of liberty and civilization, and is doing more at present, than all other causes combined. While it is powerful to pull down governments, it is still more powerful to prevent their construction on proper principles. It is the leading cause among those which have placed Europe in its present anarchical condition, and which mainly stands in the way of reconstructing good governments in the place of those which have been overthrown,—threatening thereby the quarter of the globe most advanced in progress and civilization with hopeless anarchy,—to be followed by military despotism. Nor are we exempt from its disorganizing effects. We now begin to experience the danger of admitting so great an error to have a place in the declaration of our independence. For a long time it lay dormant; but in the process of time it began to germinate, and produce its poisonous fruits. It had strong hold on the mind of Mr. Jefferson, the author of that document, which caused him to take an utterly false view of the subordinate relation of the black to the white race in the South; and to hold, in consequence, that the latter, though utterly unqualified to possess liberty, were as fully entitled to both liberty and equality as the former; and that to deprive them of it was unjust and immoral. To this error, his proposition to exclude slavery from the territory northwest of the Ohio may be traced,—and to that of the ordinance of 1787,—and through it the deep and dangerous agitation which now threatens to engulf, and will certainly engulf, if not speedily settled, our political institutions, and involve the country in countless woes.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,
An American Slave*

AUTOBIOGRAPHY EXCERPT

May 1, 1845

Anti-Slavery Office | Boston, Massachusetts

BACKGROUND

The former slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass wrote this autobiography on his life as a slave and his eventual escape and life in freedom.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Who was Douglass' father?
2. What accounts does Douglass give of his childhood and life as a slave?
3. Why does Douglass go to Baltimore the first time?
4. What happens on Douglass's first escape attempt?
5. How does Douglass end up escaping?

Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845).

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I WAS born in Tuckahoe, near Hillsborough, and about twelve miles from Easton, in Talbot county, Maryland. I have no accurate knowledge of my age, never having seen any authentic record containing it. By far the larger part of the slaves know as little of their ages as horses know of theirs, and it is the wish of most masters within my knowledge to keep their slaves thus ignorant. I do not remember to have ever met a slave who could tell of his birthday. They seldom come nearer to it than planting-time, harvest-time, cherry-time, spring-time, or fall-time. A want of information concerning my own was a source of unhappiness to me even during childhood. The white children could tell their ages. I could not tell why I ought to be deprived of the same privilege. I was not allowed to make any inquiries of my master concerning it. He deemed all such inquiries on the part of a slave improper and impertinent, and evidence of a restless spirit. The nearest estimate I can give makes me now between twenty-seven and twenty-eight years of age. I come to this, from hearing my master say, some time during 1835, I was about seventeen years old.

My mother was named Harriet Bailey. She was the daughter of Isaac and Betsey Bailey, both colored, and quite dark. My mother was of a darker complexion than either my grandmother or grandfather.

My father was a white man. He was admitted to be such by all I ever heard speak of my parentage. The opinion was also whispered that my master was my father; but of the correctness of this opinion, I know nothing; the means of knowing was withheld from me. My mother and I were separated when I was but an infant—before I knew her as my mother. It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age. Frequently, before the child has reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired out on some farm a considerable distance off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor. For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and to blunt and destroy the natural affection of the mother for the child. This is the inevitable result.

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I never saw my mother, to know her as such, more than four or five times in my life; and each of these times was very short in duration, and at night. She was hired by a Mr. Stewart, who lived about twelve miles from my home. She made her journeys to see me in the night, travelling the whole distance on foot, after the performance of her day's work. She was a field hand, and a whipping is the penalty of not being in the field at sunrise, unless a slave has special permission from his or her master to the contrary—a permission which they seldom get, and one that gives to him that gives it the proud name of being a kind master. I do not recollect of ever seeing my mother by the light of day. She was with me in the night. She would lie down with me, and get me to sleep, but long before I waked she was gone. Very little communication ever took place between us. Death soon ended what little we could have while she lived, and with it her hardships and suffering.

She died when I was about seven years old, on one of my master's farms, near Lee's Mill. I was not allowed to be present during her illness, at her death, or burial. She was gone long before I knew any thing about it. Never have enjoyed, to any considerable extent, her soothing presence, her tender and watchful care, I received the tidings of her death with much the same emotions I should have probably felt at the death of a stranger.

Called thus suddenly away, she left me without the slightest intimation of who my father was. The whisper that my master was my father, may or may not be true; and, true or false, it is of but little consequence to my purpose whilst the fact remains, in all its glaring odiousness, that slaveholders have ordained, and by law established, that the children of slave women shall in all cases follow the condition of their mothers; and this is done too obviously to administer to their own lusts, and make a gratification of their wicked desires profitable as well as pleasurable; for by this cunning arrangement, the slaveholder, in cases not a few, sustains to his slaves the double relation of master and father.

I know of such cases, and it is worthy, of remark that such slaves invariably suffer greater hardships, and have more to contend with, than others. They are, in the first place, a constant offence to their mistress. She is ever disposed to find fault with them; they can seldom do any thing to please her; she is never better pleased than when she sees them under the

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- lash, especially when she suspects her husband of showing to his mulatto children favors which he withholds from his black slaves. The master is frequently compelled to sell this class of his slaves, out of deference to the feelings of his white wife; and, cruel as the deed may strike any one to be, for a man to sell his own children to human flesh-mongers, it is
- 5 often the dictate of humanity for him to do so; for, unless he does this, he must not only whip them himself, but must stand by and see one white son tie up his brother, of but few shades darker complexion than himself, and ply the gory lash to his naked back; and if he lisp one word of disapproval, "it is set down to his parental partiality, and only makes a bad matter worse, both for himself and the slave whom he would protect and defend.
- 10 Every year brings with it multitudes of this class of slaves. It was doubtless in consequence of a knowledge of this fact, that one great statesman of the south predicted the downfall of slavery by the inevitable laws of population. Whether this prophecy is ever fulfilled or not, it is nevertheless plain that a very different-looking class of people are springing up at the south, and are now held in slavery, from those originally brought to this country from Af-
- 15 rica; and if their increase will do no other good, it will do away the force of the argument, that God cursed Ham, and therefore American slavery is right. If the lineal descendants of Ham are alone to be scripturally enslaved, it is certain that slavery at the south must soon become unscriptural; for thousands are ushered into the world, annually, who, like myself, owe their existence to white fathers, and those fathers most frequently their own masters.
- 20 I have had two masters. My first master's name was Anthony. I do not remember his first name. He was generally called Captain Anthony—a title which, I presume, he acquired by sailing a craft on the Chesapeake Bay. He was not considered a rich slaveholder. He owned two or three farms, and about thirty slaves. His farms and slaves were under the care of an overseer. The overseer's name was Plummer. Mr. Plummer was a miserable drunkard, a
- 25 profane swearer, and a savage monster. He always went armed with a cowskin and a heavy cudgel. I have known him to cut and slash the women's heads so horribly, that even master would be enraged at his cruelty, and would threaten to whip him if he did not mind himself. Master, however, was not a humane slaveholder. It required extraordinary barbarity on the part of an overseer to affect him. He was a cruel man, hardened by a long life of slave-

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holding. He would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave. I have often been awakened at the dawn of day by the most heart-rending shrieks of an own aunt of mine, whom he used to tie up to a joist, and whip upon her naked back till she was literally covered with blood. No words, no tears, no prayers, from his gory victim, seemed to move
5 his iron heart from its bloody purpose. The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remem-
10 ber any thing. It was the first of a long series of such outrages, of which I was doomed to be a witness and a participant. It struck me with awful force. It was the blood-stained gate, the entrance to the hell of slavery, through which I was about to pass. It was a most terrible spectacle. I wish I could commit to paper the feelings with which I beheld it....

It is partly in consequence of such facts, that slaves, when inquired of as to their condition
15 and the character of their masters, almost universally say they are contented, and that their masters are kind. The slaveholders have been known to send in spies among their slaves, to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition. The frequency of this has had the effect to establish among the slaves the maxim, that a still tongue makes a wise head. They suppress the truth rather than take the consequences of telling it, and in so
20 doing prove themselves a part of the human family. If they have any thing to say of their masters, it is generally in their masters' favor, especially when speaking to an untried man. I have been frequently asked, when a slave, if I had a kind master, and do not remember ever to have given a negative answer; nor did I, in pursuing this course, consider myself as uttering what was absolutely false; for I always measured the kindness of my master by the
25 standard of kindness set up among slaveholders around us. Moreover, slaves are like other people, and imbibe prejudices quite common to others. They think their own better than that of others. Many, under the influence of this prejudice, think their own masters are better than the masters of other slaves; and this, too, in some cases, when the very reverse is true. Indeed, it is not uncommon for slaves even to fall out and quarrel among themselves

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about the relative goodness of their masters, each contending for the superior goodness of his own over that of the others. At the very same time, they mutually execrate their masters when viewed separately. It was so on our plantation. When Colonel Lloyd's slaves met the slaves of Jacob Jepson, they seldom parted without a quarrel about their masters; Colonel Lloyd's slaves contending that he was the richest, and Mr. Jepson's slaves that he was the smartest, and most of a man. Colonel Lloyd's slaves would boast his ability to buy and sell Jacob Jepson. Mr. Jepson's slaves would boast his ability to whip Colonel Lloyd. These quarrels would almost always end in a fight between the parties, and those that whipped were supposed to have gained the point at issue. They seemed to think that the greatness of their masters was transferable to themselves. It was considered as being bad enough to be a slave; but to be a poor man's slave was deemed a disgrace indeed!....

As to my own treatment while I lived on Colonel Lloyd's plantation, it was very similar to that of the other slave children. I was not old enough to work in the field, and there being little else than field work to do, I had a great deal of leisure time. The most I had to do was to drive up the cows at evening, keep the fowls out of the garden, keep the front yard clean, and run of errands for my old master's daughter, Mrs. Lucretia Auld. The most of my leisure time I spent in helping Master Daniel Lloyd in finding his birds, after he had shot them. My connection with Master Daniel was of some advantage to me. He became quite attached to me, and was a sort of protector of me. He would not allow the older boys to impose upon me, and would divide his cakes with me.

I was seldom whipped by my old master, and suffered little from any thing else than hunger and cold. I suffered much from hunger, but much more from cold. In hottest summer and coldest winter, I was kept almost naked—no shoes, no stockings, no jacket, no trousers, nothing on but a coarse tow linen shirt, reaching only to my knees. I had no bed. I must have perished with cold, but that, the coldest nights, I used to steal a bag which was used for carrying corn to the mill. I would crawl into this bag, and there sleep on the cold, damp, clay floor, with my head in and feet out. My feet have been so cracked with the frost, that the pen with which I am writing might be laid in the gashes.

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We were not regularly allowanced. Our food was coarse corn meal boiled. This was called mush. It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set down upon the ground. The children were then called, like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and devour the mush; some with oyster shells, others with pieces of shingle, some with naked
5 hands, and none with spoons. He that ate fastest got most; he that was strongest secured the best place; and few left the trough satisfied. I was probably between seven and eight years old when I left Colonel Lloyd's plantation. I left it with joy. I shall never forget the ecstasy with which I received the intelligence that my old master (Anthony) had determined to let me go to Baltimore, to live with Mr. Hugh Auld, brother to my old master's
10 son-in-law, Captain Thomas Auld. I received this information about three days before my departure. They were three of the happiest days I ever enjoyed. I spent the most part of all these three days in the creek, washing off the plantation scurf, and preparing myself for my departure.

The pride of appearance which this would indicate was not my own. I spent the time in
15 washing, not so much because I wished to, but because Mrs. Lucretia had told me I must get all the dead skin off my feet and knees before I could go to Baltimore; for the people in Baltimore were very cleanly, and would laugh at me if I looked dirty. Besides, she was going to give me a pair of trousers, which I should not put on unless I got all the dirt off me. The thought of owning a pair of trousers was great indeed! It was almost a sufficient motive,
20 not only to make me take off what would be called by pig-drovers the mange, but the skin itself. I went at it in good earnest, working for the first time with the hope of reward.

The ties that ordinarily bind children to their homes were all suspended in my case. I found no severe trial in my departure. My home was charmless; it was not home to me; on parting from it, I could not feel that I was leaving any thing which I could have enjoyed by staying.
25 My mother was dead, my grandmother lived far off, so that I seldom saw her. I had two sisters and one brother, that lived in the same house with me; but the early separation of us from our mother had well nigh blotted the fact of our relationship from our memories. I looked for home elsewhere, and was confident of finding none which I should relish less than the one which I was leaving. If, however, I found in my new home hardship, hunger,

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whipping, and nakedness, I had the consolation that I should not have escaped any one of them by staying. Having already had more than a taste of them in the house of my old master, and having endured them there, I very naturally inferred my ability to endure them elsewhere, and especially at Baltimore; for I had something of the feeling about Baltimore that is expressed in the proverb, that “being hanged in England is preferable to dying a natural death in Ireland.” I had the strongest desire to see Baltimore. Cousin Tom, though not fluent in speech, had inspired me with that desire by his eloquent description of the place. I could never point out any thing at the Great House, no matter how beautiful or powerful, but that he had seen something at Baltimore far exceeding, both in beauty and strength, the object which I pointed out to him. Even the Great House itself, with all its pictures, was far inferior to many buildings in Baltimore. So strong was my desire, that I thought a gratification of it would fully compensate for whatever loss of comforts I should sustain by the exchange. I left without a regret, and with the highest hopes of future happiness.

We sailed out of Miles River for Baltimore on a Saturday morning. I remember only the day of the week, for at that time I had no knowledge of the days of the month, nor the months of the year. On setting sail, I walked aft, and gave to Colonel Lloyd's plantation what I hoped would be the last look. I then placed myself in the bows of the sloop, and there spent the remainder of the day in looking ahead, interesting myself in what was in the distance rather than in things near by or behind.

In the afternoon of that day, we reached Annapolis, the capital of the State. We stopped but a few moments, so that I had no time to go on shore. It was the first large town that I had ever seen, and though it would look small compared with some of our New England factory villages, I thought it a wonderful place for its size – more imposing even than the Great House Farm

We arrived at Baltimore early on Sunday morning, landing at Smith's Wharf, not far from Bowley's Wharf. We had on board the sloop a large flock of sheep; and after aiding in driving them to the slaughter house of Mr. Curtis on Loudon Slater's Hill, I was conducted by

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Rich, one of the hands belonging on board of the sloop, to my new home in Alliciana Street, near Mr. Gardner's ship-yard, on Fells Point.

Mr. and Mrs. Auld were both at home, and met me at the door with their little son Thomas, to take care of whom I had been given. And here I saw what I had never seen before; it was
5 a white face beaming with the most kindly emotions; it was the face of my new mistress, Sophia Auld. I wish I could describe the rapture that flashed through my soul as I beheld it. It was a new and strange sight to me, brightening up my pathway with the light of happiness. Little Thomas was told, there was his Freddy, - and I was told to take care of little Thomas; and thus I entered upon the duties of my new home with the most cheering prospect ahead.
10

I look upon my departure from Colonel Lloyd's plantation as one of the most interesting events of my life. It is possible, and even quite probable, that but for the mere circumstance of being removed from that plantation to Baltimore, I should have to-day, instead of being here seated by my own table, in the enjoyment of freedom and the happiness of home,
15 writing this Narrative, been confined in the galling chains of slavery. Going to live at Baltimore laid the foundation, and opened the gateway, to all my subsequent prosperity. I have ever regarded it as the first plain manifestation of that kind providence which ever since attended me, and marked my life with so many favors. I regarded the selection of myself as being somewhat remarkable. There were a number of slave children that might have been
20 sent from the plantation to Baltimore. There were those younger, those older, and those of the same age. I was chosen from among them all, and was the first, last, and only choice.

I may be deemed superstitious, and even egotistical, in regarding this event as a special interposition of divine Providence in my favor. But I should be false to the earliest sentiments of my soul, if I suppressed the opinion. I prefer to be true to myself, even at the
25 hazard of incurring the ridicule of others, rather than to be false, and incur my own abhorrence. From my earliest recollection, I date the entertainment of a deep conviction that slavery would not always be able to hold me within its foul embrace; and in the darkest hours of my career in slavery, this living word of faith and spirit of hope departed not from

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me, but remained like ministering angels to cheer me through the gloom. This good spirit was from God, and to him I offer thanksgiving and praise.....

I often found myself regretting my own existence, and wishing myself dead; and but for the hope of being free, I have no doubt but that I should have killed myself, or done something
5 for which I should have been killed. While in this state of mind, I was eager to hear any one speak of slavery. I was a ready listener. Every little while, I could hear something about the abolitionists. It was some time before I found what the word meant. It was always used in such connections as to make it an interesting word to me. If a slave ran away and succeeded in getting clear, or if a slave killed his master, set fire to a barn, or did any thing very wrong
10 in the mind of a slaveholder, it was spoken of as the fruit of *abolition*. Hearing the word in this connection very often, I set about learning what it meant. The dictionary afforded me little or no help. I found it was "the act of abolishing;" but then I did not know what was to be abolished. Here I was perplexed. I did not dare to ask any one about its meaning, for I was satisfied that it was something they wanted me to know very little about. After a pa-
15 tient waiting, I got one of our city papers, contain ing an account of the number of petitions from the north, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the slave trade between the States. From this time I understood the words *abolition* and *aboli-
tionist*, and always drew near when that word was spoken, expecting to hear something of importance to myself and fellow-slaves. The light broke in upon me by degrees. I went one
20 day down on the wharf of Mr. Waters; and seeing two Irishmen unloading a scow of stone, I went, unasked, and helped them. When we had finished, one of them came to me and asked me if I were a slave. I told him I was. He asked, "Are ye a slave for life " I told him that I was. The good Irishman seemed to be deeply affected by the statement. He said to the other that it was a pity so fine a little fellow as myself should be a slave for life. He said
25 it was a shame to hold me. They both advised me to run away to the north; that I should find friends there, and that I should be free. I pretended not to be interested in what they said, and treated them as if I did not understand them; for I feared they might be treacherous. White men have been known to encourage slaves to escape, and then, to get the reward, catch them and return them to their masters. I was afraid that these seemingly good

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men might use me so; but I nevertheless remembered their advice, and from that time I resolved to run away. I looked forward to a time at which it would be safe for me to escape. I was too young to think of doing so immediately; besides, I wished to learn how to write, as I might have occasion to write my own pass. I consoled myself with the hope that I should
5 one day find a good chance. Meanwhile, I would learn to write.

The idea as to how I might learn to write was suggested to me by being in Durgin and Bailey's ship yard, and frequently seeing the ship carpenters, after hewing, and getting a piece of timber ready for use, write on the timber the name of that part of the ship for which it was intended. When a piece of timber was intended for the larboard side, it would be
10 marked thus –“L.” When a piece was for the starboard side, it would be marked thus –“S.” A piece for the larboard side forward, would be marked thus –“L. F.” When a piece was for starboard side forward, it would be marked thus –“S. F.” For larboard aft, it would be marked thus—“L.A.” For starboard aft, it would be marked thus—“S. A.” I soon learned the names of these letters, and for what they were intended when placed upon a piece of
15 timber in the ship-yard. I immediately commenced copying them, and in a short time was able to make the four letters named. After that, when I met with any boy who I knew could write, I would tell him I could write as well as he. The next word would be, “I don’t believe you. Let me see you try it.” I would then make the letters which I had been so fortunate as to learn, and ask him to beat that. In this way I got a good many lessons in writing, which
20 it is quite possible I should never have gotten in any other way. During this time, my copy-book was the board fence, brick wall, and pavement; my pen and ink was a lump of chalk. With these, I learned mainly how to write. I then commenced and continued copying the Italics in Webster’s Spelling Book, until I could make them all without looking on the book. By the time, my little Master Thomas had gone to school, and learned how to write, and
25 had written over a number of copy-books. These had been brought home, and shown to some of our near neighbors, and then laid aside. My mistress used to go to class meeting at the Wilk Street meeting-house every Monday afternoon, and leave me to take care of the house. When left thus, I used to spend the time in writing in the spaces left in Master Thomas’s copy-book, copying what he had written. I continued to do this until I could

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write a hand very similar to that of Master Thomas. Thus after a long tedious effort for years, I finally succeeded in learning to write.....

At the close of the year 1834, Mr. Freeland again hired me of my master, for the year 1835. But, by this time, I began to want to live upon free land as well as with Freeland; and I was
5 no longer content, there fore, to live with him or any other slaveholder. I began, with the commencement of the year, to prepare myself for a final struggle, which should decide my fate one way or the other. My tendency was upward. I was fast approaching manhood, and year after year had passed, and I was still a slave. These thoughts roused me —I must do something. I therefore re solved that 1835 should not pass without witnessing an attempt,
10 on my part, to secure my liberty. But I was not willing to cherish this determination alone. My fellow-slaves were dear to me. I was anxious to have them participate with me in this, my life-giving deter mination. I therefore, though with great prudence, commenced early to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition, and to imbue their minds with thoughts of freedom. I bent myself to devising ways and means for our escape, and
15 meanwhile strove, on all fitting occasions, to impress them with the gross fraud and inhumanity of slavery. I went first to Henry, next to John, then to the others. I found, in them all, warm hearts and noble spirits. They were ready to hear, and ready to act when a feasible plan should be proposed. This was what I wanted. Italked to them of our want of manhood, if we submitted to our enslavement without at least one noble effort to be free. We met
20 often, and consulted frequently, and told our hopes and fears, recounted the difficulties, real and imagined, which we should be called on to meet. At times we were almost disposed to give up, and try to content ourselves with our wretched lot; at others, we were firm and unbending in our determination to go. Whenever we suggested any plan, there was shrink ing—the odds were fearful. Our path was beset with the greatest obstacles; and if we suc
25 ceeded in gaining the end of it, our right to be free was yet questionable —we were yet liable to be returned to bondage. We could see no spot, this side of the ocean, where we could be free. We knew nothing about Canada. Our knowledge of the north did not extend farther than New York; and to go there, and be forever harassed with the frightful liability of being returned to slavery —with the certainty of being treated tenfold worse than before —the

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thought was truly a horrible one, and one which it was not easy to overcome. The case sometimes stood thus: At every gate through which we were to pass, we saw a watchman—at every ferry a guard—on every bridge a sentinel—and in every wood a patrol. We were hemmed in upon every side. Here were the difficulties, real or imagined—the good to be sought, and the evil to be shunned. On the one hand, there stood slavery, a stern reality, glaring frightfully upon us, - its robes already crimsoned with the blood of millions, and even now feasting itself greedily upon our own flesh. On the other hand, away back in the dim distance, under the flickering light of the north star, behind some craggy hill or snow-covered mountain, stood a doubtful freedom -half frozen—beckoning us to come and share its hospitality. This in itself was sometimes enough to stagger us; but when we permitted ourselves to survey the road, we were frequently appalled. Upon either side we saw grim death, assuming the most horrid shapes. Now it was starvation, causing us to eat our own flesh; -now we were contending with the waves, and were drowned ; -now we were overtaken, and torn to pieces by the fangs of the terrible bloodhound. We were stung by scorpions, chased by wild beasts, bitten by snakes, and finally, after having nearly reached the desired spot, — after swimming rivers, encountering wild beasts, sleeping in the woods, suffering hunger and nakedness, -we were overtaken by our pursuers, and, in our resistance, we were shot dead upon the spot! I say, this picture sometimes appalled us, and made us “rather bear those ills we had, Than fly to others, that we knew not of.” In coming to a fixed determination to run away, we did more than Patrick Henry, when he resolved upon liberty or death. With us it was a doubtful liberty at most, and almost certain death if we failed. For my part, I should prefer death to hopeless bondage.

Sandy, one of our number, gave up the notion, but still encouraged us. Our company then consisted of Henry Harris, John Harris, Henry Bailey, Charles Roberts, and myself. Henry Bailey was my uncle, and belonged to my master. Charles married my aunt: he belonged to my master's father-in-law, Mr. William Hamilton.

The plan we finally concluded upon was, to get a large canoe belonging to Mr. Hamilton, and upon the Saturday night previous to Easter holidays, paddle directly up the Chesapeake Bay. On our arrival at the head of the bay, a distance of seventy or eighty miles from where

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we lived, it was our purpose to turn our canoe adrift, and follow the guidance of the north star till we got beyond the limits of Maryland. Our reason for taking the water route was, that we were less liable to be suspected as runaways; we hoped to be regarded as fishermen; whereas, if we should take the land route, we should be subjected to interruptions of almost every kind. Any one having a white face, and being so disposed, could stop us, and subject us to examination.

The week before our intended start, I wrote several protections, one for each of us. As well as I can remember, they were in the following words, to wit: "THIS is to certify that I, the undersigned, have given the bearer, my servant, full liberty to go to Baltimore, and spend the Easter holidays. Written with mine own hand, &c., 1835. - "WILLIAM HAMILTON, "Near St. Michael's, in Talbot county, Maryland."

We were not going to Baltimore; but, in going up the bay, we went toward Baltimore, and these protections were only intended to protect us while on the bay.

As the time drew near for our departure, our anxiety became more and more intense. It was truly a matter of life and death with us. The strength of our determination was about to be fully tested. At this time, I was very active in explaining every difficulty, removing every doubt, dispelling every fear, and inspiring all with the firmness indispensable to success in our undertaking; assuring them that half was gained the instant we made the move; we had talked long enough; we were now ready to move; if not now, we never should be ; and if we did not intend to move now, we had as well fold our arms, sit down, and acknowledge ourselves fit only to be slaves. This, none of us were prepared to acknowledge. Every man stood firm ; and at our last meeting, we pledged our selves afresh, in the most solemn manner, that, at the time appointed, we would certainly start in pursuit of freedom. This was in the middle of the week, at the end of which we were to be off. We went, as usual, to our several fields of labor, but with bosoms highly agitated with thoughts of our truly hazardous undertaking. We tried to conceal our feelings as much as possible; and I think we succeeded very well.

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After a painful waiting, the Saturday morning, whose night was to witness our departure, came. I hailed it with joy, bring what of sadness it might. Friday night was a sleepless one for me. I probably felt more anxious than the rest, because I was, by com: mon consent, at the head of the whole affair. The responsibility of success or failure lay heavily upon me.

- 5 The glory of the one, and the confusion of the other, were alike mine. The first two hours of that morning were such as I never experienced before, and hope never to again. Early in the morning, we went, as usual, to the field. We were spreading manure; and all at once, while thus engaged, I was over whelmed with an indescribable feeling, in the fulness of which I turned to Sandy, who was near by, and said, "We are betrayed!" "Well," said he,
10 "that thought has this moment struck me." We said no more. I was never more certain of any thing.

- The horn was blown as usual, and we went up from the field to the house for breakfast. I went for the form, more than for want of any thing to eat that morning. Just as I got to the house, in looking out at the lane gate, I saw four white men, with two colored men. The
15 white men were on horseback, and the colored ones were walking behind, as if tied. I watched them a few moments till they got up to our lane gate. Here they halted, and tied the colored men to the gate-post. I was not yet certain as to what the matter was. In a few moments, in rode Mr. Hamilton, with a speed betokening great excitement. He came to the door, and inquired if Master William was in. He was told he was at the barn. Mr. Hamilton,
20 with out dismounting, rode up to the barn with extraordinary speed. In a few moments, he and Mr. Free land returned to the house. By this time, the three constables rode up, and in great haste dismounted, tied their horses, and met Master William and Mr. Hamilton returning from the barn; and after talking awhile, they all walked up to the kitchen door. There was no one in the kitchen but myself and John. Henry and Sandy were up at the barn.
25 Mr. Freeland put his head in at the door, and called me by name, saying, there were some gentlemen at the door who wished to see me. I stepped to the door, and inquired what they wanted. They at once seized me, and, without giving me any satisfaction, tied me —lashing my hands closely together. I insisted upon knowing what the matter was. They at length

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said, that they had learned I had been in a “scrape,” and that I was to be examined before my master; and if their information proved false, I should not be hurt.

In a few moments, they succeeded in tying John. They then turned to Henry, who had by this time returned, and commanded him to cross his hands. “I won't!” said Henry, in a firm tone, indicating his readiness to meet the consequences of his refusal. “Won't you?” said 5 Tom Graham, the constable. “No, I won't!” said Henry, in a still stronger tone. With this, two of the constables pulled out their shining pistols, and swore, by their Creator, that they would make him cross his hands or kill him. Each cocked his pistol, and, with fingers on the trigger, walked up to Henry, saying, at the same time, if he did not cross his hands, they 10 would blow his damned heart out. “Shoot me, shoot me!” said Henry; “you can't kill me but once. Shoot, shoot, —and be damned I won't be tied!” This he said in a tone of loud defiance; and at the same time, with a motion as quick as lightning, he with one single stroke dashed the pistols from the hand of each constable. As he did this, all hands fell upon him, and, after beating him some time, they finally over powered him, and got him tied.

15 During the scuffle, I managed, I know not how, to get my pass out, and, without being discovered, put it into the fire. We were all now tied; and just as we were to leave for Easton jail, Betsy Freeland, mother of William Freeland, came to the door with her hands full of biscuits, and divided them between Henry and John. She then delivered herself of a speech, to the following effect: —addressing herself to me, she said, “You devil / You yellow devil it 20 was you that put it into the heads of Henry and John to run away. But for you, you long-legged mulatto devil! Henry nor John would never have thought of such a thing.” I made no reply, and was immediately hurried off towards St. Michael's. Just a moment previous to the scuffle with Henry, Mr. Hamilton suggested the propriety of making a search for the protections which he had understood Frederick had written for himself and the rest. But, 25 just at the moment he was about carrying his proposal into effect, his aid was needed in helping to tie Henry ; and the excitement attending the scuffle caused them either to forget, or to deem it unsafe, under the circumstances, to search. So we were not yet convicted of the intention to run away.

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When we got about half way to St. Michael's, while the constables having us in charge were looking ahead, Henry inquired of me what he should do with his pass. I told him to eat it with his biscuit, and own nothing; and we passed the word around, "Own nothing ; " and "Own nothing !" said we all. Our confidence in each other was unshaken. We were resolved
5 to succeed or fail together, after the calamity had befallen us as much as before. We were now prepared for any thing. We were to be dragged that morning fifteen miles behind horses, and then to be placed in the Easton jail. When we reached St. Michael's, we underwent a sort of examination. We all denied that we ever intended to run away. We did this more to bring out the evidence against us, than from any hope of getting clear of being sold;
10 for, as I have said, we were ready for that. The fact was, we cared but little where we went, so we went together. Our greatest concern was about separation. We dreaded that more than any thing this side of death. We found the evidence against us to be the testimony of one person; our master would not tell who it was ; but we came to a unanimous decision among ourselves as to who their informant was. We were sent off to the jail at Easton.
15 When we got there, we were delivered up to the sheriff, Mr. Joseph Graham, and by him placed in jail. Henry, John, and myself, were placed in one room together— Charles, and Henry Bailey, in another. Their object in separating us was to hinder concert.

We had been in jail scarcely twenty minutes, when a swarm of slave traders, and agents for slave traders, flocked into jail to look at us, and to ascertain if we were for sale. Such a set
20 of beings I never saw before I felt myself surrounded by so many fiends from perdition. A band of pirates never looked more like their father, the devil. They laughed and grinned over us, saying, "Ah, my boys! we have got you, haven't we ?" And after taunting us in various ways, they one by one went into an examination of us, with intent to ascertain our value. They would impudently ask us if we would not like to have them for our masters.
25 We would make them no answer, and leave them to find out as best they could. Then they would curse and swear at us, telling us that they could take the devil out of us in a very little while, if we were only in their hands.....

I Now come to that part of my life during which planned, and finally succeeded in making, my escape from slavery. But before narrating any of the peculiar circumstances, I deem it

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proper to make known my intention not to state all the facts connected with the transaction. My reasons for pursuing this course may be understood from the following: First, were I to give a minute statement of all the facts, it is not only possible, but quite probable, that others would thereby be involved in the most embarrassing difficulties. Secondly, such
5 a statement would most undoubtedly induce greater vigilance on the part of slave holders than has existed heretofore among them; which would, of course, be the means of guarding a door whereby some dear brother bondman might escape his galling chains. I deeply regret the necessity that impels me to suppress any thing of importance connected with my experience in slavery. It would afford me great pleasure indeed, as well as materially add to the
10 interest of my narrative, were I at liberty to gratify a curiosity, which I know exists in the minds of many, by an accurate statement of all the facts pertaining to my most fortunate escape. But I must deprive myself of this pleasure, and the curious of the gratification which such a statement would afford. I would allow myself to suffer under the greatest imputations which evil-minded men might suggest, rather than exculpate myself, and thereby run
15 the hazard of closing the slightest avenue by which a brother slave might clear himself of the chains and fetters of slavery.

I have never approved of the very public manner in which some of our western friends have conducted what they call the underground railroad, but which, I think, by their open declarations, has been made most emphatically the upperground railroad. I honor those good
20 men and women for their noble daring, and applaud them for willingly subjecting themselves to bloody persecution, by openly avowing their participation in the escape of slaves. I, however, can see very little good resulting from such a course, either to themselves or the slaves escaping; while, upon the other hand, I see and feel assured that those open declarations are a positive evil to the slaves remaining, who are seeking to escape. They do nothing
25 towards enlivening the slave, whilst they do much towards enlivening the master. They stimulate him to greater watchfulness, and enhance his power to capture his slave. We owe something to the slaves south of the line as well as to those north of it; and in aiding the latter on their way to freedom, we should be careful to do nothing which would be likely to hinder the former from escaping from slavery. I would keep the merciless slaveholder

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- profoundly ignorant of the means of flight adopted by the slave. I would leave him to imagine himself surrounded by myriads of invisible tormentors, ever ready to snatch from his infernal grasp his trembling prey. Let him be left to feel his way in the dark; let darkness commensurate with his crime hover over him; and let him feel that at every step he takes,
- 5 in pursuit of the flying bondman, he is running the frightful risk of having his hot brains dashed out by an invisible agency. Let us render the tyrant no aid; let us not hold the light by which he can trace the footprints of our flying brother. But enough of this. I will now proceed to the statement of those facts, connected with my escape, for which I am alone responsible, and for which no one can be made to suffer but myself.
- 10 In the early part of the year 1838, I became quite restless. I could see no reason why I should, at the end of each week, pour the reward of my toil into the purse of my master. When I carried to him my weekly wages, he would, after counting the money, look me in the face with a robber-like fierceness, and ask, "Is this all " He was satisfied with nothing less than the last cent. He would, however, when I made him six dollars, sometimes give me six cents,
- 15 to encourage me. It had the opposite effect. I regarded it as a sort of admission of my right to the whole. The fact that he gave me any part of my wages was proof, to my mind, that he believed me entitled to the whole of them. I always felt worse for having received any thing; for I feared that the giving me a few cents would ease his conscience, and make him feel himself to be a pretty honorable sort of robber. My discontent grew upon me. I was ever
- 20 on the look-out for means of escape; and, finding no direct means, I determined to try to hire my time, with a view of getting money with which to make my escape. In the spring of 1838, when Master Thomas came to Baltimore to purchase his spring goods, I got an opportunity, and applied to him to allow me to hire my time. He unhesitatingly refused my request, and told me this was another stratagem by which to escape. He told me I could go
- 25 nowhere but that he could get me ; and that, in the event of my running away, he should spare no pains in his efforts to catch me. He exhorted me to content myself, and be obedient. He told me, if I would be happy, I must lay out no plans for the future. He said, if I behaved myself properly, he would take care of me. Indeed, he advised me to complete thoughtlessness of the future, and taught me to depend solely upon him for happiness. He

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seemed to see fully the pressing necessity of setting aside my intellectual nature, in order to contentment in slavery. But in spite of him, and even in spite of myself, I continued to think, and to think about the injustice of my enslavement, and the means of escape.

About two months after this, I applied to Master Hugh for the privilege of hiring my time.

- 5 He was not acquainted with the fact that I had applied to Master Thomas, and had been refused. He too, at first, seemed disposed to refuse; but, after some reflection, he granted me the privilege, and proposed the following terms: I was to be allowed all my time, make all contracts with those for whom I worked, and find my own employment; and, in return for this liberty, I was to pay him three dollars at the end of each week; find myself in calking
- 10 tools, and in board and clothing. My board was two dollars and a half per week. This, with the wear and tear of clothing and calking tools, made my regular expenses about six dollars per week. This amount I was compelled to make up, or relinquish the privilege of hiring my time. Rain or shine, work or no work, at the end of each week the money must be forthcoming, or I must give up my privilege. This arrangement, it will be perceived, was decidedly
- 15 edly in my master's favor. It relieved him of all need of looking after me. His money was sure. He received all the benefits of slaveholding without its evils; while I endured all the evils of a slave, and suffered all the care and anxiety of a freeman. I found it a hard bargain. But, hard as it was, I thought it better than the old mode of getting along. It was a step towards freedom to be allowed to bear the responsibilities of a freeman, and I was determined
- 20 to hold on upon it. I bent myself to the work of making money. I was ready to work at night as well as day, and by the most untiring perseverance and industry, I made enough to meet my expenses, and lay up a little money every week. I went on thus from May till August. Master Hugh then refused to allow me to hire my time longer. The ground for his refusal was a failure on my part, one Saturday night, to pay him for my week's time. This
- 25 failure was occasioned by my attending a camp meeting about ten miles from Baltimore. During the week, I had entered into an engagement with a number of young friends to start from Baltimore to the camp ground early Saturday evening; and being detained by my employer, I was unable to get down to Master Hugh's without disappointing the company. I knew that Master Hugh was in no special need of the money that night, I therefore decided

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to go to camp meeting, and upon my return pay him the three dollars. I staid at the camp meeting one day longer than intended when I left. But as soon as I returned, I called upon him to pay him what he considered his due. I found him very angry; he could scarce restrain his wrath. He said he had a great mind to give me a severe whipping. He wished to know how I dared go out of the city without asking his permission. I told him I hired my time, and while I paid him the price which he asked for it, I did not know that I was bound to ask him when and where I should go. This reply troubled him; and, after reflecting a few moments, he turned to me, and said I should hire my time no longer; that the next thing he should know of, I would be running away. Upon the same plea, he told me to bring my tools and clothing home forthwith. I did so : but instead of seeking work, as I had been accustomed to do previously to hiring my time, I spent the whole week without the performance of a single stroke of work. I did this in retaliation. Saturday night, he called upon me as usual for my week's wages. I told him I had no wages; I had done no work that week. Here we were upon the point of coming to blows. He raved, and swore his determination to get hold of me. I did not allow myself a single word; but was resolved, if he laid the weight of his hand upon me, it should be blow for blow. He did not strike me, but told me that he would find me in constant employment in future. I thought the matter over during the next day, Sunday, and finally resolved upon the third day of September, as the day upon which I would make a second attempt to secure my freedom. I now had three weeks during which to prepare for my journey. Early on Monday morning, before Master Hugh had time to make any engagement for me, I went out and got employment of Mr. Butler, at his shipyard near the drawbridge, upon what is called the City Block, thus making it unnecessary for him to seek employment for me. At the end of the week, I brought him between eight and nine dollars. He seemed very well pleased, and asked me why I did not do the same the week before. He little knew what my plans were. My object in working steadily was to remove any suspicion he might entertain of my intent to run away; and in this I succeeded admirably. I suppose he thought I was never better satisfied with my condition than at the very time during which I was planning my escape. The second week passed, and again I carried him my full wages; and so well pleased was he, that he gave me twenty-five cents,

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(quite a large sum for a slaveholder to give a slaves) and bade me to make a good use of it. I told him I would.

Things went on without very smoothly indeed, but within there was trouble. It is impossible for me to describe my feelings as the time of my contemplated start drew near. I had a
5 number of warm-hearted friends in Baltimore, — friends that I loved almost as I did my life, -and the thought of being separated from them forever was painful beyond expression. It is my opinion that thousands would escape from slavery, who now remain, but for the strong cords of affection that bind them to their friends. The thought of leaving my friends was decidedly the most painful thought with which I had to contend. The love of them was
10 my tender point, and shook my decision more than all things else. Besides the pain of separation, the dread and apprehension of a failure exceeded what I had experienced at my first attempt. The appalling de feat I then sustained returned to torment me. I felt assured that, if I failed in this attempt, my case would be a hopeless one —it would seal my fate as a slave forever. I could not hope to get off with any thing less than the severest punishment,
15 and being placed beyond the means of escape. It required no very vivid imagination to depict the most frightful scenes through which I should have to pass, in case I failed. The wretchedness of slavery, and the blessed ness of freedom, were perpetually before me. It was life and death with me. But I remained firm, and, according to my resolution, on the third day of September, 1838, I left my chains, and succeeded in reaching New York with-
20 out the slightest interruption of any kind. How I did so, - what means I adopted, -what direction I travelled, and by what mode of conveyance, — I must leave unexplained, for the reasons before mentioned.

I have been frequently asked how I felt when I found myself in a free State. I have never been able to answer the question with any satisfaction to myself. It was a moment of the
25 highest excitement I ever experienced. I suppose I felt as one may imagine the un armed mariner to feel when he is rescued by a friendly man-of-war from the pursuit of a pirate. In writing to a dear friend, immediately after my arrival at New York, I said I felt like one who had escaped a den of hungry lions. This state of mind, however, very soon subsided ; and I was again seized with a feeling of great insecurity and loneliness. I was yet liable to be

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taken back, and subjected to all the tortures of slavery. This in itself was enough to damp the ardor of my enthusiasm. But the loneliness overcame me. There I was in the midst of thousands, and yet a perfect stranger; without home and without friends, in the midst of thousands of my own brethren – children of a common Father, and yet I dared not unfold to any one of them my sad condition. I was afraid to speak to any one for fear of speaking to the wrong one, and thereby falling into the hands of money-loving kidnappers, whose business it was to lie in wait for the panting fugitive, as the ferocious beasts of the forest lie in wait for their prey. The motto which I adopted when I started from slavery was this—“Trust no man!” I saw in every white man an enemy, and in almost every colored man cause for distrust. It was a most painful situation; and, to understand it, one must needs experience it, or imagine himself in similar circumstances. Let him be a fugitive slave in a strange land—a land given up to be the hunting-ground for slaveholders – whose inhabitants are legalized kidnappers – where he is every moment subjected to the terrible liability of being seized upon by his fellow men, as the hideous crocodile seizes upon his prey! I say, let him place himself in my situation—without home or friends—without money or credit –wanting shelter, and no one to give it—wanting bread, and no money to buy it, -and at the same time let him feel that he is pursued by merciless men-hunters, and in total darkness as to what to do, where to go, or where to stay, -perfectly helpless both as to the means of defence and means of escape, -in the midst of plenty, yet suffering the terrible gnawings of hunger, — in the midst of houses, yet having no home, —among fellow-men, yet feeling as if in the midst of wild beasts, whose greediness to swallow up the trembling and half-famished fugitive is only equalled by that with which the monsters of the deep swallow up the helpless fish upon which they subsist, —I say, let him be placed in this most trying situation, —the situation in which I was placed, -then, and not till then, will he fully appreciate the hardships of, and know how to sympathize with, the toil-worn and whip-scarred fugitive slave.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Speech at Peoria

SPEECH EXCERPT

October 16, 1854

Lawn of the Peoria County Courthouse | Peoria, Illinois

On the Kansas-Nebraska Act

BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln responded to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its principal proponent, Stephen A. Douglas, with this address at Peoria.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Is Lincoln in favor or against self-governance?
2. In what way can the right of self-governance be abused according to Lincoln?
3. What principles does Lincoln take to be more essential than the right to self-governance?
4. What are the results of the violation of the Missouri Compromise both in the north and in the south?
5. How does Lincoln think the founders viewed slavery?

Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at Peoria, Illinois," 16 October 1854, in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953) pp. 248–83.

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...The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the propriety of its restoration, constitute the subject of what I am about to say....

I trust I understand, and truly estimate the right of self-government. My faith in the proposition that each man should do precisely as he pleases with all which is exclusively his own, lies at the foundation of the sense of justice there is in me. I extend the principles to communities of men, as well as to individuals. I so extend it, because it is politically wise, as well as naturally just; politically wise, in saving us from broils about matters which do not concern us. Here, or at Washington, I would not trouble myself with the oyster laws of Virginia, or the cranberry laws of Indiana.

The doctrine of self-government is right—absolutely and eternally right—but it has no just application, as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such just application depends upon whether a negro is *not* or *is* a man. If he is *not* a man, why in that case, he who *is* a man may, as a matter of self-government, do just as he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent, a total destruction of self-government, to say that he too shall not govern *himself*? When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself, and also governs *another* man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. If the negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that “all men are created equal;” and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man’s making a slave of another....

What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man, without that other’s consent. I say this is the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says:

“We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

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I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed. Now the relation of masters and slaves is, *pro tanto*, a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent; but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only is self-government....

This same generation of men, and mostly the same individuals of the generation, who declared this principle—who declared independence—who fought the war of the revolution through—who afterwards made the constitution under which we still live—these same men passed the ordinance of '87, declaring that slavery should never go to the north-west territory. I have no doubt Judge Douglas thinks they were very inconsistent in this. It is a question of discrimination between them and him. But there is not an inch of ground left for his claiming that their opinions—their example—their authority—are on his side in this controversy....

I have done with this mighty argument, of self-government. Go, sacred thing! Go in peace....

The Missouri Compromise ought to be restored. For the sake of the Union, it ought to be restored. We ought to elect a House of Representatives which will vote its restoration. If by any means, we omit to do this, what follows? Slavery may or may not be established in Nebraska. But whether it be or not, we shall have repudiated—discarded from the councils of the Nation—the spirit of compromise; for who after this will ever trust in a national compromise? The spirit of mutual concession—that spirit which first gave us the constitution, and which has thrice saved the Union—we shall have strangled and cast from us forever. And what shall we have in lieu of it? The South flushed with triumph and tempted to excesses; the North, betrayed, as they believe, brooding on wrong and burning for revenge. One side will provoke; the other resent. The one will taunt, the other defy; one agrees, the

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other retaliates. Already a few in the North, defy all constitutional restraints, resist the execution of the fugitive slave law, and even menace the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.

Already a few in the South, claim the constitutional right to take to and hold slaves in the free states—demand the revival of the slave trade; and demand a treaty with Great Britain by which fugitive slaves may be reclaimed from Canada. As yet they are but few on either side. It is a grave question for the lovers of the Union, whether the final destruction of the Missouri Compromise, and with it the spirit of all compromise will or will not embolden and embitter each of these, and fatally increase the numbers of both....

I particularly object to the new position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I object to it because it assumes that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a few people—a sad evidence that, feeling prosperity we forget right—that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere. I object to it because the fathers of the republic eschewed, and rejected it. The argument of “Necessity” was the only argument they ever admitted in favor of slavery; and so far, and so far only as it carried them, did they ever go. They found the institution existing among us, which they could not help; and they cast blame upon the British King for having permitted its introduction. Before the constitution, they prohibited its introduction into the north-western Territory—the only country we owned, then free from it. At the framing and adoption of the constitution, they forbore to so much as mention the word “slave” or “slavery” in the whole instrument. In the provision for the recovery of fugitives, the slave is spoken of as a “person held to service or labor.” In that prohibiting the abolition of the African slave trade for twenty years, that trade is spoken of as “The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing, shall think proper to admit,” etc. These are the only provisions alluding to slavery. Thus, the thing is hid away, in the constitution, just as an afflicted man hides away a wen or a cancer, which he dares not cut out at once, lest he bleed to death; with the promise, nevertheless, that the cutting may begin at the end of a given time. Less than this our fathers could not do; and now they would not do. Necessity drove them so far, and farther, they would not go. But

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this is not all. The earliest Congress, under the constitution, took the same view of slavery. They hedged and hemmed it in to the narrowest limits of necessity.

In 1794, they prohibited an out-going slave-trade—that is, the taking of slaves from the United States to sell.

- 5 In 1798, they prohibited the bringing of slaves from Africa, into the Mississippi Territory—this territory then comprising what are now the States of Mississippi and Alabama. This was ten years before they had the authority to do the same thing as to the States existing at the adoption of the constitution.

- 10 In 1800 they prohibited American citizens from trading in slaves between foreign countries—as, for instance, from Africa to Brazil.

In 1803 they passed a law in aid of one or two State laws, in restraint of the internal slave trade.

- 15 In 1807, in apparent hot haste, they passed the law, nearly a year in advance, to take effect the first day of 1808—the very first day the constitution would permit—prohibiting the African slave trade by heavy pecuniary and corporal penalties.

In 1820, finding these provisions ineffectual, they declared the trade piracy, and annexed to it, the extreme penalty of death. While all this was passing in the general government, five or six of the original slave States had adopted systems of gradual emancipation; and by which the institution was rapidly becoming extinct within these limits.

- 20 Thus we see, the plain unmistakable spirit of that age, towards slavery, was hostility to the principle, and toleration, only by necessity....

Our republican robe is soiled, and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white, in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of “moral right,” back upon its existing legal rights, and its arguments of “necessity.”

- 25 Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it; and there let it rest in peace. Let us re-

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adopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it, the practices, and policy, which harmonize with it. Let north and south—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union; but we shall have so saved it, as to make, and to keep it, forever worthy of the saving.

- 5 We shall have so saved it, that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up, and call us blessed, to the latest generations....

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

Uncle Tom's Cabin

SERIAL BOOK EXCERPTS

June 5, 1851-March 20, 1852
The National Era | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Abolitionist writer Harriet Beecher Stowe published this novel about slavery in the South serially in 1851 and as a complete book in 1852. The book itself sold hundreds of thousands of copies in the North in the nine years leading up to the Civil War.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How are the two gentlemen, Mr. Shelby and Mr. Haley, different?
2. On what grounds does Mary object to the new law?
3. Why does Prue tell Tom she won't go to heaven?
4. Why does Legree decide to kill Tom?
5. How does Tom respond to Legree's threats? What happens to Sambo and Quimbo?
6. In his letter, what solution does George favor for the problem of slavery? Why?
7. In her concluding remarks, what is Stowe's assessment of the state of slavery in America?

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Connecticut: The Easton Press, 1979).

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From the author's preface:

...The object of these sketches is to awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race, as they exist among us; to show their wrongs and sorrows, under a system so necessarily cruel and unjust as to defeat and do away the good effects of all that can be attempted
5 for them, by their best friends, under it.

In doing this, the author can sincerely disclaim any invidious feeling towards those individuals who, often without any fault of their own, are involved in the trials and embarrassments of the legal relations of slavery.

Experience has shown her that some of the noblest of minds and hearts are often
10 thus involved; and no one knows better than they do, that what may be gathered of the evils of slavery from sketches like these, is not the half that could be told, of the unspeakable whole...

...“He shall not fail not be discouraged

Till He have set judgment in the earth.”

15 “He shall deliver the needy when he crieth,

The poor, and him that hath no helper.”

“He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence,

And precious shall their blood be in His sight.”

Chapter 1: In which the reader is introduced to a man of humanity

20 Late in the afternoon of a chilly day in February, two gentlemen were sitting alone over their wine, in a well-furnished dining parlor, in the town of P—, in Kentucky. There were no servants present, and the gentlemen, with chairs closely approaching, seemed to be discussing some subject with great earnestness.

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For convenience sake, we have said, hitherto, two gentlemen. One of the parties, however, when critically examined, did not seem, strictly speaking, to come under the species. He was a short, thick-set man, with coarse, commonplace features, and that swaggering air of pretension which marks a low man who is trying to elbow his way upward in the world...

His companion, Mr. Shelby, had the appearance of a gentleman; and the arrangement of the house, and the general air of the housekeeping, indicated easy, and even opulent circumstances. As we before stated, the two were in the midst of an earnest conversation.

"That is the way I should arrange the matter," said Mr. Shelby.

"I can't make trade that way—I positively can't, Mr. Shelby," said the other, holding up a glass of wine between his eye and the light.

"Why, the fact is, Haley, Tom is an uncommon fellow; he is certainly worth that sum anywhere,—steady, honest, capable, manages my whole farm like a clock."

"You mean honest, as n—s go," said Haley, helping himself to a glass of brandy.

"No; I mean, really, Tom is a good, steady, sensible, pious fellow. He got religion at a camp-meeting, four years ago; and I believe he really did get it. I've trusted him, since then, with everything I have,—money, house horses,— and let him come and go round the country; and I always found him true and square in everything."

"Some folks don't believe there is pious n—s, Shelby," said Haley, with a candid flourish of his hand, "but I do. I had a fellow, now, in this yer last lot I took to Orleans—'twas as good as a meetin', now, really, to hear that critter pray; and he was quite gentle and quiet like. He fetched me a good sum, too, for I bought him cheap of a man that was 'bliged to sell out; so I realized six hundred on him. Yes, I consider religion a valeyable thing in a n—, when it's the genuine article, and no mistake."...

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“Well, then, Haley, how will you trade?” said Mr. Shelby, after an uneasy interval of silence.

“Well, haven’t you a boy or gal that you could throw in with Tom?”

5 “Hum!—none that I could well spare; to tell the truth, it’s only hard necessity makes me willing to sell at all. I don’t like parting with any of my hands, that’s a fact.”

Here the door opened, and a small quadroon boy, between four and five years of age, entered the room. There was something in his appearance remarkably beautiful and engaging. His black hair, fine as floss silk, hung in glossy curls about his round, dimpled face, while a pair of large dark eyes, full of fire and softness, looked out from beneath the rich, long lashes, as he peered curiously into the apartment...

“Hulloa, Jim Crow!” said Mr. Shelby, whistling, and sapping a bunch of raisins towards him, “pick that up, now!”

The child scampered, with all his little strength, after the prize, while his master laughed.

15 “Come here, Jim Crow,” said he. The child came up, and the master patted the curly head, and chucked him under the chin.

“Now Jim, show this gentleman how you can dance and sing.” The boy commenced one of those wild, grotesque songs common among the negroes, in a rich, clear voice, accompanying his singing with many comic evolutions of the hands, feet, and whole body, all in perfect time to the music.

20 “Bravo!” said Haley, throwing him a quarter of an orange.

“Now, Jim, walk like old Uncle Cudjoe, when he has the rheumatism,” said his master.

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Instantly the flexible limbs of the child assumed the appearance of deformity and distortion, as, with his back humped up, and his master's stick in his hand, he hobbled about the room, his childish face drawn into a doleful picker, and spitting from right to left, in imitation of an old man.

5 Both gentlemen laughed uproariously...

Chapter 9: In which it appears that a Senator is but a man

The light of the cheerful fire shone on the rug and carpet of a cosey parlor, and glittered on the sides of the tea-cups and well-brightened tea-pot, as Senator Bird was drawing off his boots, preparatory to inserting his feet in a pair of new handsome slippers, which
10 his wife had been working for him while away on his senatorial tour. Mrs. Bird, looking the very picture of delight, was superintending the arrangements of the table, ever and anon mingling admonitory remarks to a number of frolicsome juveniles, who were effervescing in all those modes of untold gambol and mischief that have astonished mothers ever since the flood.

15 "Tom, let the door-knob alone,—there's a man! Mary! Mary! don't pull the cat's tail,—poor pussy! Jim, you musn't climb on that table,—no, no! You don't know my dear, what a surprise it is to us all, to see you here to-night!" said she, at last, when she found a space to say something to her husband.

"Yes, yes, I thought I'd just make a run down, spend the night, and have a little
20 comfort at home. I'm tired to death, and my head aches!"

Mrs. Bird cast a glance at a camphor-bottle, which stood in the half-open closet, and appeared to meditate an approach to it, but her husband interposed.

"No, no, Mary, no doctoring! a cup of your good hot tea, and some of our good home living, is what I want. It's a tiresome business, this legislating!"

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And the senator smiled, as if he rather liked the idea of considering himself a sacrifice to his country.

“Well,” said his wife, after the business of the tea-table was getting rather slack, “and what have they been doing in the Senate?”

5 Now, it was a very unusual thing for gentle little Mrs. Bird ever to trouble her head with what was going on in the house of the state, very wisely considering that she had enough to do to mind her own. Mr. Bird, therefore, opened his eyes in surprise and said,

“Not very much of importance.”

10 “Well; but is it true that they have been passing a law forbidding people to give meat and drink to those poor colored folks that come along? I heard they were talking of some such law, but I didn’t think any Christian legislature would pass it!”

“Why, Mary, you are getting to be a politician, all at once.”

15 “No, nonsense! I wouldn’t give a fip for all your politics, generally, but I think this is something downright cruel and unchristian. I hope, my dear, no such law has been passed.”

20 “There has been a law passed forbidding people to help off the slaves that come over from Kentucky, my dear; so much of that thing has been done by these reckless Abolitionists, that our brethren in Kentucky are very strongly excited, and it seems necessary, and no more than Christian and kind, that something should be done by our state to quiet the excitement.”

“And what is the law? It don’t forbid us to shelter these poor creatures a night, does it, and to give ’em something comfortable to eat, and a few old clothes, and send them quietly about their business?”

“Why, yes, my dear; that would be aiding and abetting, you know.”

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Mrs. Bird was a timid, blushing little woman, of about four feet in height, and with mild blue eyes, and a peach-blow complexion, and the gentlest, sweetest voice in the world; —as for courage, a moderate-sized cock-turkey had been known to put her to rout at the very first gobble... There was only one thing that was capable of arousing her, and that

5 provocation came in on the side of her unusually gentle and sympathetic nature;—anything in the shape of cruelty would throw her into a passion, which was more alarming and inexplicable in proportion to the general softness of her nature...

On the present occasion, Mrs. Bird rose quickly, with very red cheeks, which quite improved her general appearance, and walked up to her husband, with quite a resolute air,

10 and said, in a determined tone,

“Now, John, I want to know if you think such a law as that is right and Christian?”

“You won’t shoot me, now, Mary, if I say I do!”

“I never could have thought it of you, John; you didn’t vote for it?”

“Even so, my fair politician.”

15 “You ought to be ashamed, John! Poor, homeless, houseless creatures! It’s a shameful, wicked, abominable law, and I’ll break it, for one, the first time I get a chance; and I hope I shall have a chance, I do! Things have got to a pretty pass, if a woman can’t give a warm supper and a bed to poor, starving creatures, just because they are slaves, and have been abused and oppressed all their lives, poor things!”

20 “But, Mary, just listen to me. Your feelings are all quite right, dear, and interesting, and I love you for them; but, then, dear, we musn’t suffer our feelings to run away with our judgment; you must consider it’s not a matter of private feeling,—there are great public interests involved,—there is such a state of public agitation rising, that we must put aside our private feelings.”

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"Now, John, I don't know anything about politics, but I can read my Bible; and there I see that I must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and comfort the desolate; and that Bible I mean to follow."

"But in cases where your doing so would involve a great public evil—"

5 "Obeying God never brings on public evils. I know it can't. It's always safest, all round, to do as He bids us."

"Now, listen to me, Mary, and I can state to you a very clear argument, to show—
"

10 "O, nonsense, John! you can talk all night, but you wouldn't do it. I put it to you, John,—would you now turn away a poor, shivering, hungry creature from your door, because he was a runaway? Would you, now?"

Now if the truth must be told, our senator had the misfortune to be a man who had a particularly humane and accessible nature, and turning away anybody that was in trouble never had been his forte; and what was worse for him in this particular pinch of the argument was, that his wife knew it, and, of course, was making an assault on rather an indefensible point...

"Of course, it would be a very painful duty," began Mr. Bird, in a moderate tone.

20 "Duty, John! don't use that word! You know it isn't a duty—it can't be a duty! If folks want to keep their slaves from running away, let 'em treat 'em well,—that's my doctrine. If I had slaves (as I hope I never shall have), I'd risk their wanting to run away from me, or you either, John. I tell you folks don't run away when they're happy; and when they do run, poor creatures! they suffer enough with cold and hunger and fear, without everybody's turning against them; and, law or no law, I never will, so help me God!"

"Mary! Mary! My dear, let me reason with you."

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"I hate reasoning, John,—especially reasoning on such subjects. There's a way you political folks have of coming round and round a plain right thing; and you don't believe in it yourselves, when it comes to practice. I know you well enough, John. You don't believe it's right any more than I do; and you wouldn't do it any sooner than I."

5 At this critical juncture, old Cudjoe, the black man-of-all-work, put his head in at the door, and wished "Missis would come into the kitchen;"...

A young, slender woman, with garments torn and frozen, with one shoe gone, and the stocking torn away from the cut and bleeding foot, was laid back in a deadly swoon upon two chairs. There was the impress of the despised race on her face, yet none could
10 help feeling its mournful and pathetic beauty, while its stony sharpness, its cold, fixed, deathly aspect, struck a solemn chill over him. ...

"O ma'am!" said she, wildly, to Mrs. Bird, "do protect us! don't let them get him!"

"Nobody shall hurt you here, poor woman," said Mrs. Bird, encouragingly. "You are safe; don't be afraid."

15 "God bless you!" said the woman, covering her face and sobbing; while the little boy, seeing her crying, tried to get into her lap. ...

"Were you a slave?" said Mr. Bird.

"Yes, sir; I belonged to a man in Kentucky."

"Was he unkind to you?"

20 "No, sir; he was a good master."

"And was your mistress unkind to you?"

"No, sir—no! my mistress was always good to me."

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“What could induce you to leave a good home, then, and run away, and go through such dangers?”

The woman looked up at Mrs. Bird, with a keen, scrutinizing glance, and it did not escape her that she was dressed in deep mourning.

5 “Ma’am,” she said, suddenly, “have you ever lost a child?”...

Chapter 18: Miss Ophelia's experiences and opinions

...Our friend Tom, who had been in the kitchen during the conversation with the old rusk-woman, had followed her out into the street. He saw her go on, giving every once in a while a suppressed groan. At last she set her basket down on a doorstep, and began
10 arranging the old, faded shawl which covered her shoulders.

“I’ll carry your basket a piece,” said Tom, compassionately.

“Why should ye?” said the woman. “I don’t want no help.”

“You seem to be sick, or in trouble, or something;,” said Tom.

“I an’t sick,” said the woman, shortly.

15 “I wish,” said Tom, looking at her earnestly,—“I wish I could persuade you to leave off drinking. Don’t you know it will be the ruin of ye, body and soul?”

“I know’s I’m gwine to torment,” said the woman, sullenly. “Ye don’t need to tell me that ar. I’s ugly,—I’s wicked,—I’d gwine straight to torment. O, Lord! I wish I’s thar!”

Tom shuddered at these frightful words, spoken with a sullen, impassioned earnestness.
20

“O, Lord have mercy on ye! poor critter. Han’t ye never heard of Jesus Christ?”

“Jesus Christ,—who’s he?”

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"Why, he's the Lord," said Tom.

"I think I've heard tell o' the Lord, and the judgment and torment. I've heard o' that."

5 "But didn't anybody every tell you of the Lord Jesus, that loved us poor sinners, and died for us?"

"Don't know nothin' 'bout that," said the woman; "nobody han't never loved me, since my old man died."

"Where was you raised?" said Tom.

10 "Up in Kentuck. A man kept me to breed chil'en for market, and sold 'em as fast as they got big enough; last of all, he sold me to a speculator, and my Mas'r got me o' him."

"What set you into this bad way of drinkin'?"

15 "To get shet o' my misery. I had one child after I come here; and I thought then I'd have one to raise, cause Mas'r wasn't a speculator. It was de peartest little thing! And Missus she seemed to think a heap on't, at first; it never cried,—it was likely and fat. But Missis tuck sick, and I tended her; and I tuck the fever, and my milk all left me, and the child it pined to skin and bone, and Missis wouldn't buy milk for it. She wouldn't hear to me, when I telled her I hadn't milk. She said she know I could feed it on what other folks eat; and the child kinder pined, and cried, and cried, and cried, day and night, and got all gone to skin and bones, and Missis got sot agin it, and she said 'twant nothin' but crossness. She wished
20 it was dead, she said; and she wouldn't let me have it o' nights, cause, she said, it kept me awake, and made me good for nothing. She made me sleep in her room; and I had to put it away off in a little kind o' garret, and thar it cried itself to death, one night. It did; and I tuck to drinin', to keep its crying out of my ears! I did,—and I will drink! I will, if I do go to torment for it! Mas'r says I shall go to torment, and I tell him I've got thar now!"

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“O, ye poor critter!” said Tom, “han’t nobody ever telled ye how the Lord Jesus loved ye, and died for ye? Han’t they telled ye that he’ll help ye, and ye can go to heaven, and have rest, at last?”

5 “I looks like gwine to heaven,” said the woman; “an’t thar where white folks is gwine? S’pose they’d have me thar? I’d rather go to torment, and get away from Mas’r and Missis. I had so,” she said, as, with her usual goan, she got her basket on her head, and walked sullenly away.

Tom turned, and walked sorrowfully back to the house.

Chapter 40: The martyr

10 ...We have walked with our humble friend thus far in the valley of slavery; first through flowery fields of ease and indulgence, then through heart-breaking separations from all that man holds dear. Again, we have waited with him in a sunny island, where generous hands concealed his chains with flowers; and, lastly, we have followed him when the last ray of earthly hope went out in night, and seen how, in the blackness of earthly
15 darkness, the firmament of the unseen has blazed with stars of new and significant lustre.

The morning star now stands over the tops of the mountains, and gales and breezes, not of earth, show that the fates of day are unclosing.

The escape of Cassy and Emmeline irritate the before surly temper of Legree to the last degree; and his fury, as was to be expected, fell upon the defenceless head of Tom. When
20 he hurriedly announced the tidings among his hands, there was a sudden light in Tom’s eye, a sudden upraising of his hands, that did not escape him. He saw that he did not join the muster of the pursuers. He thought of forcing him to do it; but, having had, of old, experience of his inflexibility when commanded to take part in any deed of inhumanity, he would not, in his hurry, stop to enter into any conflict with him.

25 Tom, therefore, remained behind, with a few who had learned of him to pray, and offered up prayers for the escape of the fugitives.

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When Legree returned, baffled and disappointed, all the long-working hatred of his soul towards his slave began to gather in a deadly and desperate form. Had not this man braved him,—steadily, powerfully, resistlessly,—ever since he bought him? Was there not a spirit in him which, silent as it was, burned on him like the fires of perdition?

5 “I hate him!” said Legree, that night, as he sat up in his bed; “I hate him! And isn’t he MINE? Can’t I do what I like with him? Who’s to hinder, I wonder?” And Legree clenched his fist, and shook it, as if he had something in his hands that he could rend to pieces.

10 But, then, Tom was a faithful, valuable servant; and, although Legree hated him the more for that, yet the consideration was still somewhat of a restraint to him.

The next morning, he determined to say nothing, as yet; to assemble a party, from some neighboring plantations, with dogs and guns; to surround the swamp, and go about the hunt systematically. If it succeeded, well and good; if not, he would summon Tom before him, and—his teeth clenched and his blood boiled—then he would break that fellow
15 down, or—there was a dire inward whisper, to which his soul assented.

Ye say that the interest of the master is a sufficient safeguard for the slave. In the fury of man’s mad will, he will wittingly, and with open eye, sell his own soul to the devil to the devil to gain his ends; and will he be more careful of his neighbor’s body?

20 ...The men are, two of them, overseers of plantations in the vicinity; and others were some of Legree’s associates at the tavern-bar of a neighboring city, who had come for the interest of the sport. A more hard-favored set, perhaps, could not be imagined. Legree was serving brandy, profusely, round among them, as also among the negroes, who had been detailed from the various plantations for this service; for it was an object to make every service of this kind, among the negroes, as much of a holiday as possible.

25 Cassy placed her ear to the knot-hole; and, as the morning air blew directly towards the house, she could overhear a good deal of the conversation...

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Cassy drew back; and, clasping her hands, looked upward, and said, "O, great Almighty God! We are all sinners; but what have we done, more than all the rest of the world, that we should be treated so?"

There was a terrible earnestness in her face and voice, as she spoke.

5 "If it wasn't for you, child," she said, looking at Emmeline, "I'd go out to them; and I'd thank any one of them that would shoot me down; for what use will freedom be to me? Can it give me back my children, or make me what I sued to be?"

10 "...O, Em!" said Cassy, "I've hungered for my children, and thirsted for them, and my eyes fail with longing for them! Here! here!" she said, striking her breast, "it's all desolate, all empty! If God would give me back my children, then I could pray."

"You must trust him, Cassy," said Emmeline; "he is our Father!"

"His wrath is upon us," said Cassy; "he has turned away in anger."

"No, Cassy! He will be good to us! Let us hope in Him," said Emmeline,— "I always have had hope."

15 ***

The hunt was long, animated, and thorough, but unsuccessful; and, with grave, ironic exultation, Cassy looked down on Legree, as, weary and dispirited, he alighted from his horse.

20 "Now, Quimbo," said Legree, as he stretched himself down in the sitting-room. "you jest go and walk that Tom up here, right away! The old cuss is at the bottom of this yer whole matter; and I'll have it out of his old black hide, or I'll know the reason why!"

Sambo and Quimbo, both, though hating each other, were joined in one mind by a no less cordial hatred of Tom. Legree had told them, at first, that he had bought him for a general overseer, in his absence; and this had begun an ill will, on their part, which had

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increased, in their debased and servile natures, as they saw hi becoming obnoxious to their master's displeasure. Quimbo, therefore, departed, with a will, to execute his orders.

Tom heard the message with a forewarning heart; for he knew all the plan of the fugitives' escape, and the place of their present concealment;—he knew the deadly character of the man he had to deal with, and his despotic power. But he felt strong in God to meet death, rather than betray the helpless.

He sat his basket down by the row, and, looking up, said, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit! Thou hast redeemed me, oh Lord God of truth!" and then quietly yielded himself to the rough, brutal grasp with which Quimbo seized him.

10 "Ay, ay!" said the giant, as he dragged him along; "ye'll cotch it, now! I'll boun' Mas'r's back's up high! No sneaking out, now! Tell ye, ye'll get it, and no mistake! See how ye'll look, now, helpin' Mas'r's n—s to run away! See what ye'll get!"

15 The savage words none of them reached that ear!—a higher voice there was saying, "Fear not them that kill the body, and, after that, have no more that they can do." Nerve and bone of that poor man's body vibrated to those words, as if touched by the finger of God; and he felt the strength of a thousand souls in one. As he passed along, the trees and bushes, the huts of his servitude, the whole scene of his degradation, seemed to whirl by him as the landscape by the rushing car.

20 His soul throbbed,—his home was in sight,—and the hour of release seemed at hand.

"Well, Tom!" said Legree, walking up, and seizing him grimly by the collar of his coat, and speaking through his teeth, in a paroxysm of determined rage, "do you know I've made up my mind to KILL you?"

"It's very likely, Mas'r," said Tom, calmly.

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"I have," said Legree, with grim, terrible calmness, "done—just—that—thing, Tom, unless you'll tell me what you kno about these yer gals!"

Tom stood silent.

"D'ye hear!" said Legree, stamping, with a roar like that of an incensed lion.

5 "Speak!"

"I han't got nothing to tell, Mas'r," said Tom, with a slow, firm, deliberate utterance.

"Do you date to tell me, ye old black Christian, de don't know?" said Legree.

Tom was silent.

10 "Speak!" thundered Legree, striking him furiously. "Do you know anything?"

"I know, Mas'r; but I can't tell anything. I can die!"

Legree drew in a long breath; and, suppressing his rage, took Tom by the arm, and, approaching his face almost to his, said, in a terrible voice, "Hark'e, Tom!—ye think, 'cause I've let you off before, I don't mean what I say; but, this time, I've made up my mind, and
15 counted the cost. You've always stood it out agin' me: now, I'll conquer ye, or kill ye!—one or t'other. I'll count every drop of blood there is in you, and take 'em, one by one, till ye give up!"

Tom looked up to his master, and answered, "Mas'r, if you was sick, or in trouble, or dying, and I could save ye, I'd give ye my heart's blood; and if, taking every drop of blood
20 in this poor old body would save your precious soul, I'd give 'em freely, as the Lord gave his for me. O, Mas'r! don't bring this great sin on your soul! It will hurt you more than 'twill me! Do the worst you can, my troubles'll be over soon; but, if ye don't repent, yours won't never end!"

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Like a strange snatch of heavenly music, heard in the lull of a tempest, this burst of feeling made a moment's blank pause. Legree stood aghast, and looked at Tom; and there was such a silence, that the tick of the old clock could be heard, measuring, with silent touch, the last moments of mercy and probation to that hardened heart.

5 It was but a moment. There was one hesitating pause,—one irresolute, relenting thrill,—and the spirit of evil came back, with seven-fold vehemence; and Legree, foaming with rage, smote his victim to the ground.

10 Scenes of blood and cruelty are showing to our ear and heart. What man has nerve to do, man has not nerve to hear. What brother-man and brother-Christian must suffer, cannot be told us, even in our secret chamber, it so harrows up the soul! And yet, oh my country; these things are done under the shadow of thy laws! O, Christ! thy church sees them, almost in silence!

15 But, of old, there was One whose suffering changed an instrument of torture, degradation and shame, into a symbol of glory, honor, and immortal life; and, where His spirit is, neither degrading stripes, nor blood, nor insults, can make the Christian's last struggle less than glorious.

Was he alone, that long night, whose brave, loving spirit was bearing up, in that old shed, against buffeting and brutal stripes?

20 Nay! There stood by him ONE,—seen by him alone,—“like unto the Son of God.”

...“Pay away, till he give up! Give it to him!—give it to him!” shouted Legree. “I’ll take every drop of blood he has, unless he confesses!”

25 Tom opened his eyes, and looked upon his master. “Ye poor miserable critter!” he said, “there an’t no more ye can do! I forgive ye, with all my soul!” and he fainted entirely away.

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"I b'lieve, my soul, he's done for, finally," said Legree, stepping forward, to look at him. "Yes, he is! Well, his mouth's shut up, at last,—that's one comfort!"

Yes, Legree; but who shall shut up that voice in thy soul? that soul, past repentance, past prayer, past hope, in whom the fire that never shall be quenched is already burning!

5 Yet Tom was not quite gone. His wondrous words and pious prayers had struck upon the hearts of the imbruted blacks, who had been the instruments of cruelty upon him; and, the instant Legree withdrew, they took him down, and, in their ignorance, sought to call him back to life,—as if that were any favor to him.

10 "Sartin, we's been doin' a drefful wicked thing!" said Sambo; hopes Mas'r 'll have to 'count for it, and not we."

They washed his wounds,—they provided a rude bed, of some refuse cotton, for him to lie down on; and one of them, stealing up to the house, begged a drink of brandy of Legree, pretending that he was tired, and wanted it for himself. He brought it back, and poured it down Tom's throat.

15 "O, Tom!" said Quimbo, "we's been awful wicked to ye!"

"I forgive ye, with all my heart!" said Tom, faintly.

"O, Tom! do tell us who is Jesus, anyhow?" said Sambo;—"Jesus, that's been a standin' by you so, all this night!—Who is he?"

20 The word roused the failing, fainting spirit. He poured forth a few energetic sentences of that wondrous One,—his life, his death, his everlasting presence, and power to save.

They wept,—both the two savage men.

"Why didn't I never hear this before?" said Sambo; "but I do believe!—I can't help it! Lord Jesus, have mercy on us!"

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“Poor critters!” said Tom, “I’d be willing to b’ar all I have, it it’ll only bring ye to Christ! O, Lord! give me these two more souls, I pray!”

That prayer was answered!

Chapter 43: Results

5 George’s feelings and views, as an educated man, may be best expressed in a letter to one of his friends.

 “I feel somewhat at a loss, as to my future course. True, as you have said to me, I might mingle in the circles of the whites, in this country, my shade of color is so slight and that of my wife and family scarcely perceptible. Well, perhaps, on sufferance, I might. But,
10 to tell you the truth, I have no wish to.

 “My sympathies are not for my father’s race, but for my mother’s. To him I was no more than a fine dog or horse: to my poor heart-broken mother I was a child; and, though I never saw her, after the cruel sale that separated us, till she died, yet I know she always loved me dearly. I know it by my own heart. When I think of all she suffered, of my own
15 early sufferings, of the distresses and struggles of my heroic wife, or my sister, sold in the New Orleans slave-market,—though I hope to have no unchristian sentiments, yet I may be excused for saying, I have no wish to pass for an American, or to identify myself with them.

 “It is with the oppressed, enslaved African race that I cast in my lot; and, if I wished
20 anything, I would wish myself two shades darker, rather than one lighter.

 “The desire and yearning of my soul is for African nationality. I want a people that shall have a tangible, separate existence of its own; and where am I to look for it? Not in Hayti; for in Hayti they had nothing to start with. A stream cannot rise above its fountain. The race that formed the character of the Haytiens was a worn-out, effeminate one; and, of
25 course, the subject race will be centuries in rising to anything.

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“Where, then, shall I look? On the shores of Africa I see a republic,—a republic formed of picked men, who, by energy and self-educating force, have, in many cases, individually, raised themselves above a condition of slavery. Having gone through a preparatory stage of feebleness, this republic has, at last, become an acknowledged nation on the face of the earth,—acknowledged by both France and England. There it is my wish to go, and find myself a people.

“...Our nation shall roll the tide of civilization and Christianity along its shores, and plant there mighty republics, that, growing with the rapidity of tropical vegetation, shall be for all coming ages.

“Do you say that I am deserting my enslaved brethren? I think not. If I forget them one hour, one moment of my life, so may God forget me! But, what can I do for them, here? Can I break their chains? No, not as an individual; but, let me go and form part of a nation, which shall have a voice in the councils of nations, and then we can speak. A nation has a right to argue, remonstrate, implore, and present the cause of its race,—which an individual has not.

“If Europe ever becomes a grand council of free nation,—as I trust in God it will,—if, there, serfdom, and all unjust and oppressive social inequalities, are done away; and if they, as France and England have done, acknowledge our positions,—then, in the great congress of nations, we will make our appeal, and present the cause of our enslaved and suffering race; and it cannot be that free, enlightened America will not then desire to wipe from her escutcheon that bar sinister which disgraces her among nations, and is as truly a curse to her as to the enslaved.

“But, you will tell me, our race have equal rights to mingle in the American republic as the Irishman, the German, and the Swede. Granted, they have. We ought to be free to meet and mingle,—to rise by our individual worth, without any consideration of caste or color; and they who deny us this right are false to their own professed principles of human equality. We ought, in particular, to be allowed here. We have more than the rights of common men;—we have the claim of an injured race for reparation. But, then, I do not want it;

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I want a country, a nation, of my own. I think that the African race has peculiarities, yet to be unfolded in the light of civilization and Christianity, which, if not the same with those of the Anglo-Saxon, may prove to be, morally, of even a higher type.” ...

Chapter 45: Concluding remarks

5 The writer has often been inquired of, by correspondents from different parts of the country, whether this narrative is a true one; and to these inquiries she will give one general answer.

10 The separate incidents that compose the narrative are, to a very great extent, authentic, occurring, many of them, either under her own observation, or that of her personal friends. She or her friends have observed characters the counterpart of almost all that are here introduced; and many of the sayings are word for word as heard herself, or reported to her.

15 ...That the tragical fate of Tom, also, has too many times had its parallel, there are living witnesses, all over our land, to testify...It is said, “Very likely such cases may now and then occur, but they are no sample of general practice.” If the laws of New England were so arranged that a master could now and then torture an apprentice to death, without a possibility of being brought to justice, would it be received with equal composure? Would it be said, “These cases are rare, and no samples of general practice”? This injustice is an inherent one in the slave system,—it cannot exist without it.

20 ...For many years of her life, the author avoided all reading upon or allusion to the subject of slavery, considering it as too painful to be inquired into, and one which advancing light and civilization would certainly live down. But, since the legislative act of 1850, when she heard, with perfect surprise and consternation, Christian and humane people actually recommending the remanding escaped fugitives into slavery, as a duty binding on good citizens...she could only think, These men and Christians cannot know what slavery is; if they did, such a question could never be open for discussion. And from this arose a

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desire to exhibit it in a living dramatic reality. She has endeavored to show it fairly, in its best and its worst phases.

...And now, men and women of America, is this a thing to be trifled with, apologized for, and passed over in silence?

5 ...A day of grace is yet held out to us. Both North and South have been guilty before God! and the Christian church has a heavy account to answer. Not by combining together, to protect injustice and cruelty, and making a common capital of sin, is this Union to be saved,—but by repentance, justice and mercy; for not surer is the eternal law by which the millstone sinks in the ocean, than that stronger law, by which injustice and cruelty shall
10 bring on nations the wrath of Almighty God!

CHIEF JUSTICE ROGER TANEY

Dred Scott v. Sandford

U.S. SUPREME COURT MAJORITY OPINION EXCERPTS

March 6, 1857

U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Dred Scott was a slave who sued for his freedom after being taken by his owner into territory in which slavery was illegal. The Supreme Court rendered this decision on his case while also using the occasion to address other legalities concerning slavery.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. According to Taney's account, what was the status of African Americans at the time of the founding? Does he think they were included in the term "people of the United States"?
2. Which two clauses of the Constitution does Taney think declare African Americans to be a separate class of persons? What is his argument for his interpretation?
3. For what specific reason does Taney declare the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional?

Dred Scott v. Sandford, 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393 (1856).

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Mr. Chief Justice Taney delivered the opinion of the court:...

...The question is simply this: can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities, guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen. One of these rights is the privilege of suing in a court of the United States in the cases specified in the Constitution.

It will be observed, that the plea applies to that class of persons only whose ancestors were negroes of the African race, and imported into this country, and sold and held as slaves.

The only matter in issue before the court, therefore, is, whether the descendants of such slaves, when they shall be emancipated, or who are born of parents who had become free before their birth, are citizens of a state, in the sense in which the word "citizen" is used in the Constitution of the United States. And this being the only matter in dispute on the pleadings, the court must be understood as speaking in this opinion of that class only; that is, of those persons who are the descendants of Africans who were imported into this country and sold as slaves....

We proceed to examine the case as presented by the pleadings.

The words "people of the United States" and "citizens" are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the "sovereign people," and every citizen is one of this people, and a constituent member of this sovereignty. The question before us is, whether the class of persons described in the plea in abatement compose a portion of this people, and are constituent members of this sovereignty. We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word "citizens" in the Constitution, and can, therefore, claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior

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class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them.

It is not the province of the court to decide upon the justice or injustice, the policy or impolicy of these laws. The decision of that question belonged to the political or law-making power; to those who formed the sovereignty and framed the Constitution. The duty of the court is to interpret the instrument they have framed, with the best lights we can obtain on the subject, and to administer it as we find it, according to its true intent and meaning when it was adopted.

In discussing this question, we must not confound the rights of citizenship which a state may confer within its own limits, and the rights of citizenship as a member of the Union. It does not by any means follow, because he has all the rights and privileges of a citizen of a State, that he must be a citizen of the United States. He may have all of the rights and privileges of the citizen of a State, and yet not be entitled to the rights and privileges of a citizen in any other State. For, previous to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, every State had the undoubted right to confer on whomsoever it pleased the character of a citizen, and to endow him with all its rights. But this character, of course, was confined to the boundaries of the State, and gave him no rights or privileges in other States beyond those secured to him by the laws of nations and the comity of States. Nor have the several States surrendered the power of conferring these rights and privileges by adopting the Constitution of the United States. Each State may still confer them upon an alien, or any one it thinks proper, or upon any class or description of persons; yet he would not be a citizen in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution of the United States, nor entitled to sue as such in one of its courts, nor to the privileges and immunities of a citizen in the other States. The rights which he would acquire would be restricted to the State which gave them. The Constitution has conferred on Congress the right to establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and this right is evidently exclusive, and has always been held by this court to be so. Consequently, no State, since the adoption of the Constitution, can, by naturalizing an alien, invest him with the rights and privileges secured to a citizen

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of a State under the federal government, although, so far as the State alone was concerned, he would undoubtedly be entitled to the rights of a citizen, and clothed with all the rights and immunities which the Constitution and laws of the State attached to that character.

5 It is very clear, therefore, that no State can, by any Act or law of its own, passed since the adoption of the Constitution, introduce a new member into the political community created by the Constitution of the United States. It cannot make him a member of this community by making him a member of its own. And for the same reason it cannot introduce any person, or description of persons, who were not intended to be embraced in this new political family, which the Constitution brought into existence, but were intended
10 to be excluded from it.

The question then arises, whether the provisions of the Constitution, in relation to the personal rights and privileges to which the citizen of a state should be entitled, embraced the negro African race, at that time in this country, or who might afterwards be imported, who had then or should afterwards be made free in any State; and to put it in the power of
15 a single State to make him a citizen of the United States, and endue him with the full rights of citizenship in every other State without their consent. Does the Constitution of the United States act upon him whenever he shall be made free under the laws of a State, and raised there to the rank of a citizen, and immediately clothe him with all the privileges of a citizen in every other State, and in its own courts?

20 The court think the affirmative of these propositions cannot be maintained. And if it cannot, the plaintiff in error could not be a citizen of the State of Missouri, within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and, consequently, was not entitled to sue in its courts.

25 It is true, every person, and every class and description of persons, who were at the time of the adoption of the Constitution recognized as citizens in the several States, became also citizens of this new political body; but none other; it was formed by them, and for them and their posterity, but for no one else. And the personal rights and privileges guaranteed to citizens of this new sovereignty were intended to embrace those only who were then

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members of the several state communities, or who should afterwards, by birthright or otherwise, become members, according to the provisions of the Constitution and the principles on which it was founded. It was the union of those who were at that time members of distinct and separate political communities into one political family, whose power, for certain specified purposes, was to extend over the whole territory of the United States. And it gave to each citizen rights and privileges outside of his State which he did not before possess, and placed him in every other State upon a perfect equality with its own citizens as to rights of person and rights of property; it made him a citizen of the United States.

10 It becomes necessary, therefore, to determine who were citizens of the several States when the Constitution was adopted. And in order to do this, we must recur to the governments and institutions of the thirteen Colonies, when they separated from Great Britain and formed new sovereignties, and took their places in the family of independent nations. We must inquire who, at that time, were recognized as the people or citizens of a State, whose rights and liberties had been outraged by the English Government; and who declared their independence, and assumed the powers of government to defend their rights by force of arms.

20 In the opinion of the court, the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the Declaration of Independence, show, that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument.

25 It is difficult at this day to realize the state of public opinion in relation to that unfortunate race, which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the world at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted. But the public history of every European nation displays it, in a manner too plain to be mistaken.

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They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order; and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race. It was regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, which no one thought of disputing, or supposed to be open to dispute; and men in every grade and position in society daily and habitually acted upon it in their private pursuits, as well as in matters of public concern, without doubting for a moment the correctness of this opinion.

And in no nation was this opinion more firmly fixed or more uniformly acted upon than by the English government and English people. They not only seized them on the coast of Africa, and sold them or held them in slavery for their own use; but they took them as ordinary articles of merchandise to every country where they could make a profit on them, and were far more extensively engaged in this commerce than any other nation in the world.

The opinion thus entertained and acted upon in England was naturally impressed upon the colonies they founded on this side of the Atlantic. And, accordingly, a negro of the African race was regarded by them as an article of property, and held, and bought and sold as such, in every one of the thirteen Colonies which united in the Declaration of Independence, and afterwards formed the Constitution of the United States. The slaves were more or less numerous in the different Colonies, as slave labor was found more or less profitable. But no one seems to have doubted the correctness of the prevailing opinion of the time.

The legislation of the different Colonies furnishes positive and indisputable proof of this fact....

The language of the Declaration of Independence is equally conclusive.

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It begins by declaring that, "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 nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

It then proceeds to say: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among them is life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The general words above quoted would seem to embrace the whole human family, and if they were used in a similar instrument at this day, would be so understood. But it is too clear for dispute, that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted this Declaration; for if the language, as understood in that day, would embrace them, the conduct of the distinguished men who framed the Declaration of Independence would have been utterly and flagrantly inconsistent with the principles they asserted; and instead of the sympathy of mankind, to which they so confidently appealed, they would have deserved and received universal rebuke and reprobation.

Yet the men who framed this Declaration were great men—high in literary acquirements—high in their sense of honor, and incapable of asserting principles inconsistent with those on which they were acting. They perfectly understood the meaning of the language they used, and how it would be understood by others; and they knew that it would not, in any part of the civilized world, be supposed to embrace the negro race, which, by common consent, had been excluded from civilized governments and the family of nations, and doomed to slavery. They spoke and acted according to the then established doctrines and principles, and in the ordinary language of the day, and no one misunderstood them. The unhappy black race were separated from the white by indelible marks, and laws long before

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established, and were never thought of or spoken of except as property, and when the claims of the owner or the profit of the trader were supposed to need protection.

This state of public opinion had undergone no change when the Constitution was adopted, as is equally evident from its provisions and language.

- 5 The brief preamble sets forth by whom it was formed, for what purposes, and for whose benefit and protection. It declares that it is formed by the people of the United States; that is to say, by those who were members of the different political communities in the several States; and its great object is declared to be to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity. It speaks in general terms of the people of the United States, and of
- 10 citizens of the several States, when it is providing for the exercise of the powers granted or the privileges secured to the citizen. It does not define what description of persons are intended to be included under these terms, or who shall be regarded as a citizen and one of the people. It uses them as terms so well understood that no further description or definition was necessary.
- 15 But there are two clauses in the Constitution which point directly and specifically to the negro race as a separate class of persons, and show clearly that they were not regarded as a portion of the people or citizens of the government then formed.

- One of these clauses reserves to each of the thirteen States the right to import slaves until the year 1808, if it thinks proper. And the importation which it thus sanctions was
- 20 unquestionably of persons of the race of which we are speaking, as the traffic in slaves in the United States had always been confined to them. And by the other provision the States pledge themselves to each other to maintain the right of property of the master, by delivering up to him any slave who may have escaped from his service, and be found within their respective territories. By the first above-mentioned clause, therefore, the right to
- 25 purchase and hold this property is directly sanctioned and authorized for twenty years by the people who framed the Constitution. And by the second, they pledge themselves to maintain and uphold the right of the master in the manner specified, as long as the government they then formed should endure. And these two provisions show,

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conclusively, that neither the description of persons therein referred to, nor their descendants, were embraced in any of the other provisions of the Constitution; for certainly these two clauses were not intended to confer on them or their posterity the blessings of liberty, or any of the personal rights so carefully provided for the citizen....

- 5 In considering this part of the controversy, two questions arise: 1st. Was he, together with his family, free in Missouri by reason of the stay in the territory of the United States hereinbefore mentioned? And 2nd. If they were not, is Scott himself free by reason of his removal to Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, as stated in the above admissions?

We proceed to examine the first question.

- 10 The Act of Congress, upon which the plaintiff relies, declares that slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, shall be forever prohibited in all that part of that territory ceded by France, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and not included within the limits of Missouri. And the difficulty which meets us at the threshold of this part of the inquiry is, whether Congress
15 was authorized to pass this law under any of the powers granted to it by the Constitution; for if the authority is not given by that instrument, it is the duty of this court to declare it void and inoperative, and incapable of conferring freedom upon one who is held as a slave under the laws of any one of the States.

- The counsel for the plaintiff has laid much stress upon that article in the Constitution which
20 confers on Congress the power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States;" but, in the judgment of the court, that provision has no bearing on the present controversy, and the power there given, whatever it may be, is confined, and was intended to be confined, to the territory which at that time belonged to, or was claimed by, the United States, and was
25 within their boundaries as settled by the Treaty with Great Britain, and can have no influence upon a territory afterwards acquired from a foreign government. It was a special provision for a known and particular Territory, and to meet a present emergency, and nothing more....

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Whether, therefore, we take the particular clause in question, by itself, or in connection with the other provisions of the Constitution, we think it clear, that it applies only to the particular territory of which we have spoken, and cannot, by any just rule of interpretation, be extended to a territory which the new government might afterwards obtain from a foreign nation. Consequently, the power which Congress may have lawfully exercised in this territory, while it remained under a territorial government, and which may have been sanctioned by judicial decision, can furnish no justification and no argument to support a similar exercise of power over territory afterwards acquired by the Federal Government. We put aside, therefore, any argument, drawn from precedents, showing the extent of the power which the general government exercised over slavery in this territory, as altogether inapplicable to the case before us....

All we mean to say on this point is, that, as there is no express regulation in the Constitution defining the power which the general government may exercise over the person or property of a citizen in a territory thus acquired, the court must necessarily look to the provisions and principles of the Constitution, and its distribution of powers, for the rules and principles by which its decision must be governed....

At the time when the Territory in question was obtained by cession from France, it contained no population fit to be associated together and admitted as a State; and it therefore was absolutely necessary to hold possession of it as a Territory belonging to the United States until it was settled and inhabited by a civilized community capable of self-government, and in a condition to be admitted on equal terms with the other States as a member of the Union. But, as we have before said, it was acquired by the general government as the representative and trustee of the people of the United States, and it must, therefore, be held in that character for their common and equal benefit; for it was the people of the several States, acting through the agent and representative, the Federal Government, who in fact acquired the territory in question, and the government holds it for their common use until it shall be associated with the other States as a member of the Union. ...

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But the power of Congress over the person or property of a citizen can never be a mere discretionary power under our Constitution and form of government. The powers of the government and the rights and privileges of the citizen are regulated and plainly defined by the Constitution itself. And when the territory becomes a part of the United States, the

5 Federal Government enters into possession in the character impressed upon it by those who created it. It enters upon it with its powers over the citizen strictly defined, and limited by the Constitution, from which it derives its own existence, and by virtue of which alone it continues to exist and act as a government and sovereignty. It has no power of any kind beyond it; and it cannot, when it enters a territory of the United States, put off its character,

10 and assume discretionary or despotic powers which the Constitution has denied to it. It cannot create for itself a new character separated from the citizens of the United States, and the duties it owes them under the provisions of the Constitution. The territory being a part of the United States, the government and the citizen both enter it under the authority of the Constitution, with their respective rights defined and marked out; and the Federal

15 Government can exercise no power over his person or property, beyond what that instrument confers, nor lawfully deny any right which it has reserved. ...

It seems, however, to be supposed, that there is a difference between property in a slave and other property, and that different rules may be applied to it in expounding the Constitution of the United States. And the laws and usages of nations, and the writings of eminent jurists

20 upon the relation of master and slave and their mutual rights and duties, and the powers which governments may exercise over it, have been dwelt upon in the argument.

The powers of the government, and the rights of the citizen under it, are positive and practical regulations plainly written down. The people of the United States have delegated to it certain enumerated powers, and forbidden it to exercise others. It has no power over

25 the person or property of a citizen but what the citizens of the United States have granted. And no laws or usages of other nations, or reasoning of statesmen or jurists upon the relations of master and slave, can enlarge the powers of the government, or take from the citizens the rights they have reserved. And if the Constitution recognizes the right of property of the master in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of

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property and other property owned by a citizen, no tribunal, acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction, or deny to it the benefit of the provisions and guarantees which have been provided for the protection of private property against the encroachments of the government. ...

Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the court that the Act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory; even if they had been carried there by the owner, with the intention of becoming a permanent resident....

But there is another point in the case which depends on state power and state law. And it is contended, on the part of the plaintiff, that he is made free by being taken to Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, independently of his residence in the territory of the United States; and being so made free, he was not again reduced to a state of slavery by being brought back to Missouri.

Our notice of this part of the case will be very brief; for the principle on which it depends was decided in this court, upon much consideration, in the case of *Strader et al. v. Graham*, reported in 10th Howard, 82. In that case, the slaves had been taken from Kentucky to Ohio, with the consent of the owner, and afterwards brought back to Kentucky. And this court held that their *status* or condition, as free or slave, depended upon the laws of Kentucky, when they were brought back into that State, and not of Ohio; and that this court had no jurisdiction to revise the judgment of a state court upon its own laws. This was the point directly before the court, and the decision that this court had not jurisdiction, turned upon it, as will be seen by the report of the case.

So in this case: as Scott was a slave when taken into the State of Illinois by his owner, and was there held as such, and brought back in that character, his *status*, as free or slave, depended on the laws of Missouri, and not of Illinois....

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Upon the whole, therefore, it is the judgment of this court, that it appears by the record before us that the plaintiff in error is not a citizen of Missouri, in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution; and that the Circuit Court of the United States, for that reason, had no jurisdiction in the case, and could give no judgment in it.

- 5 *Its judgment for the defendant must, consequently, be reversed, and a mandate issued directing the suit to be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

On the *Dred Scott* Decision

SPEECH EXCERPT

June 26, 1857
Springfield, Illinois

BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln offered this speech in response to Senator Stephen Douglas's defense of the *Dred Scott* decision and his continued promotion of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does Lincoln argue that African Americans in the United States are worse off in his time than during the time of the founding?
2. How does the *Dred Scott* ruling undermine the principles of the founding in Lincoln's opinion?
3. What is Lincoln's position towards African Americans?
4. What does Lincoln find in common between the *Dred Scott* ruling and Stephen Douglas' arguments?

Abraham Lincoln, "Speech on *Dred Scott*," 26 June 1857, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 403-07.

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...I have said, in substance, that the *Dred Scott* decision was, in part; based on assumed historical facts which were not really true; and I ought not to leave the subject without giving some reasons for saying this; I therefore give an instance or two, which I think fully sustain me. Chief Justice Taney, in delivering the opinion of the majority of the Court,
5 insists at great length that negroes were no part of the people who made, or for whom was made, the Declaration of Independence, or the Constitution of the United States.

On the contrary, Judge Curtis, in his dissenting opinion, shows that in five of the then thirteen states, to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and North Carolina, free negroes were voters, and, in proportion to their numbers, had the same part in
10 making the Constitution that the white people had. He shows this with so much particularity as to leave no doubt of its truth; and, as a sort of conclusion on that point, holds the following language:

"The Constitution was ordained and established by the people of the United States, through the action, in each State, of those persons who were qualified by its laws
15 to act thereon in behalf of themselves and all other citizens of the State. In some of the States, as we have seen, colored persons were among those qualified by law to act on the subject. These colored persons were not only included in the body of 'the people of the United States,' by whom the Constitution was ordained and established; but in at least five of the States they had the power to act, and, doubtless,
20 did act, by their suffrages, upon the question of its adoption."

Again, Chief Justice Taney says: "It is difficult, at this day to realize the state of public opinion in relation to that unfortunate race, which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the world at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted." And again, after quoting from the
25 Declaration, he says: "The general words above quoted would seem to include the whole human family, and if they were used in a similar instrument at this day, would be so understood."

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In these the Chief Justice does not directly assert, but plainly assumes, as a fact, that the public estimate of the black man is more favorable *now* than it was in the days of the Revolution. This assumption is a mistake. In some trifling particulars, the condition of that race has been ameliorated; but, as a whole, in this country, the change between then and
5 now is decidedly the other way; and their ultimate destiny has never appeared so hopeless as in the last three or four years. In two of the five States—New Jersey and North Carolina—that then gave the free negro the right of voting, the right has since been taken away; and in a third—New York—it has been greatly abridged; while it has not been extended, so far as I know, to a single additional State, though the number of the States has more than dou-
10 bled. In those days, as I understand, masters could, at their own pleasure, emancipate their slaves; but since then, such legal restraints have been made upon emancipation, as to amount almost to prohibition. In those days, Legislatures held the unquestioned power to abolish slavery in their respective States; but now it is becoming quite fashionable for State Constitutions to withhold that power from the Legislatures. In those days, by common
15 consent, the spread of the black man's bondage to new countries was prohibited; but now, Congress decides that it *will* not continue the prohibition, and the Supreme Court decides that it *could* not if it would. In those days, our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all, and thought to include all; but now, to aid in making the bondage of the negro uni-
20 versal and eternal, it is assailed, and sneered at, and construed, and hawked at, and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it. All the powers of earth seem rapidly combining against him. Mammon is after him; ambition fol-
lows, and philosophy follows, and the Theology of the day is fast joining the cry. They have him in his prison house; they have searched his person, and left no prying instrument with him. One after another they have closed the heavy iron doors upon him, and now they have
25 him, as it were, bolted in with a lock of a hundred keys, which can never be unlocked without the concurrence of every key; the keys in the hands of a hundred different men, and they scattered to a hundred different and distant places; and they stand musing as to what invention, in all the dominions of mind and matter, can be produced to make the impossibility of his escape more complete than it is.

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It is grossly incorrect to say or assume, that the public estimate of the negro is more favorable now than it was at the origin of the government.

Three years and a half ago, Judge Douglas brought forward his famous Nebraska bill. The country was at once in a blaze. He scorned all opposition, and carried it through Congress.

5 Since then he has seen himself superseded in a Presidential nomination, by one indorsing the general doctrine of his measure, but at the same time standing clear of the odium of its untimely agitation, and its gross breach of national faith; and he has seen that successful rival Constitutionally elected, not by the strength of friends, but by the division of adversaries, being in a popular minority of nearly four hundred thousand votes. He has seen his
10 chief aids in his own State, Shields and Richardson, politically speaking, successively tried, convicted, and executed, for an offense not their own, but his. And now he sees his own case, standing next on the docket for trial.

There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people, to the idea of an indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races; and Judge Douglas evidently is basing his chief hope, upon the chances of being able to appropriate the benefit of this disgust
15 to himself. If he can, by much drumming and repeating, fasten the odium of that idea upon his adversaries, he thinks he can struggle through the storm. He therefore clings to this hope, as a drowning man to the last plank. He makes an occasion for lugging it in from the opposition to the *Dred Scott* decision. He finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes ALL men, black as well as white; and forthwith he boldly
20 denies that it includes negroes at all, and proceeds to argue gravely that all who contend it does, do so only because they want to vote, and eat, and sleep, and marry with negroes! He will have it that they cannot be consistent else. Now I protest against that counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a *slave* I must necessarily
25 want her for a *wife*. I need not have her for either, I can just leave her alone. In some respects she certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking leave of any one else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others.

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Chief Justice Taney, in his opinion in the *Dred Scott* case, admits that the language of the Declaration is broad enough to include the whole human family, but he and Judge Douglas argue that the authors of that instrument did not intend to include negroes, by the fact that they did not at once, actually place them on an equality with the whites. Now this grave
5 argument comes to just nothing at all, by the other fact, that they did not at once, *or ever afterwards*, actually place all white people on an equality with one or another. And this is the staple argument of both the Chief Justice and the Senator, for doing this obvious violence to the plain unmistakable language of the Declaration. I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include *all* men, but they did not intend to declare all men
10 equal in *all respects*. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness, in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal in "certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This they said, and this meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth, that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor
15 yet, that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the *right*, so that the *enforcement* of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approxi-
20 mated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere. The assertion that "all men are created equal" was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to those who in after times might
25 seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should re-appear in this fair land and commence their vocation they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.

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I have now briefly expressed my view of the *meaning* and *objects* of that part of the Declaration of Independence which declares that "all men are created equal."

Now let us hear Judge Douglas' view of the same subject, as I find it in the printed report of his late speech. Here it is:

5 "No man can vindicate the character, motives and conduct of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, except upon the hypothesis that they referred to the white race alone, and not to the African, when they declared all men to have been created equal—that they were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain—that they were entitled
10 to the same inalienable rights, and among them were enumerated life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The Declaration was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonists in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British crown, and dissolving their connection with the mother country."

My good friends, read that carefully over some leisure hour, and ponder well upon it—see
15 what a mere wreck—mangled ruin—it makes of our once glorious Declaration.

"They were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain!" Why, according to this, not only negroes but white people outside of Great Britain and America are not spoken of in that instrument. The English, Irish and Scotch, along with white Americans, were included to be sure, but the
20 French, Germans and other white people of the world are all gone to pot along with the Judge's inferior races.

I had thought the Declaration promised something better than the condition of British subjects; but no, it only meant that we should be *equal* to them in their own oppressed and *unequal* condition. According to that, it gave no promise that having kicked off the
25 King and Lords of Great Britain, we should not at once be saddled with a King and Lords of our own.

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I had thought the Declaration contemplated the progressive improvement in the condition of all men everywhere; but no, it merely "was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonists in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British crown, and dissolving their connection with the mother country." Why, that object having
5 been effected some eighty years ago, the Declaration is of no practical use now—mere rubbish—old wadding left to rot on the battle-field after the victory is won.

I understand you are preparing to celebrate the "Fourth," tomorrow week. What for? The doings of that day had no reference to the present; and quite half of you are not even descendants of those who were referred to at that day. But I suppose you will celebrate; and
10 will even go so far as to read the Declaration. Suppose after you read it once in the old fashioned way, you read it once more with Judge Douglas' version. It will then run thus: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all British subjects who were on this continent eighty-one years ago, were created equal to all British subjects born and *then* residing in Great Britain."

15 And now I appeal to all—to Democrats as well as others,—are you really willing that the Declaration shall be thus frittered away?—thus left no more at most, than an interesting memorial of the dead past? thus shorn of its vitality, and practical value; and left without the *germ* or even the *suggestion* of the individual rights of man in it?...

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)

To the Illinois Republican Party Convention

SPEECH

June 16, 1858

House of Representatives Chamber at the Illinois State Capitol | Springfield, Illinois

A House Divided

BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech upon his nomination by the Illinois Republican Party to be its candidate for U.S. Senate in Illinois.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. To what, in particular, is Lincoln referring when he quotes the Gospel of Matthew, "A house divided against itself cannot stand"?
2. What does Lincoln find problematic about the politics surrounding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case?
3. What was "squatter sovereignty," and what does Lincoln think happened to it?
4. What are the three "working points" of "machinery" resulting from *Dred Scott* and Stephen Douglas's policy, and why does Lincoln think they are constitutionally problematic?

Abraham Lincoln, "A House Divided": Speech at Springfield, Illinois," 16 June 1858, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 461–66.

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Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it.

We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object, and
5 *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, *not ceased*, but has *constantly augmented*.

In *my* opinion, it *will* not cease, until a *crisis* shall have been reached, and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

10 I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.

I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved*—I do not expect the house to *fall*— but I *do* expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become *all* one thing, or *all* the other.

Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the
15 public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its *advocates* will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in *all* the States, *old* as well as *new*—*North* as well as *South*.

Have we no *tendency* to the latter condition?

Let any one who doubts, carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—
20 tion—piece of *machinery* so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine, and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only *what work* the machinery is adapted to do, and *how well* adapted; but also, let him study the *history* of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather *fail*, if he can, to trace the evidences of design, and concert of action, among its chief bosses, from the beginning.

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But, so far, *Congress* only, had acted; and an *endorsement* by the people, *real* or apparent, was indispensable, to *save* the point already gained, and give chance for more.

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition.

- 5 Four days later, commenced the struggle, which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition.

This opened all the national territory to slavery; and was the first point gained.

- 10 This necessity had not been overlooked; but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of "*squatter sovereignty*," otherwise called "*sacred right of self government*," which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: That if any *one* man, choose to enslave *another*, no *third* man shall be allowed to object.

- 15 That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska Bill itself, in the language which follows: "*It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or state, not to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.*"

Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of "Squatter Sovereignty" and "Sacred right of self government."

- 20 "But," said opposition members, "let us be more *specific*—let us *amend* the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the territory *may* exclude slavery." "Not we," said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

- 25 While the Nebraska bill was passing through congress, a *law case*, involving the question of a negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free state and then a territory covered by the congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave,

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for a long time in each, was passing through the U. S. Circuit Court for the District of Missouri; and both Nebraska bill and law suit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negro's name was "Dred Scott," which name now designates the decision finally made in the case.

- 5 *Before the then* next Presidential election, the law case came to, and was argued *in* the Supreme Court of the United States; but the *decision* of it was deferred until *after* the election. Still, *before* the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requests the leading advocate of the Nebraska Bill to state *his opinion* whether the people of a territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answers, "That is a question for
10 the Supreme Court."

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the *endorsement*, such as it was, secured. That was the *second* point gained. The endorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory.

- 15 The *outgoing* President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible *echoed back* upon the people the *weight* and *authority* of the endorsement.

The Supreme Court met again; *did not* announce their decision, but ordered a re-argument.

- 20 The Presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the *incoming* President, in his inaugural address, fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, *whatever it might be*.

Then, in a few days, came the decision.

The reputed author of the Nebraska bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capitol endorsing the Dred Scott Decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it.

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The new President, too, seizes the early occasion of the Silliman letter to *endorse* and strongly *construe* that decision, and to express his *astonishment* that any different view had ever been entertained.

At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska bill,
5 on the *mere* question of *fact*, whether the Lecompton constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that squabble the latter declares that all he wants is a fair vote for the people, and that he *cares* not whether slavery be voted *down* or voted *up*. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up, to be intended by him other than as an *apt definition* of the *policy* he
10 would impress upon the public mind—the *principle* for which he declares he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer to the end.

And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle, is the only *shred* left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision, "squatter sovereignty" squatted out of existence, tumbled down like tempo-
15 rary scaffolding—like the mold at the foundry served through one blast and fell back into loose sand—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late *joint* struggle with the Republicans, against the Lecompton Constitution, involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point, the right of a people to make their own constitution, upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

20 The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas' "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery, in its *present* state of advancement. This was the third point gained.

The *working* points of that machinery are:

First, that no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave
25 can ever be a *citizen* of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

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This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of this provision of the United States Constitution, which declares that—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

- 5 Secondly, that "subject to the Constitution of the United States," neither *Congress* nor a *Territorial Legislature* can exclude slavery from any United States territory.

This point is made in order that individual men may *fill up* the territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of *permanency* to the institution through all the future.

- 10 Thirdly, that whether the holding a negro in actual slavery in a free State, makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave State the negro may be forced into by the master.

- This point is made, not to be pressed *immediately*; but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently *endorsed* by the people at an election, *then* to sustain the logical conclusion that
15 what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other *one*, or one *thousand* slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free State.

- Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to *educate* and *mold* public opinion, at least *Northern* public opinion, not to *care*
20 whether slavery is voted *down* or voted *up*.

This shows exactly where we now are; and *partially* also, whither we are tending.

- It will throw additional light on the latter, to go back, and run the mind over the string of historical facts already stated. Several things will *now* appear less *dark* and *mysterious* than they did *when* they were transpiring. The people were to be left "perfectly free" "subject only
25 to the Constitution." What the *Constitution* had to do with it, outsiders could not *then* see.

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Plainly enough *now*, it was an exactly fitted *niche*, for the Dred Scott decision to afterwards come in, and declare the *perfect freedom* of the people, to be just no freedom at all.

Why was the amendment, expressly declaring the right of the people to exclude slavery, voted down? Plainly enough *now*, the adoption of it, would have spoiled the niche for the
5 Dred Scott decision.

Why was the Court decision held up? Why, even a Senator's individual opinion withheld, till *after* the Presidential election? Plainly enough *now*, the speaking out *then* would have damaged the "*perfectly free*" argument upon which the election was to be carried.

Why the *outgoing* President's felicitation on the endorsement? Why the delay of a reargu-
10 ment? Why the incoming President's *advance* exhortation in favor of the decision?

These things *look* like the cautious *patting* and *petting* of a spirited horse, preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall.

And why the hasty after endorsements of the decision by the President and others?

We can not absolutely *know* that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert.
15 But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective
20 places, and not a piece too many or too few—not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we can see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in—in *such* a case, we find it impossible to not *believe* that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common *plan* or *draft* drawn up before the first lick was struck....

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R) & SENATOR STEPHEN DOUGLAS (D)**Seventh Debate in the 1858 Election Campaign****DEBATE EXCERPTS**

October 15, 1858

Outside Alton City Hall | Alton, Illinois

BACKGROUND

Incumbent senator from Illinois, Democrat Stephen Douglas, debated Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, for the seventh and final time in the 1858 election campaign. The candidates were not directly running for U.S. Senate, as senators were still appointed by the state legislature at the time, but their arguments were meant to bolster votes for their respective parties in the state legislature, which would then appoint one of them as U.S. Senator.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What are the three positions at issue in the debate?
2. What does Douglas think would have been the result had Lincoln delivered a version of his "A House Divided" speech at the Constitutional Convention?
3. How does Douglas interpret the meaning of "equality" in the Declaration of Independence?
4. In what sense does Douglas want each state to "mind its own business"?
5. Why does Lincoln think that history is on his side with respect to the meaning of "equality" in the Declaration of Independence?
6. According to Lincoln, how should one interpret the language of the Constitution with regard to slavery? What is the view of the founders on slavery, according to Lincoln?
7. What is the primary dividing line between Republicans and Democrats at this time, according to Lincoln?
8. In Lincoln's view, why is the existence of the Union threatened?
9. On what grounds does Lincoln base the struggle between him and Douglas as the struggle between right and wrong?

Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas, "Seventh and Last Debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Alton, Illinois," 15 October 1858, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 3, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 285-87, 296-97, 301-02, 304, 307-08, 312-16, 318-20, 322-23.

Senator Stephen Douglas's Speech

...The issue thus being made up between Mr. Lincoln and myself on three points, we went before the people of the State. During the following seven weeks, between the Chicago speeches and our first meeting at Ottawa, he and I addressed large assemblages of the people in many of the central counties. In my speeches I confined myself closely to those three positions which he had taken controverting his proposition that this Union could not exist as our fathers made it, divided into free and slave States, controverting his proposition of a crusade against the Supreme Court because of the Dred Scott decision, and controverting his proposition that the Declaration of Independence included and meant the negroes as well as the white men, when it declared all men to be created equal. I supposed at that time that these propositions constituted a distinct issue between us, and that the opposite positions we had taken upon them we would be willing to be held to in every part of the State. I never intended to waver one hair's breadth from that issue either in the north or the south, or wherever I should address the people of Illinois. I hold that when the time arrives that I cannot proclaim my political creed in the same terms not only in the northern but the southern part of Illinois, not only in the northern but the southern States, and wherever the American flag waves over American soil, that then there must be something wrong in that creed. So long as we live under a common constitution, so long as we live in a confederacy of sovereign and equal States, joined together as one for certain purposes, that any political creed is radically wrong which cannot be proclaimed in every State, and every section of that Union alike. I took up Mr. Lincoln's three propositions in my several speeches, analyzed them, and pointed out what I believed to be the radical errors contained in them. First, in regard to his doctrine that this government was in violation of the law of God which says, that a house divided against itself cannot stand, I repudiated it as a slander upon the immortal framers of our constitution. I then said, have often repeated, and now again assert, that in my opinion this government can endure forever, divided into free and slave States as our fathers made it,—each State having the right to prohibit, abolish or sustain slavery just as it pleases. This government was made upon the great basis of the sovereignty of the States, the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself, and that right was conferred with understanding and expectation that inasmuch as each

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locality had separate interests, each locality must have different and distinct local and domestic institutions, corresponding to its wants and interests. Our fathers knew when they made the government, that the laws and institutions which were well adapted to the green mountains of Vermont, were unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina. They knew then, as well as we know now, that the laws and institutions which would be well adapted to the beautiful prairies of Illinois would not be suited to the mining regions of California. They knew that in a Republic as broad as this, having such a variety of soil, climate and interest, there must necessarily be a corresponding variety of local laws—the policy and institutions of each State adapted to its condition and wants. For this reason this Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question; and the various States were not allowed to complain of, much less interfere, with the policy of their neighbors.

Suppose the doctrine advocated by Mr. Lincoln and the abolitionists of this day had prevailed when the Constitution was made, what would have been the result? Imagine for a moment that Mr. Lincoln had been a member of the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and that when its members were about to sign that wonderful document, he had arisen in that convention as he did at Springfield this summer, and addressing himself to the President, had said, "a house divided against itself cannot stand; this government divided into free and slave States cannot endure, they must all be free or all be slave, they must all be one thing or all the other, otherwise, it is a violation of the law of God, and cannot continue to exist;"—suppose Mr. Lincoln had convinced that body of sages, that that doctrine was sound, what would have been the result? Remember that the Union was then composed of thirteen States, twelve of which were slaveholding and one free. Do you think that the one free State would have outvoted the twelve slaveholding States, and thus have secured the abolition of slavery? On the other hand, would not the twelve slaveholding States have outvoted the one free State, and thus have fastened slavery, by a Constitutional provision, on every foot of the American Republic forever? You see that if this abolition doctrine of Mr. Lincoln had prevailed when the government was made, it would have established slavery as a permanent institution, in all the States whether they wanted it or not, and the question for us to determine in Illinois now as one of the free

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States is, whether or not we are willing, having become the majority section, to enforce a doctrine on the minority, which we would have resisted with our heart's blood had it been attempted on us when we were in a minority. How has the South lost her power as the majority section in this Union, and how have the free States gained it, except under the operation of that principle which declares the right of the people of each State and each territory to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. It was under that principle that slavery was abolished in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; it was under that principle that one half of the slaveholding States became free; it was under that principle that the number of free States increased until from being one out of twelve States, we have grown to be the majority of States of the whole Union, with the power to control the House of Representatives and Senate, and the power, consequently, to elect a President by Northern votes without the aid of a Southern State. Having obtained this power under the operation of that great principle, are you now prepared to abandon the principle and declare that merely because we have the power you will wage a war against the Southern States and their institutions until you force them to abolish slavery everywhere....

But the Abolition party really think that under the Declaration of Independence the negro is equal to the white man, and that negro equality is an inalienable right conferred by the Almighty, and hence, that all human laws in violation of it are null and void. With such men it is no use for me to argue. I hold that the signers of the Declaration of Independence had no reference to negroes at all when they declared all men to be created equal. They did not mean negro, nor the savage Indians, nor the Feejee Islanders, nor any other barbarous race. They were speaking of white men. They alluded to men of European birth and European descent—to white men, and to none others, when they declared that doctrine. I hold that this Government was established on the white basis. It was established by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and should be administered by white men, and none others. But it does not follow, by any means, that merely because the negro is not a citizen, and merely because he is not our equal, that, therefore, he should be a slave. On the contrary, it does follow, that we ought to extend to the negro race, and to all other dependent races all the rights, all the privileges, and all the immunities which they

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can exercise consistently with the safety of society. Humanity requires that we should give them all these privileges; Christianity commands that we should extend those privileges to them. The question then arises what are those privileges, and what is the nature and extent of them. My answer is that that is a question which each State must answer for itself. We in

5 Illinois have decided it for ourselves. We tried slavery, kept it up for twelve years, and finding that it was not profitable we abolished it for that reason, and became a free State. We adopted in its stead the policy that a negro in this State shall not be a slave and shall not be a citizen. We have a right to adopt that policy. For my part I think it is a wise and sound policy for us. You in Missouri must judge for yourselves whether it is a wise policy for you.

10 If you choose to follow our example, very good; if you reject it, still well, it is your business, not ours. So with Kentucky. Let Kentucky adopt a policy to suit herself. If we do not like it we will keep away from it, and if she does not like ours let her stay at home, mind her own business and let us alone. If the people of all the States will act on that great principle, and each State mind its own business, attend to its own affairs, take care of its own negroes and

15 not meddle with its neighbors, then there will be peace between the North and the South, the East and the West, throughout the whole Union. Why can we not thus have peace? Why should we thus allow a sectional party to agitate this country, to array the North against the South, and convert us into enemies instead of friends, merely that a few ambitious men may ride into power on a sectional hobby? How long is it since these ambitious

20 Northern men wished for a sectional organization? Did any one of them dream of a sectional party as long as the North was the weaker section and the South the stronger? Then all were opposed to sectional parties; but the moment the North obtained the majority in the House and Senate by the admission of California, and could elect a President without the aid of Southern votes, that moment ambitious Northern men formed a scheme to excite

25 the North against the South, and make the people be governed in their votes by geographical lines, thinking that the North, being the stronger section, would outvote the South, and consequently they, the leaders, would ride into office on a sectional hobby. I am told that my hour is out. It was very short.

Abraham Lincoln's Reply

...At Galesburg the other day, I said in answer to Judge Douglas, that three years ago there never had been a man, so far as I knew or believed, in the whole world, who had said that the Declaration of Independence did not include negroes in the term "all men." I reassert it

5 today. I assert that Judge Douglas and all his friends may search the whole records of the country, and it will be a matter of great astonishment to me if they shall be able to find that one human being three years ago had ever uttered the astounding sentiment that the term "all men" in the Declaration did not include the negro. Do not let me be misunderstood. I know that more than three years ago there were men who, finding this assertion constantly

10 in the way of their schemes to bring about the ascendancy and perpetuation of slavery, *denied the truth of it*. I know that Mr. Calhoun and all the politicians of his school denied the truth of the Declaration. I know that it ran along in the mouths of some Southern men for a period of years, ending at last in that shameful though rather forcible declaration of Pettit of Indiana, upon the floor of the United States Senate, that the Declaration of Inde-

15 pendence was in that respect "a self-evident lie," rather than a self-evident truth. But I say, with a perfect knowledge of all this hawking at the Declaration without directly attacking it, that three years ago there never had lived a man who had ventured to assail it in the sneaking way of pretending to believe it and then asserting it did not include the negro. I believe the first man who ever said it was Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case, and

20 the next to him was our friend Stephen A. Douglas. And now it has become the catch-word of the entire party. I would like to call upon his friends everywhere to consider how they have come in so short a time to view this matter in a way so entirely different from their former belief? to ask whether they are not being borne along by an irresistible current—whither, they know not?...

25 And when this new principle—this new proposition that no human being ever thought of three years ago,—is brought forward, *I combat it* as having an evil tendency, if not an evil design; I combat it as having a tendency to dehumanize the negro—to take away from him

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the right of ever striving to be a man. I combat it as being one of the thousand things constantly done in these days to prepare the public mind to make property, and nothing but property of the *negro in all the States of this Union....*

Again; the institution of slavery is only mentioned in the Constitution of the United States
5 two or three times, and in neither of these cases does the word "slavery" or "negro race" occur; but covert language is used each time, and for a purpose full of significance. What is the language in regard to the prohibition of the African slave trade? It runs in about this way: "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thou-
10 sand eight hundred and eight."

The next allusion in the Constitution to the question of slavery and the black race, is on the subject of the basis of representation, and there the language used is, "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to
15 the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed—three-fifths of all other persons."

It says "persons," not slaves, not negroes; but this "three-fifths" can be applied to no other class among us than the negroes.

Lastly, in the provision for the reclamation of fugitive slaves it is said: "No person held to
20 service or labor in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." There again there is no mention of the word "negro" or of slavery. In all three of these places, being the only allusions to slavery in the instrument, covert language is used. Language is
25 used not suggesting that slavery existed or that the black race were among us. And I understand the contemporaneous history of those times to be that covert language was used with a purpose, and that purpose was that in our Constitution, which it was hoped and is still hoped will endure forever—when it should be read by intelligent and patriotic men, after

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the institution of slavery had passed from among us—there should be nothing on the face of the great charter of liberty suggesting that such a thing as negro slavery had ever existed among us. This is part of the evidence that the fathers of the Government expected and intended the institution of slavery to come to an end. They expected and intended that it should be in the course of ultimate extinction. And when I say that I desire to see the further spread of it arrested I only say I desire to see that done which the fathers have first done. When I say I desire to see it placed where the public mind will rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, I only say I desire to see it placed where they placed it. It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it. He assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself,—was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the government they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them and they left it among them because of the difficulty— the absolute impossibility of its immediate removal. And when Judge Douglas asks me why we cannot let it remain part slave and part free as the fathers of the government made, he asks a question based upon an assumption which is itself a falsehood; and I turn upon him and ask him the question, when the policy that the fathers of the government had adopted in relation to this element among us was the best policy in the world—the only wise policy—the only policy that we can ever safely continue upon—that will ever give us peace unless this dangerous element masters us all and becomes a national institution—I *turn upon him and ask him why he could not let it alone?* I turn and ask him why he was driven to the necessity of introducing a *new policy* in regard to it? He has himself said he introduced a new policy. He said so in his speech on the 22nd of March of the present year, 1858. I ask him why he could not let it remain where our fathers placed it? I ask too of Judge Douglas and his friends why we shall not again place this institution upon the basis on which the fathers left it? I ask you when he infers that I am in favor of setting the free and slave States at war, when the institution was placed in that attitude by those who made the constitution, *did they make any war?* If we had no war out of it when thus placed, wherein is the ground of belief that we shall have war out of it if we return to that policy? Have we

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had any peace upon this matter springing from any other basis? I maintain that we have not. I have proposed nothing more than a return to the policy of the fathers....

I have stated upon former occasions, and I may as well state again, what I understand to be the real issue in this controversy between Judge Douglas and myself. On the point of my
5 wanting to make war between the free and the slave States, there has been no issue between us. So, too, when he assumes that I am in favor of introducing a perfect social and political equality between the white and black races. These are false issues, upon which Judge Douglas has tried to force the controversy. There is no foundation in truth for the charge that I maintain either of these propositions. The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing
10 upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery *as a wrong*, and of another class that *does not* look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republican party. It is the sentiment around which all their actions—all their arguments circle—from which all their propositions radiate. They look upon it as being a moral,
15 social and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should as far as may be, *be treated* as a wrong, and one of the
20 methods of treating it as a wrong is to *make provision that it shall grow no larger*. They also desire a policy that looks to a peaceful end of slavery at sometime, as being wrong. These are the views they entertain in regard to it as I understand them; and all their sentiments—all their arguments and propositions are brought within this range. I have said and I repeat it here, that if there be a man amongst us who does not think that the institution of slavery
25 is wrong in any one of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform. We disclaim sympathy with him in practical action.
30 He is not placed properly with us.

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On this subject of treating it as a wrong, and limiting its spread, let me say a word. Has any thing ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of Slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity save and except this institution of Slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging Slavery—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You may have a wen or a cancer upon your person and not be able to cut it out lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong. You see this peaceful way of dealing with it as a wrong—restrict-
10 ing the spread of it, and not allowing it to go into new countries where it has not already existed. That is the peaceful way, the old-fashioned way, the way in which the fathers themselves set us the example.

On the other hand, I have said there is a sentiment which treats it as *not* being wrong. That is the Democratic sentiment of this day. I do not mean to say that every man who stands
15 within that range positively asserts that it is right. That class will include all who positively assert that it is right, and all who like Judge Douglas treat it as indifferent and do not say it is either right or wrong. These two classes of men fall within the general class of those who do not look upon it as a wrong. And if there be among you anybody who supposes that he as a Democrat, can consider himself "as much opposed to slavery as anybody," I would like
20 to reason with him. You never treat it as a wrong. What other thing that you consider as a wrong, do you deal with as you deal with that? Perhaps you *say* it is wrong, *but your leader never does, and you quarrel with anybody who says it is wrong*. Although you pretend to say so yourself you can find no fit place to deal with it as a wrong. You must not say anything about it in the free States, *because it is not here*. You must not say anything about it in the
25 slave States, *because it is there*. You must not say anything about it in the pulpit, because that is religion and has nothing to do with it. You must not say anything about it in politics, *because that will disturb the security of "my place."* There is no place to talk about it as being a wrong, although you say yourself it *is* a wrong. But finally you will screw yourself up to the belief that if the people of the slave States should adopt a system of gradual emancipa-
30 tion on the slavery question, you would be in favor of it. You would be in favor of it. You

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say that is getting it in the right place, and you would be glad to see it succeed. But you are deceiving yourself. You all know that Frank Blair and Gratz Brown, down there in St. Louis, undertook to introduce that system in Missouri. They fought as valiantly as they could for the system of gradual emancipation which you pretend you would be glad to see succeed.

5 Now I will bring you to the test. After a hard fight they were beaten, and when the news came over here you threw up your hats and *hurrahed for Democracy*. More than that, take all the argument made in favor of the system you have proposed, and it carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in the institution of slavery. The arguments to sustain that policy carefully excluded it. Even here today you heard Judge Douglas quarrel with me

10 because I uttered a wish that it might sometime come to an end. Although Henry Clay could say he wished every slave in the United States was in the country of his ancestors, I am denounced by those pretending to respect Henry Clay for uttering a wish that it might sometime, in some peaceful way, come to an end. The Democratic policy in regard to that institution will not tolerate the merest breath, the slightest hint, of the least degree of wrong

15 about it. Try it by some of Judge Douglas' arguments. He says he "don't care whether it is voted up or voted down" in the Territories. I do not care myself in dealing with that expression, whether it is intended to be expressive of his individual sentiments on the subject, or only of the national policy he desires to have established. It is alike valuable for my purpose. Any man can say that who does not see anything wrong in slavery, but no man can logically

20 say it who does see a wrong in it; because no man can logically say he don't care whether a wrong is voted up or voted down. He may say he don't care whether an indifferent thing is voted up or down, but he must logically have a choice between a right thing and a wrong thing. He contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them. So they have if it is not a wrong. But if it is a wrong, he cannot say people have a right to do wrong.

25 He says that upon the score of equality, slaves should be allowed to go in a new Territory, like other property. This is strictly logical if there is no difference between it and other property. If it and other property are equal, his argument is entirely logical. But if you insist that one is wrong and the other right, there is no use to institute a comparison between right and wrong. You may turn over everything in the Democratic policy from beginning

30 to end, whether in the shape it takes on the statute book, in the shape it takes in the Dred

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Scott decision, in the shape it takes in conversation or the shape it takes in short maxim-like arguments—it everywhere carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in it.

That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor
5 tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these
two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that
have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The
one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same
principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and
10 toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the
mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of
their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same
tyrannical principle. I was glad to express my gratitude at Quincy, and I re-express it here
to Judge Douglas—that *he looks to no end of the institution of slavery*. That will help the
15 people to see where the struggle really is. It will hereafter place with us all men who really
do wish the wrong may have an end. And whenever we can get rid of the fog which obscures
the real question—when we can get Judge Douglas and his friends to avow a policy looking
to its perpetuation—we can get out from among them that class of men and bring them to
the side of those who treat it as a wrong. Then there will soon be an end of it, and that end
20 will be its "ultimate extinction." Whenever the issue can be distinctly made, and all extra-
neous matter thrown out so that men can fairly see the real difference between the parties,
this controversy will soon be settled, and it will be done peaceably too. There will be no
war, no violence. It will be placed again where the wisest and best men of the world, placed
it. Brooks of South Carolina once declared that when this Constitution was framed, its
25 framers did not look to the institution existing until this day. When he said this, I think he
stated a fact that is fully borne out by the history of the times. But he also said they were
better and wiser men than the men of these days; yet the men of these days had experience
which they had not, and by the invention of the cotton gin it became a necessity in this
country that slavery should be perpetual. I now say that willingly or unwillingly, purposely
30 or without purpose, Judge Douglas has been the most prominent instrument in changing

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the position of the institution of slavery which the fathers of the government expected to come to an end ere this—and *putting it upon Brooks' cotton gin basis*,—placing it where he openly confesses he has no desire there shall ever be an end of it....

Senator Stephen Douglas's Reply

5 Mr. Lincoln has concluded his remarks by saying that there is not such an Abolitionist as I am in all America. If he could make the Abolitionists of Illinois believe that, he would not have much show for the Senate. Let him make the Abolitionists believe the truth of that statement and his political back is broken.

His first criticism upon me is the expression of his hope that the war of the administration
10 will be prosecuted against me and the Democratic party of his State with vigor. He wants that war prosecuted with vigor; I have no doubt of it. His hopes of success, and the hopes of his party depend solely upon it. They have no chance of destroying the Democracy of this State except by the aid of federal patronage. He has all the federal office-holders here as his allies, running separate tickets against the Democracy to divide the party although
15 the leaders all intend to vote directly the Abolition ticket, and only leave the green-horns to vote this separate ticket who refuse to go into the Abolition camp. There is something really refreshing in the thought that Mr. Lincoln is in favor of prosecuting one war vigorously. It is the first war I ever knew him to be in favor of prosecuting. It is the first war that I ever knew him to believe to be just or constitutional. When the Mexican war [was] being
20 waged, and the American army was surrounded by the enemy in Mexico, he thought that war was unconstitutional, unnecessary and unjust. He thought it was not commenced on the right *spot*.

When I made an incidental allusion of that kind in the joint discussion over at Charleston some weeks ago, Lincoln, in replying, said that I, Douglas, had charged him with voting
25 against supplies for the Mexican war, and then he reared up, full length, and swore that he never voted against the supplies—that it was a slander—and caught hold of Ficklin, who sat on the stand, and said, "Here, Ficklin, tell the people that it is a lie." Well, Ficklin, who had served in Congress with him, stood up and told them all that he recollected about it. It

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was that when George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, brought forward a resolution declaring the war unconstitutional, unnecessary, and unjust, that Lincoln had voted for it. "Yes," said Lincoln, "I did." Thus he confessed that he voted that the war was wrong, that our country was in the wrong, and consequently that the Mexicans were in the right; but charged that I had slandered him by saying that he voted against the supplies. I never charged him with voting against the supplies in my life, because I knew that he was not in Congress when they were voted. The war was commenced on the 13th day of May, 1846, and on that day we appropriated in Congress ten millions of dollars and fifty thousand men to prosecute it. During the same session we voted more men and more money, and at the next session we voted more men and more money, so that by the time Mr. Lincoln entered Congress we had enough men and enough money to carry on the war, and had no occasion to vote any more. When he got into the House, being opposed to the war, and not being able to stop the supplies, because they had all gone forward, all he could do was to follow the lead of Corwin, and prove that the war was not begun on the right spot, and that it was unconstitutional, unnecessary, and wrong. Remember, too, that this he did after the war had been begun. It is one thing to be opposed to the declaration of a war, another and very different thing to take sides with the enemy against your own country after the war has been commenced. Our army was in Mexico at the time, many battles had been fought; our citizens, who were defending the honor of their country's flag, were surrounded by the daggers, the guns and the poison of the enemy. Then it was that Corwin made his speech in which he declared that the American soldiers ought to be welcomed by the Mexicans with bloody hands and hospitable graves; then it was that Ashmun and Lincoln voted in the House of Representatives that the war was unconstitutional and unjust; and Ashmun's resolution, Corwin's speech, and Lincoln's vote were sent to Mexico and read at the head of the Mexican army, to prove to them that there was a Mexican party in the Congress of the United States who were doing all in their power to aid them. That a man who takes sides with the common enemy against his own country in time of war should rejoice in a war being made on me now, is very natural. And in my opinion, no other kind of a man would rejoice in it....

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Mr. Lincoln tries to avoid the main issue by attacking the truth of my proposition, that our fathers made this government divided into free and slave States, recognizing the right of each to decide all its local questions for itself. Did they not thus make it? It is true that they did not establish slavery in any of the States, or abolish it in any of them; but finding thirteen States twelve of which were slave and one free, they agreed to form a government uniting them together, as they stood divided into free and slave States, and to guarantee forever to each State the right to do as it pleased on the slavery question. Having thus made the government, and conferred this right upon each State forever, I assert that this government can exist as they made it, divided into free and slave States, if any one State chooses to retain slavery. He says that he looks forward to a time when slavery shall be abolished everywhere. I look forward to a time when each State shall be allowed to do as it pleases. If it chooses to keep slavery forever, it is not my business, but its own; if it chooses to abolish slavery, it is its own business—not mine. I care more for the great principle of self-government, the right of the people to rule, than I do for all the negroes in Christendom. I would not endanger the perpetuity of this Union. I would not blot out the great inalienable rights of the white men for all the negroes that ever existed. Hence, I say, let us maintain this government on the principles that our fathers made it, recognizing the right of each State to keep slavery as long as its people determine, or to abolish it when they please. But Mr. Lincoln says that when our fathers made this government they did not look forward to the state of things now existing; and therefore he thinks the doctrine was wrong; and he quotes Brooks, of South Carolina, to prove that our fathers then thought that probably slavery would be abolished, by each State acting for itself before this time. Suppose they did; suppose they did not foresee what has occurred,—does that change the principles of our government? They did not probably foresee the telegraph that transmits intelligence by lighting, nor did they foresee the railroads that now form the bonds of union between the different States, or the thousand mechanical inventions that have elevated mankind. But do these things change the principles of the government? Our fathers, I say, made this government on the principle of the right of each State to do as it pleases in its own domestic affairs, subject to the constitution, and allowed the people of each to apply to every new

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change of circumstance such remedy as they may see fit to improve their condition. This right they have for all time to come....

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery

SPEECH

March 26, 1860

Scottish Anti-Slavery Society | Glasgow, Scotland

BACKGROUND

Former slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass delivered this speech before the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society responding to the question of whether the U.S. Constitution supported or opposed slavery.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How does Douglass define the Constitution?
2. In which ways does Douglass disagree with other abolitionists, such as William Lloyd Garrison?
3. What evidence does Douglass cite from the founding that has formed his understanding?
4. What is Douglass' main argument against dissolving the Union over the issue of slavery?

Frederick Douglass, *Selected Speeches and Writings*, ed. Philip S. Foner (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 1999), 188-206.

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I proceed to the discussion. And first a word about the question. Much will be gained at the outset if we fully and clearly understand the real question under discussion. Indeed, nothing is or can be understood. This are often confounded and treated as the same, for no better reason than that they resemble each other, even while they are in their nature and character totally distinct and even directly opposed to each other. This jumbling up things is a sort of dust-throwing which is often indulged in by small men who argue for victory rather than for truth.

Thus, for instance, the American Government and the American Constitution are spoken of in a manner which would naturally lead the hearer to believe that one is identical with the other; when the truth is, they are distinct in character as is a ship and a compass. The one may point right and the other steer wrong. A chart is one thing, the course of the vessel is another. The Constitution may be right, the Government is wrong. If the Government has been governed by mean, sordid, and wicked passions, it does not follow that the Constitution is mean, sordid, and wicked.

What, then, is the question? I will state it. But first let me state what is not the question. It is not whether slavery existed in the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution; it is not whether slaveholders took part in the framing of the Constitution; it is not whether those slaveholders, in their hearts, intended to secure certain advantages in that instrument for slavery; it is not whether the American Government has been wielded during seventy-two years in favour of the propagation and permanence of slavery; it is not whether a pro-slavery interpretation has been put upon the Constitution by the American Courts — all these points may be true or they may be false, they may be accepted or they may be rejected, without in any wise affecting the real question in debate.

The real and exact question between myself and the class of persons represented by the speech at the City Hall may be fairly stated thus: — 1st, Does the United States Constitution guarantee to any class or description of people in that country the right to enslave, or hold as property, any other class or description of people in that country? 2nd, Is the dissolution of the union between the slave and free States required by fidelity to the slaves, or by the

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just demands of conscience? Or, in other words, is the refusal to exercise the elective franchise, and to hold office in America, the surest, wisest, and best way to abolish slavery in America?

To these questions the Garrisonians say Yes. They hold the Constitution to be a slaveholding instrument, and will not cast a vote or hold office, and denounce all who vote or hold office, no matter how faithfully such persons labour to promote the abolition of slavery. I, on the other hand, deny that the Constitution guarantees the right to hold property in man, and believe that the way to abolish slavery in America is to vote such men into power as well use their powers for the abolition of slavery. This is the issue plainly stated, and you shall judge between us. Before we examine into the disposition, tendency, and character of the Constitution, I think we had better ascertain what the Constitution itself is. Before looking for what it means, let us see what it is. Here, too, there is much dust to be cleared away. What, then, is the Constitution? I will tell you. It is not even like the British Constitution, which is made up of enactments of Parliament, decisions of Courts, and the established usages of the Government. The American Constitution is a written instrument full and complete in itself. No Court in America, no Congress, no President, can add a single word thereto, or take a single word threthereto. It is a great national enactment done by the people, and can only be altered, amended, or added to by the people. I am careful to make this statement here; in America it would not be necessary. It would not be necessary here if my assailant had shown the same desire to be set before you the simple truth, which he manifested to make out a good case for himself and friends. Again, it should be borne in mind that the mere text, and only the text, and not any commentaries or creeds written by those who wished to give the text a meaning apart from its plain reading, was adopted as the Constitution of the United States. It should also be borne in mind that the intentions of those who framed the Constitution, be they good or bad, for slavery or against slavery, are so respected so far, and so far only, as we find those intentions plainly stated in the Constitution. It would be the wildest of absurdities, and lead to endless confusion and mischiefs, if, instead of looking to the written paper itself, for its meaning, it were attempted to make us search it out, in the secret motives, and dishonest intentions, of some of the men who

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- took part in writing it. It was what they said that was adopted by the people, not what they were ashamed or afraid to say, and really omitted to say. Bear in mind, also, and the fact is an important one, that the framers of the Constitution sat with doors closed, and that this was done purposely, that nothing but the result of their labours should be seen, and that
- 5 that result should be judged of by the people free from any of the bias shown in the debates. It should also be borne in mind, and the fact is still more important, that the debates in the convention that framed the Constitution, and by means of which a pro-slavery interpretation is now attempted to be forced upon that instrument, were not published till more than a quarter of a century after the presentation and the adoption of the Constitution.
- 10 These debates were purposely kept out of view, in order that the people should adopt, not the secret motives or unexpressed intentions of any body, but the simple text of the paper itself. Those debates form no part of the original agreement. I repeat, the paper itself, and only the paper itself, with its own plainly written purposes, is the Constitution. It must stand or fall, flourish or fade, on its own individual and self-declared character and objects.
- 15 Again, where would be the advantage of a written Constitution, if, instead of seeking its meaning in its words, we had to seek them in the secret intentions of individuals who may have had something to do with writing the paper? What will the people of America a hundred years hence care about the intentions of the scribes who wrote the Constitution? These men are already gone from us, and in the course of nature were expected to go from
- 20 us. They were for a generation, but the Constitution is for ages. Whatever we may owe to them, we certainly owe it to ourselves, and to mankind, and to God, to maintain the truth of our own language, and to allow no villainy, not even the villainy of holding men as slaves — which Wesley says is the sum of all villainies — to shelter itself under a fair-seeming and virtuous language. We owe it to ourselves to compel the devil to wear his own garments,
- 25 and to make wicked laws speak out their wicked intentions. Common sense, and common justice, and sound rules of interpretation all drive us to the words of the law for the meaning of the law. The practice of the Government is dwelt upon with much fervour and eloquence as conclusive as to the slaveholding character of the Constitution. This is really the strong

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point and the only strong point, made in the speech in the City Hall. But good as this argument is, it is not conclusive. A wise man has said that few people have been found better than their laws, but many have been found worse. To this last rule America is no exception. Her laws are one thing, her practice is another thing. We read that the Jews made void the law by their tradition, that Moses permitted men to put away their wives because of the hardness of their hearts, but that this was not so at the beginning. While good laws will always be found where good practice prevails, the reverse does not always hold true. Far from it. The very opposite is often the case. What then? Shall we condemn the righteous law because wicked men twist it to the support of wickedness? Is that the way to deal with good and evil? Shall we blot out all distinction between them, and hand over to slavery all that slavery may claim on the score of long practice? Such is the course commended to us in the City Hall speech. After all, the fact that men go out of the Constitution to prove it pro-slavery, whether that going out is to the practice of the Government, or to the secret intentions of the writers of the paper, the fact that they do go out is very significant. It is a powerful argument on my side. It is an admission that the thing for which they are looking is not to be found where only it ought to be found, and that is in the Constitution itself. If it is not there, it is nothing to the purpose, be it wheresoever else it may be. But I shall have no more to say on this point hereafter.

The very eloquent lecturer at the City Hall doubtless felt some embarrassment from the fact that he had literally to give the Constitution a pro-slavery interpretation; because upon its face it of itself conveys no such meaning, but a very opposite meaning. He thus sums up what he calls the slaveholding provisions of the Constitution. I quote his own words: — “Article 1, section 9, provides for the continuance of the African slave trade for the 20 years, after the adoption of the Constitution. Art. 4, section 9, provides for the recovery from the other States of fugitive slaves. Art. 1, section 2, gives the slave States a representation of the three-fifths of all the slave population; and Art. 1, section 8, requires the President to use the military, naval, ordnance, and militia resources of the entire country for the suppression of slave insurrection, in the same manner as he would employ them to repel invasion.” Now any man reading this statement, or hearing it made with such a show of exactness,

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would unquestionably suppose that he speaker or writer had given the plain written text of the Constitution itself. I can hardly believe that he intended to make any such impression. It would be a scandalous imputation to say he did. Any yet what are we to make of it? How can we regard it? How can he be screened from the charge of having perpetrated a deliberate and point-blank misrepresentation? That individual has seen fit to place himself before the public as my opponent, and yet I would gladly find some excuse for him. I do not wish to think as badly of him as this trick of his would naturally lead me to think. Why did he not read the Constitution? Why did he read that which was not the Constitution? He pretended to be giving chapter and verse, section and clause, paragraph and provision. The words of the Constitution were before him. Why then did he not give you the plain words of the Constitution? Oh, sir, I fear that the gentleman knows too well why he did not. It so happens that no such words as “African slave trade,” no such words as “slave insurrections,” are anywhere used in that instrument. These are the words of that orator, and not the words of the Constitution of the United States. Now you shall see a slight difference between my manner of treating this subject and what which my opponent has seen fit, for reasons satisfactory to himself, to pursue. What he withheld, that I will spread before you: what he suppressed, I will bring to light: and what he passed over in silence, I will proclaim: that you may have the whole case before you, and not be left to depend upon either his, or upon my inferences or testimony. Here then are several provisions of the Constitution to which reference has been made. I read them word for word just as they stand in the paper, called the United States Constitution, Art. I, sec. 2. “Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons; Art. I, sec. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think fit to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding tend dollars for each person; Art. 4, sec. 2. No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from service or

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labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due; Art. I, sec. 8. To provide for calling for the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.” Here then, are those provisions of the Constitution, which the most extravagant defenders of slavery can claim to guarantee a right of property in man. These are the provisions which have been pressed into the service of the human fleshmongers of America. Let us look at them just as they stand, one by one. Let us grant, for the sake of the argument, that the first of these provisions, referring to the basis of representation and taxation, does refer to slaves. We are not compelled to make that admission, for it might fairly apply to aliens — persons living in the country, but not naturalized. But giving the provisions the very worse construction, what does it amount to? I answer — It is a downright disability laid upon the slaveholding States; one which deprives those States of two-fifths of their natural basis of representation. A black man in a free State is worth just two-fifths more than a black man in a slave State, as a basis of political power under the Constitution. Therefore, instead of encouraging slavery, the Constitution encourages freedom by giving an increase of “two-fifths” of political power to free over slave States. So much for the three-fifths clause; taking it at its worst, it still leans to freedom, not slavery; for, be it remembered that the Constitution nowhere forbids a coloured man to vote. I come to the next, that which it is said guaranteed the continuance of the African slave trade for twenty years. I will also take that for just what my opponent alleges it to have been, although the Constitution does not warrant any such conclusion. But, to be liberal, let us suppose it did, and what follows? Why, this — that this part of the Constitution, so far as the slave trade is concerned, became a dead letter more than 50 years ago, and now binds no man’s conscience for the continuance of any slave trade whatsoever. Mr. Thompson is just 52 years too late in dissolving the Union on account of this clause. He might as well dissolve the British Government, because Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir John Hawkins to import Africans into the West Indies 300 years ago! But there is still more to be said about this abolition of the slave trade. Men, at that time, both in England and in America, looked upon the slave trade as the life of slavery. The abolition of the slave trade was supposed to be the certain death of slavery. Cut off the stream, and the pond will dry up, was the common notion at the time.

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Wilberforce and Clarkson, clear-sighted as they were, took this view; and the American statesmen, in providing for the abolition of the slave trade, thought they were providing for the abolition of the slavery. This view is quite consistent with the history of the times. All regarded slavery as an expiring and doomed system, destined to speedily disappear from the country. But, again, it should be remembered that this very provision, if made to refer to the African slave trade at all, makes the Constitution anti-slavery rather than for slavery; for it says to the slave States, the price you will have to pay for coming into the American Union is, that the slave trade, which you would carry on indefinitely out of the Union, shall be put an end to in twenty years if you come into the Union. Secondly, if it does apply, it expired by its own limitation more than fifty years ago. Thirdly, it is anti-slavery, because it looked to the abolition of slavery rather than to its perpetuity. Fourthly, it showed that the intentions of the framers of the Constitution were good, not bad. I think this is quite enough for this point.

I go to the “slave insurrection” clause, though, in truth, there is no such clause. The one which is called so has nothing whatever to do with slaves or slaveholders any more than your laws for suppression of popular outbreaks has to do with making slaves of you and your children. It is only a law for suppression of riots or insurrections. But I will be generous here, as well as elsewhere, and grant that it applies to slave insurrections. Let us suppose that an anti-slavery man is President of the United States (and the day that shall see this the case is not distant) and this very power of suppressing slave insurrections would put an end to slavery. The right to put down an insurrection carries with it the right to determine the means by which it shall be put down. If it should turn out that slavery is a source of insurrection, that there is no security from insurrection while slavery lasts, why, the Constitution would be best obeyed by putting an end to slavery, and an anti-slavery Congress would do the very same thing. Thus, you see, the so-called slave-holding provisions of the American Constitution, which a little while ago looked so formidable, are, after all, no defence or guarantee for slavery whatever. But there is one other provision. This is called the “Fugitive Slave Provision.” It is called so by those who wish to make it subserve the interest of slavery in America, and the same by those who wish to uphold the views of a party in this country.

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It is put thus in the speech at the City Hall: — “Let us go back to 1787, and enter Liberty Hall, Philadelphia, where sat in convention the illustrious men who framed the Constitution — with George Washington in the chair. On the 27th of September, Mr. Butler and Mr. Pinckney, two delegates from the State of South Carolina, moved that the Constitution should require that fugitive slaves and servants should be delivered up like criminals, and after a discussion on the subject, the clause, as it stands in the Constitution, was adopted. After this, in the conventions held in the several States to ratify the Constitution, the same meaning was attached to the words. For example, Mr. Madison (afterwards President), when recommending the Constitution to his constituents, told them that the clause would secure them their property in slaves.” I must ask you to look well to this statement. Upon its face, it would seem a full and fair statement of the history of the transaction it professes to describe and yet I declare unto you, knowing as I do the facts in the case, my utter amazement at the downright untruth conveyed under the fair seeming words now quoted. The man who could make such a statement may have all the craftiness of a lawyer, but who can accord to him the candour of an honest debater? What could more completely destroy all confidence in his statements? Mark you, the orator had not allowed his audience to hear read the provision of the Constitution to which he referred. He merely characterized it as one to “deliver up fugitive slaves and servants like criminals,” and tells you that this was done “after discussion.” But he took good care not to tell you what was the nature of that discussion. He have would have spoiled the whole effect of his statement had he told you the whole truth. Now, what are the facts connected with this provision of the Constitution? You shall have them. It seems to take two men to tell the truth. It is quite true that Mr. Butler and Mr. Pinckney introduced a provision expressly with a view to the recapture of fugitive slaves: it is quite true also that there was some discussion on the subject — and just here the truth shall come out. These illustrious kidnappers were told promptly in that discussion that no such idea as property in man should be admitted into the Constitution. The speaker in question might have told you, and he would have told you but the simple truth, if he had told you that he proposition of Mr. Butler and Mr. Pinckney — which he leads you to infer was adopted by the convention that from the Constitution — was, in fact, promptly and indignantly rejected by that convention. He might have told you, had it

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suited his purpose to do so, that the words employed in the first draft of the fugitive slave clause were such as applied to the condition of slaves, and expressly declared that persons held to “servitude” should be given up; but that the word “servitude” was struck from the provision, for the very reason that it applied to slaves. He might have told you that the same

5 Mr. Madison declared that the word was struck out because the convention would not consent that the idea of property in men should be admitted into the Constitution. The fact that Mr. Madison can be cited on both sides of this question is another evidence of the folly and absurdity of making the secret intentions of the framers the criterion by which the Constitution is to be construed. But it may be asked — if this clause does not apply to slaves,
10 to whom does it apply?

I answer, that when adopted, it applies to a very large class of persons — namely, redemptioners — persons who had come to America from Holland, from Ireland, and other quarters of the globe — like the Coolies to the West Indies — and had, for a consideration duly paid, become bound to “serve and labour” for the parties to whom their service and labour was due. It applies to indentured apprentices and others who have become bound for
15 a consideration, under contract duly made, to serve and labour, to such persons this provision applies, and only to such persons. The plain reading of this provision shows that it applies, and that it can only properly and legally apply, to persons “bound to service.” Its object plainly is, to secure the fulfillment of contracts for “service and labour.” It applies to
20 indentured apprentices, and any other persons from whom service and labour may be due. The legal condition of the slave puts him beyond the operation of this provision. He is not described in it. He is a simple article of property. He does not owe and cannot owe service. He cannot even make a contract. It is impossible for him to do so. He can no more make such a contract than a horse or an ox can make one. This provision, then, only respects
25 persons who owe service, and they only can owe service who can receive an equivalent and make a bargain. The slave cannot do that, and is therefore exempted from the operation of this fugitive provision. In all matters where laws are taught to be made the means of oppression, cruelty, and wickedness, I am for strict construction. I will concede nothing. It must be shown that it is so nominated in the bond. The pound of flesh, but not one drop

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of blood. The very nature of law is opposed to all such wickedness, and makes it difficult to accomplish such objects under the forms of law. Law is not merely an arbitrary enactment with regard to justice, reason, or humanity. Blackstone defines it to be a rule prescribed by the supreme power of the State commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong.

- 5 The speaker at the City Hall laid down some rules of legal interpretation. These rules send us to the history of the law for its meaning. I have no objection to such a course in ordinary cases of doubt. But where human liberty and justice are at stake, the case falls under an entirely different class of rules. There must be something more than history — something more than tradition. The Supreme Court of the United States lays down this rule, and it
- 10 meets the case exactly — “Where rights are infringed — where the fundamental principles of the law are overthrown — where the general system of the law is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with irresistible clearness.” The same court says that the language of the law must be construed strictly in favour of justice and liberty. Again, there is another rule of law. It is — Where a law is susceptible of two meanings, the one
- 15 making it accomplish an innocent purpose, and the other making it accomplish a wicked purpose, we must in all cases adopt that which makes it accomplish an innocent purpose. Again, the details of a law are to be interpreted in the light of the declared objects sought by the law. I set these rules down against those employed at the City Hall. To me they seem just and rational. I only ask you to look at the American Constitution in the light of them,
- 20 and you will see with me that no man is guaranteed a right of property in man, under the provisions of that instrument. If there are two ideas more distinct in their character and essence than another, those ideas are “persons” and “property,” “men” and “things.” Now, when it is proposed to transform persons into “property” and men into beasts of burden, I demand that the law that completes such a purpose shall be expressed with irresistible
- 25 clearness. The thing must not be left to inference, but must be done in plain English. I know how this view of the subject is treated by the class represented at the City Hall. They are in the habit of treating the Negro as an exception to general rules. When their own liberty is in question they will avail themselves of all rules of law which protect and defend their freedom; but when the black man’s rights are in question they concede everything, admit
- 30 everything for slavery, and put liberty to the proof. They reserve the common law usage,

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and presume the Negro a slave unless he can prove himself free. I, on the other hand, presume him free unless he is proved to be otherwise. Let us look at the objects for which the Constitution was framed and adopted, and see if slavery is one of them. Here are its own objects as set forth by itself: — “We, the people of these United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America.” The objects here set forth are six in number: union, defence, welfare, tranquility, justice, and liberty. These are all good objects, and slavery, so far from being among them, is a foe of them all. But it has been said that Negroes are not included within the benefits sought under this declaration. This is said by the slaveholders in America — it is said by the City Hall orator — but it is not said by the Constitution itself. Its language is “we the people;” not we the white people, not even we the citizens, not we the privileged class, not we the high, not we the low, but we the people; not we the horses, sheep, and swine, and wheelbarrows, but we the people, we the human inhabitants; and, if Negroes are people, they are included in the benefits for which the Constitution of America was ordained and established. But how dare any man who pretends to be a friend to the Negro thus gratuitously concede away what the Negro has a right to claim under the Constitution? Why should such friends invent new arguments to increase the hopelessness of his bondage? This, I undertake to say, as the conclusion of the whole matter, that the constitutionality of slavery can be made out only by disregarding the plain and common-sense reading of the Constitution itself; by discrediting and casting away as worthless the most beneficent rules of legal interpretation; by ruling the Negro outside of these beneficent rules; by claiming that the Constitution does not mean what it says, and that it says what it does not mean; by disregarding the written Constitution, and interpreting it in the light of a secret understanding. It is in this mean, contemptible, and underhand method that the American Constitution is pressed into the service of slavery. They go everywhere else for proof that the Constitution declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; it secures to every man the right of trial by jury, the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus — the great writ that put an end to slavery and slave-hunting in England — and it

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secures to every State a republican form of government. Anyone of these provisions in the hands of abolition statesmen, and backed up by a right moral sentiment, would put an end to slavery in America. The Constitution forbids the passing of a bill of attainder: that is, a law entailing upon the child the disabilities and hardships imposed upon the parent. Every
5 slave law in America might be repealed on this very ground. The slave is made a slave because his mother is a slave. But to all this it is said that the practice of the American people is against my view. I admit it. They have given the Constitution a slaveholding interpretation. I admit it. They have committed innumerable wrongs against the Negro in the name of the Constitution. Yes, I admit it all; and I go with him who goes farthest in denouncing
10 these wrongs. But it does not follow that the Constitution is in favour of these wrongs because the slaveholders have given it that interpretation. To be consistent in his logic, the City Hall speaker must follow the example of some of his brothers in America — he must not only fling away the Constitution, but the Bible. The Bible must follow the Constitution, for that, too, has been interpreted for slavery by American divines. Nay, more, he must not
15 stop with the Constitution of America, but make war with the British Constitution, for, if I mistake not, the gentleman is opposed to the union of Church and State. In America he called himself a Republican. Yet he does not go for breaking down the British Constitution, although you have a Queen on the throne, and bishops in the House of Lords.

My argument against the dissolution of the American Union is this: It would place the slave
20 system more exclusively under the control of the slaveholding States, and withdraw it from the power in the Northern States which is opposed to slavery. Slavery is essentially barbarous in its character. It, above all things else, dreads the presence of an advanced civilization. It flourishes best where it meets no reproofing frowns, and hears no condemning voices. While in the Union it will meet with both. Its hope of life, in the last resort, is to get
25 out of the Union. I am, therefore, for drawing the bond of the Union more completely under the power of the Free States. What they most dread, that I most desire. I have much confidence in the instincts of the slaveholders. They see that the Constitution will afford slavery no protection when it shall cease to be administered by slaveholders. They see, moreover, that if there is once a will in the people of America to abolish slavery, this is no

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word, no syllable in the Constitution to forbid that result. They see that the Constitution has not saved slavery in Rhode Island, in Connecticut, in New York, or Pennsylvania; that the Free States have only added three to their original number. There were twelve Slave States at the beginning of the Government: there are fifteen now. The dissolution of the Union would not give the North a single advantage over slavery, but would take from it many. Within the Union we have a firm basis of opposition to slavery. It is opposed to all the great objects of the Constitution. The dissolution of the Union is not only an unwise but a cowardly measure — 15 millions running away from three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders. Mr. Garrison and his friends tell us that while in the Union we are responsible for slavery. He and they sing out “No Union with slaveholders,” and refuse to vote. I admit our responsibility for slavery while in the Union but I deny that going out of the Union would free us from that responsibility. There now clearly is no freedom from responsibility for slavery to any American citizen short to the abolition of slavery. The American people have gone quite too far in this slaveholding business now to sum up their whole business of slavery by singing out the cant phrase, “No union with slaveholders.” To desert the family hearth may place the recreant husband out of the presence of his starving children, but this does not free him from responsibility. If a man were on board of a pirate ship, and in company with others had robbed and plundered, his whole duty would not be preformed simply by taking the longboat and singing out, “No union with pirates.” His duty would be to restore the stolen property. The American people in the Northern States have helped to enslave the black people. Their duty will not have been done till they give them back their plundered rights. Reference was made at the City Hall to my having once held other opinions, and very different opinions to those I have now expressed. An old speech of mine delivered fourteen years ago was read to show — I know not what. Perhaps it was to show that I am not infallible. If so, I have to say in defence, that I never pretended to be. Although I cannot accuse myself of being remarkably unstable, I do not pretend that I have never altered my opinion both in respect to men and things. Indeed, I have been very much modified both in feeling and opinion within the last fourteen years. When I escaped from slavery, and was introduced to the Garrisonians, I adopted very many of their opinions, and defended them just as long as I deemed them true. I was young, had read but

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little, and naturally took some things on trust. Subsequent experience and reading have led me to examine for myself. This had brought me to other conclusions. When I was a child, I thought and spoke as a child. But the question is not as to what were my opinions fourteen years ago, but what they are now. If I am right now, it really does not matter what I was
5 fourteen years ago. My position now is one of reform, not of revolution. I would act for the abolition of slavery through the Government — not over its ruins. If slaveholders have ruled the American Government for the last fifty years, let the anti-slavery men rule the nation for the next fifty years. If the South has made the Constitution bend to the purposes of slavery, let the North now make that instrument bend to the cause of freedom and jus-
10 tice. If 350,000 slaveholders have, by devoting their energies to that single end, been able to make slavery the vital and animating spirit of the American Confederacy for the last 72 years, now let the freemen of the North, who have the power in their own hands, and who can make the American Government just what they think fit, resolve to blot out for ever the foul and haggard crime, which is the blight and mildew, the curse and the disgrace of
15 the whole United States.

PRESIDENT-ELECT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)**On the Constitution and Union**

UNPUBLISHED WRITING FRAGMENT

January 1861

BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln scrawled these words on the relationship between the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, potentially as part of his drafts for his First Inaugural Address, though they were not used in the final speech nor in any other public comments.

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All this is not the result of accident. It has a philosophical cause. Without the Constitution and the Union, we could not have attained the result; but even these, are not the primary cause of our great prosperity. There is something back of these, entwining itself more closely about the human heart. That something, is the principle of "Liberty to all"—the principle that clears the path for all—gives hope to all—and, by consequence, enterprise, and industry to all.

The expression of that principle, in our Declaration of Independence, was most happy, and fortunate. Without this, as well as with it, we could have declared our independence of Great Britain; but without it, we could not, I think, have secured our free government, and consequent prosperity. No oppressed, people will fight, and endure, as our fathers did, without the promise of something better, than a mere change of masters.

The assertion of that principle, at that time, was the word, "fitly spoken" which has proved an "apple of gold" to us. The Union, and the Constitution, are the picture of silver, subsequently framed around it. The picture was made, not to conceal, or destroy the apple; but

Abraham Lincoln, "Fragment on the Constitution and the Union," January 1861, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 4, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 168-69.

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to adorn, and preserve it. The picture was made for the apple—not the apple for the picture.

So let us act, that neither picture, or apple shall ever be blurred, or bruised or broken.

That we may so act, we must study, and understand the points of danger.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)

First Inaugural Address

SPEECH

March 4, 1861
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech at his inauguration amidst declarations of secession by southern states.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How does Lincoln try to assuage the fears of Southerners?
2. Why does Lincoln believe that the Union is perpetual?
3. What is Lincoln's understanding of the purpose of the executive power now confided in him?
4. On constitutional questions, what role does the Supreme Court have with respect to the other branches, in Lincoln's understanding?
5. What is "the only substantial dispute," and what are its possible resolutions as Lincoln sees them?

Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address—Final Text," 4 March 1861, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 4, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 262–71.

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Fellow citizens of the United States:

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

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

10 Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses
15 you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this, and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the
20 platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves, and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judg-
25 ment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

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

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

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

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

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

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case,
30

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surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?"

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

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

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

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

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

10 But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out
15 of the Union,—that *resolves* and *ordinances* to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

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

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me, will be used to hold,
30 occupy, and possess the property, and places belonging to the government, and to collect

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the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion— no using of force against, or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and so universal, as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to
5 force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable with all, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

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

That there are persons in one section, or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm or deny; but if there be such,
20 I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do
25 it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from, have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to, are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not.

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

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

Plainly, the central idea of secession, is the essence of anarchy. A majority, held in restraint by constitutional checks, and limitations, and always changing easily, with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people.

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Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy, or despotism in some form, is all that is left.

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

20

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

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

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it, or their *revolutionary* right to dismember, or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy, and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

20

I will venture to add that, to me, the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take, or reject, propositions, originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such, as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the federal government, shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express, and irrevocable.

30

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

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

By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided
15 for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals.

While the people retain their virtue, and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government, in the short space of four
20 years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well*, upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the
25 old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied, hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still
30 competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

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

5

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again

10 touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)

A Proclamation

AN ORDER

January 1, 1863
Executive Mansion | Washington, D.C.

Emancipation Proclamation

BACKGROUND

On September 22, 1862 after the Union victory in the Battle of Antietam, Abraham Lincoln announced this order concerning property in slaves in the rebelling states, which took effect January 1, 1863.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Whom did the proclamation free?
2. In which places did this order apply?
3. By what authority did Lincoln issue this order?
4. What military purpose did the order serve?
5. What did Lincoln implore of slaves freed by the order?

Abraham Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation," 1 January 1863, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 6, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 28–30.

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By the President of the United States of America: A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein

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the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. Johns, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth-City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth); and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

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

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

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

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

The Emancipation Proclamation
Abraham Lincoln

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In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

5 Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

10 Abraham Lincoln

William H. Seward, *Secretary of State*.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)

On the Consecration of the Soldiers' National Cemetery

SPEECH

November 19, 1863

Soldiers' National Cemetery | Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Gettysburg Address

BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln delivered these remarks at the dedication of the Union cemetery for those soldiers killed in the Battle of Gettysburg in the summer of 1863.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. For Lincoln, what is the central idea of the American Founding?
2. For what cause did the soldiers buried in Gettysburg give their lives?
3. What were they fighting to defend?
4. To what cause does Lincoln wish for listeners to dedicate themselves?

Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address," 19 November 1863, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 7, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 23.

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

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.

- 5 We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

- 10 But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—
- 15 that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)

Second Inaugural Address

SPEECH

March 4, 1865
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Having been reelected and with the end of the Civil War in sight, Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech at his inauguration to a second term as president.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. According to Lincoln, who caused the Civil War?
2. What role in the war does Lincoln ascribe to God?
3. How does Lincoln think the North should treat the South when the war ends?

Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," 4 March 1865, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 8, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 332–33.

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Fellow Countrymen:

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

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

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of

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other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes.

"Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one

5 of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this
10 mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

15 With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

UNITED STATES CONGRESS

Civil Rights Act

LAW

April 9, 1866
United States of America

BACKGROUND

Congress passed this Civil Rights Act of 1866 on the first anniversary of the end to the Civil War.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition

5 of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is en-

10 joyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That any person who, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, shall subject, or cause to be subjected, any inhabitant of

15 any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this act, or to different punishment, pains, or penalties on account of such person having at any time

Civil Rights Act of 1866, Pub. L. No. 39-26, 14 Stat. 27-30 (1866).

been held in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his color or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the district courts of the United States . . . shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offences committed against the provisions of this act, and also, concurrently with the circuit courts of the United States, of all causes, civil and criminal, affecting persons who are denied or cannot enforce in the courts or judicial tribunals of the State or locality where they may be any of the rights secured to them by the first section of this act. . . .

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States, the commissioners appointed by the circuit and territorial courts of the United States, with powers of arresting, imprisoning, or bailing offenders against the laws of the United States . . . and every other officer who may be specially empowered by the President of the United States, shall be . . . specially authorized and required, at the expense of the United States, to institute proceedings against . . . every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him or them to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed . . . for trial before such court of the United States or territorial court as by this act has cognizance of the offence. . . .

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That any person who shall knowingly and willfully obstruct, hinder, or prevent any officer . . . charged with the execution of any warrant . . . or shall rescue or attempt to rescue such person from the custody of the officer . . . or shall aid, abet, or assist any person so arrested . . . to escape from the custody of the officer . . . or shall harbor or conceal any person for whose arrest a warrant or process shall have been issued . . . so as to prevent his discovery and arrest after notice or knowledge of the fact that a warrant has been issued for the apprehension of such person, shall . . . be subject to a fine . . . and imprisonment not exceeding six months. . . .

...

5 Sec. 8. And be it further enacted, That whenever the President of the United States shall have reason to believe that offences have been or are likely to be committed against the provisions of this act . . . it shall be lawful for him . . . to direct the judge, marshal, and district attorney . . . to attend at such place . . . for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons charged with a violation of this act; and it shall be the duty of every judge or other officer, when any such requisition shall be received by him, to attend at the place and for the time therein designated.

10 Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of this act.

15 Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That upon all questions of law arising in any cause under the provisions of this act a final appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES

Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution

AMENDMENT

December 18, 1865
United States of America

BACKGROUND

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Thirteen Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by December 6, 1865, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State William Seward on December 18, 1865.

ANNOTATIONS

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Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

U.S. Const. amend. XIII.

U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES**Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution**

AMENDMENT

July 28, 1868
United States of America

BACKGROUND

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by July 21, 1868, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State William Seward on July 28, 1868.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of

U.S. Const. amend. XIV.

such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

5 Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

10

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

15

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES

Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution

AMENDMENT

March 30, 1870
United States of America

BACKGROUND

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by February 3, 1870, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish on March 30, 1870.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

U.S. Const. amend. XV.

E.D. ESTILLETTE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF POLICE

To the Police of Recently Emancipated Negroes

ORDINANCEJuly 3, 1865
Opelousas, Louisiana

BACKGROUND

As slavery was outlawed and African Americans were freed in southern states, many communities created new laws and regulations to infringe upon the newfound freedom of former slaves. This is one example of such a “black code” from a town in Louisiana in the first months after the Civil War.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

[RELATIV]E TO THE POLICE OF RECENTLY [EM]ANCIPATED NEGROES OR FREED[M]EN, WITHIN THE CORPORATE LIMITS OF THE TOWN OF OPELOUSAS.

Whereas the relations formerly subsis[ti]ng between master and slave have b[e]come changed by the action of the controlling authorities; and whereas it i[s] necessary to provide
5 for the proper police and government of the recently emancipated negroes or freedmen, in their new relations to the municipal authorities;

Sect. 1. Be it therefore ordained by [t]he Board of Police of the Town of Ope[l]ousas: That no negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, without special permission from his employer, specifying the object of his visit, and the
10 time necessary for the accomplishment of the same. Whoever shall violate this provision, shall suffer imprisonment and two days work on the public streets, or shall pay a fine of two dollars and fifty cents.

Sect. 2. Be it further ordained that every negro or freedman who shall be found on the streets of Opelousas, after 10 o'clock at night, without a written pass or permit from his

Steven Hahn ed., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Ser. 3, Vol. 1: Land and Labor, 1865 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 237-39.

employer, shall be imprisoned and compelled to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars.

Sect. 3. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town under any circumstances, and any one thus offending, shall be ejected and
5 compelled to find an employer, or leave the town within twenty-four hours. The lessor or furnisher of the house leased or kept as above, shall pay a fine of ten dollars for each offense.

Sect. 4. No negro or freedman shall reside within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, who is not in the regular service of some white person or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said freedman. But said employer or former owner may permit
10 said freedman to hire his time, by special permission in writing, which permission shall not extend over twenty-four hours at any one time. Any one violating the provisions of this section, shall be imprisoned and forced to work for two days on the public streets.

Sect. 5. No public meetings or congregations of negroes or freedmen, shall be allowed within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, under any circumstances or for any purpose,
15 without the permission of the Mayor or President of the Board. This prohibition is not intended, however, to prevent freedmen from attending the usual Church services conducted by established ministers of religion. Every freedman violating this law shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets.

Sect. 6. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to preach, exhort or otherwise declaim,
20 to congregations of colored people, without a special permission from the Mayor or President of the Board of Police, under the penalty of a fine of ten dollars or twenty days work on the public streets.

Sect. 7. No freedman, who is not in the military service, shall be allowed to carry fire-arms or any kind of weapons, within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, without the special
25 permission of his employer in writing, and approved by the Mayor or President of the Board of Police. Any one thus offending shall forfeit his weapons and shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars in lieu of said work.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Sect. 8. No freedman shall sell, barter or exchange any articles of merchandise or traffic, within the limits of Opelousas, without permission in writing from his employer or the Mayor or President of the Board, under the penalty of the forfeiture of said articles, and imprisonment and one day's labor, or a fine of one dollar in lieu of said work.

- 5 Sect. 9. Any freedman found drunk within the limits of the town shall be imprisoned and made to labor five days on the public streets, or pay five dollars in lieu of said labor.

- Sect. 10. Any freedman not residing in Opelousas, who shall be found within its corporate limits after the hour of 3 o'clock P.M. on Sunday, without a special written permission from his employer or the Mayor, shall be arrested and imprisoned and made to work two days
10 on the public streets, or pay two dollars in lieu of said work.

Sect. 11. All the foregoing provisions apply to freed men and freed women, or both sexes.

Sect. 12. It shall be the special duty of the Mayor or President of the Board, to see that all the provisions of this ordinance are faithfully executed.

- Sect. 13. Be it further ordained, Th[at] this ordinance to take effect from [and] after its first
15 publication.

Ordained the 3d day of July, 186[5.],

E. D. ESTILLET[E]

President of the Board of Po[lice.]

JOS. D. RICHARD, Clerk.

UNIT 5

The Turn of the Century

1877–1919

45-50-minute classes | 13-16 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

LESSON 1	1877–1901	The Gilded Age	5-6 classes	p. 6
LESSON 2	1901–1914	The Progressive Era	4-5 classes	p. 19
LESSON 3	1914–1919	The Great War	4-5 classes	p. 31
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment			p. 42
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 56

Why Teach the Turn of the Century

There has perhaps never been a period of more dramatic transformation in America than the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. The ways of life for tens of millions of Americans and immigrants changed frequently and rapidly in but a single lifetime. And amid all that was gained, some things were lost, and new challenges arose. Most poignantly, these years put to the test the country's faith that the ideas and legacy of the American Founding could still be fruitfully applied in a modern age of industrialization and mass markets.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. The Gilded Age brought a great transformation to the American economy, society, and way of life—a transformation that included unparalleled benefits to the lives of millions of Americans, along with unprecedented challenges.
2. The closing of the frontier in the West marked the end of an era in American history; the pioneering character of American society began to diminish, or shift its focus, as American energies became redirected to overseas interests.
3. A group of reformers and political thinkers known as the Progressives sought to answer challenges associated with the Gilded Age through new ideas about the purpose and structure of government—ideas they themselves considered to be a critique of the American Founding.
4. The Great War was one of the greatest disasters in the history of mankind, and it forever changed America's place on the world stage.

What Teachers Should Consider

The chief experience students should take away from the study of this unit is the great transformation that Americans living at the turn of the 20th century experienced. In a single lifetime, countless Americans went from a quiet, agrarian nation of dispersed small communities to an industrial and urban giant and world power. The texture of American life, especially for those in cities or near them, changed dramatically.

Students should recognize the great benefits most Americans enjoyed from such changes, especially in their material standard of living. These changes did not “just happen”; entrepreneurial individuals made them happen. We should acknowledge, alongside these advantages, that there were disadvantages that some unskilled workers, small businesses, and new immigrants had to endure.

Students should be directed toward aspects of the American past beyond its urban centers, particularly those of the Eastern Seaboard. There is much to be learned from the histories of the Old West, the frontier, and the American South during these decades, especially regarding U.S. government policy toward Native Americans and the status of African American civil rights.

The challenges of the “Gilded Age” gave rise to new ways of thinking and a new generation of social and political thinkers who sought to solve the problems of the day through a more active government. The Progressives rethought the very concept of government, basing it on a new view of human nature and a “scientific” understanding of government as an activity that should be based on the application of expert knowledge. The changes that Progressives brought to the Constitution and government in the United States in many respects endure to the present day.

Finally, the Great War is of paramount importance in the history of the 20th century, both for the world and for America. So many observers had begun the new century believing that the world was entering a century of peace and enlightenment, but their expectations were cruelly dashed, as the war's unprecedented destruction left much of Europe in ruins. But at the same time, the power and responsibility the United States assumed in fighting the war established its essential place of leadership in the world order.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

A Fierce Discontent, Michael McGerr
The Myth of the Robber Barons, Burton Folsom
The Guns of August, Barbara Tuchman
The First World War, John Keegan
World War I and America, A. Scott Berg
American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage
Civil Rights in American History
Introduction to the Constitution
Constitution 101
Constitution 201

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Short History of World War I, James Stokesbury
Fighting the Great War, Michael Neiberg

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

"Surrender," Chief Joseph
"Wealth," Andrew Carnegie
"The Triumph of America," Andrew Carnegie
"The Mission of the Populist Party," William A. Peffer
"The Cross of Gold," William Jennings Bryan
"The March of the Flag," Albert J. Beveridge
Platform, American Anti-Imperialist League
Atlanta Exposition Address, Booker T. Washington
"The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Frederick Jackson Turner

“What Is Progress?”, Woodrow Wilson
“Natural Law,” Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.
“The Presidency,” Theodore Roosevelt
“The Study of Administration,” Woodrow Wilson
“The Talented Tenth,” *The Souls of Black Folk*, W. E. B. DuBois
War Message to Congress, Woodrow Wilson
Fourteen Points, Woodrow Wilson
League of Nations Speech, Henry Cabot Lodge

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZ

Lesson 1 — The Gilded Age

1877-1901

5-6 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the rapid changes America underwent in the decades following the Civil War, especially in the realms of industrialization, technology, economics, and foreign policy.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages 205-239
See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 200-208, 211-217, 234-236
Pages 120-123, 125-127, 142-143

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Civil Rights in American History

Lectures 12-13
Lectures 5-6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 205-214, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 120-121) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 214-224, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 121-123 & 142-143) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 225-239, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 125-127) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Pittsburgh
Great Lakes
Promontory Point
Ellis Island
Coney Island
Lower East Side

Alaska
North Dakota
South Dakota
Montana
Washington
Idaho

Wyoming
Utah
Hawaiian Islands
Spain
Cuba
Puerto Rico

Santiago Bay
San Juan Hill
Philippines
Manila Bay
China

Persons

Mark Twain
Elijah McCoy
Thomas Edison
Cornelius Vanderbilt
Andrew Carnegie
John D. Rockefeller
J. Pierpont Morgan
Samuel Gompers
Booker T. Washington
Anna Julia Cooper
George Washington Carver
Winslow Homer
Thomas Eakins
N. C. Wyeth

Antonín Dvořák
George Armstrong Custer
Sitting Bull
Rutherford B. Hayes
James A. Garfield
Chester A. Arthur
Grover Cleveland
Benjamin Harrison
William Jennings Bryan
William McKinley
Queen Lili‘uokalani
Sanford Dole
Theodore Roosevelt

Terms and Topics

Homestead Act
railroads
Transcontinental Railroad
industrialization
patent
steel
Bessemer process
self-made man
coal
oil refining
Standard Oil Co.
economies of scale
mass production
division of labor
vertical integration
general incorporation laws
monopoly
“captains of industry”
“robber barons”
philanthropy
urbanization
Brooklyn Bridge
immigration
tenement
Chinese Exclusion Act

pollution
Tuskegee Institute
Plessy v. Ferguson
frontier
cowboys
Plains Indians
Buffalo Soldiers
Dawes Act
Battle of Little Bighorn
Wounded Knee
political boss
special interests
Granger Movement
Panic of 1893
labor unions
Populist Party
gold standard
deflation
bimetallism
inflation
Cross of Gold
social gospel
*The Influence of Sea Power
upon History*
Great White Fleet

USS *Maine*
 yellow journalism
 Spanish-American War
 Rough Riders

Gatling gun
 Philippine-American War
 Open Door Policy
 Boxer Rebellion

Primary Sources

“Surrender,” Chief Joseph
 “Wealth,” Andrew Carnegie
 “The Triumph of America,” Andrew Carnegie
 “The Mission of the Populist Party,” William A. Peffer
 “The Cross of Gold,” William Jennings Bryan
 “The March of the Flag,” Albert J. Beveridge
 Platform, American Anti-Imperialist League
 Atlanta Exposition Address, Booker T. Washington
 “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” Frederick Jackson Turner

To Know by Heart

“The New Colossus”—Emma Lazarus
 “The cause of freedom is not the cause of a race or a sect, a party or a class—it is the cause of human kind, the very birthright of humanity.” —Anna Julia Cooper
 “Lift Every Voice and Sing”—James Weldon Johnson
 “Pledge of Allegiance”—Francis Bellamy
 “America the Beautiful”—Katharine Lee Bates

Timeline

1869	Transcontinental Railroad completed
1898	Spanish-American War
1901	Oil discovered in Beaumont, Texas

Images

Historical figures and events
 New inventions
 The “Golden spike” picture
 First professional sports teams
 Western settlement under the Homestead Act
 Maps of railroad lines over time
 Mansions of industrial leaders
 Philanthropic buildings
 Brooklyn Bridge
 First skyscrapers
 Cityscapes
 Factories and workers
 Life in tenement buildings
 Immigrants on boats and at Ellis Island
 Statue of Liberty construction
 First greenbacks
 Electoral maps
 American battleships
 Images and uniforms of Spanish and American officers and soldiers

Depictions of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
Maps: overall strategies, specific battles
Medical equipment
Reenactment photos

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Elijah McCoy, Thomas Edison, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, Samuel Gompers, Booker T. Washington, Grover Cleveland, William Jennings Bryan, William McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt
- Grenville Dodge's account of the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Point, Utah
- Thomas Edison's account of the first successful lightbulb
- Albert Goodwill Spalding's account of innovations in baseball
- James Naismith's account of inventing basketball
- J. P. Morgan's bailouts of the federal government
- Frank Lloyd Wright on first seeing a city
- Accounts of the Great Chicago Fire
- Jacob Riis photographing life of the poor in the cities
- Barton Simonson's account of the Haymarket Square riot
- Immigrant stories
- Edward Steiner's account from Ellis Island
- Robert Louis Stevenson's travel with immigrants on a train from New York to California
- Chief White Bull's account of Custer's Last Stand at Little Bighorn
- The exploits of Jesse James
- Hamilton Wick's account of the Oklahoma Land Rush
- Black Elk's account of the massacre at Wounded Knee
- Rutherford B. Hayes's promotion of Frederick Douglass to marshal in Washington, D.C.
- The assassination of James Garfield
- William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech
- The overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy
- The explosion of the USS *Maine*
- The surrender of Guam
- Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders in the Spanish-American War
- Richard Harding Davis's account of the Battle of San Juan Hill

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How did America change after the Civil War with respect to the agrarian makeup of its economy, workforce, and population distribution?
- What sorts of technological changes were developed in the late 19th century? Which were the most important and why?
- What is the importance of patent law to American prosperity?
- Why were the railroads so significant to the transformation of the American economy?
- What are some of the beneficial developments produced during the Gilded Age?
- What is the relationship between economies of scale, mass production, and the division of labor?

- How did general incorporation laws come into existence in America in the Jacksonian era? How did they help larger American businesses expand in the late 19th century?
- What were some of the characteristics of America's most successful companies and businessmen? In what ways were they similar and in what ways different?
- In what ways might America's leading businessmen be considered "captains of industry," and in what ways might they be considered "robber barons"?
- What challenges emerged from the technological and economic changes during the Gilded Age?
- What problems did farmers face during the Gilded Age?
- Why did so many people immigrate to the United States in the late 19th century?
- How did this immigration wave differ demographically from previous migration patterns?
- To what extent did immigrants assimilate into the American populace? What are the advantages and disadvantages of this situation?
- How did the relationship between the employer and employee change relative to the size of a business?
- How did labor unions organize, and how did businesses and government officials sometimes respond?
- What was life like for African Americans in the late 19th century?
- What were Booker T. Washington's ideas for improving conditions for African Americans?
- What did the U.S. Supreme Court rule in *Plessy v. Ferguson*?
- What happened in the western United States with respect to relations between Native Americans and the U.S. government?
- What was the nature of the gold standard–bimetallism debates? What groups preferred which standard, and why?
- Who belonged to the Populist Party, and what was its platform?
- What was the significance of the frontier in American history? What effects might its "closing" have on America?
- What motivations led some Americans to seek out certain overseas lands?
- How did the idea of a more active foreign policy and imperialism contend with the American founding and foreign policy precedent?
- What was Alfred Thayer Mahan's thesis in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*? How did this book influence the American military?
- Where did America expand during the McKinley administration, and why?
- How did the Spanish-American War begin, and why was it fought?
- For what reasons did the Americans soundly defeat the Spanish in the Spanish-American War?
- What issues did America face in the Philippines and Cuba following the Spanish-American War?
- How did America's imperial ventures compare to those of Europe and Japan at the time?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 67: Name two promises that new citizens make in the Oath of Allegiance.
 - Question 68: How can people become United States citizens?
 - Question 117: Name one American Indian tribe in the United States.
 - Question 118: Name one example of an American innovation.
 - Question 120: Where is the Statue of Liberty?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The lives of Americans underwent an unprecedented transformation in the decades following Reconstruction. Many of the policies and practices of centralized action forged during the Civil War continued and expanded into other parts of the American economy and society. Simultaneously, the entire developed world was undergoing a period of remarkable and rapid technological development. The benefits from these changes were immense, but they also presented a number of new challenges to the lives of ordinary Americans. Students should come to appreciate the great extent of this upheaval and transformation of daily life that Americans experienced within a single lifetime. They should also understand the many benefits of these changes and be asked to consider the balance between those benefits and their costs.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Gilded Age with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Introduce students to Mark Twain and his branding of the final decades of the 19th century as a “gilded age.” Ask students what “gilded” means, then have them think throughout the lesson about why Mark Twain applied this term to these decades—and whether he was right to do so.
- The Gilded Age is one period in teaching American history where the narrative form is more difficult to employ, simply because so much was changing all at once, while isolatable events of great historical import were less common. Because the Gilded Age is a period for which a conventional chronological narrative form is difficult to employ, consider dividing this lesson into halves. First, teach about the major changes in American life, the economy, and society from Reconstruction to 1900, giving students an experience of the rapid and rather disorienting pace of change that defined the period. Then move on to a more chronological treatment of political history during the same years. The political events of the era will remain more muted than in other periods, reflecting the primacy of large structural forces over politics.
- Help students to recognize and understand two critical causes of the great changes America experienced after the Civil War: the use of mass organization and the development of mass production—both derived from fighting and supplying the war. With many of the institutions, policies, skills, and even equipment still in place following the war, it was natural to apply these practices and knowledge to peacetime endeavors, especially in manufacturing. At the same time, a series of new inventions worked together within the mass production mechanisms from wartime America to expand at a breakneck pace the capacity of production, as well as the size of markets.
- In general, help students to understand the significant shift away from agrarianism and toward urban living and working, and how this shift marked a major change in most Americans’ way of life.
- Highlight for students the most significant inventions created or significantly improved during the mid- to late 19th century. These would include, among others: improved railroads (including standard gauges, time zones, the automatic lubricator, and the air brake); the steel cast plow; the mechanical reaper; the light bulb; the flush toilet and sewer system; the elevator brake; the Bessemer process; steel cable; and the telephone. Most such inventions were developed or at least monetized in America. Ask students to imagine life without these things. Also include the inventions that responded to the growing capacity for leisure in the life of the middle class: the gramophone, professional sports, department stores, mail-order retail, amusement parks, etc. With each major invention, explain briefly how it worked, the need it met, and the impact it had. Students should especially appreciate America’s revolutionary patent system, which vigorously protected inventions and innovations—including intellectual property rights—all under the banner of private property.

- Above all, spend time on the foundational inventions that made most of the others possible and drove the many changes American life was undergoing. If iron, coal, and textiles undergirded the First Industrial Revolution, then steel, oil, and electricity drove the Second Industrial Revolution. Take the time to explain the importance of these inventions and industries, including the major figures associated with them, such as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and Thomas Edison.
- Review with students the main tenets of the American economic system: free-market capitalism, private property, the rule of law, contract enforcement, and patents. Remind students that this system had largely defined America from colonial times through the Gilded Age and was responsible for much of America's prosperity, upward mobility, and economic opportunity afforded to its people.
- In the course of teaching about these industries, walk students through some of the major economic and business practices that allowed for the tremendous rate of change and the scale of production, such as economies of scale, mass production, and the division of labor. Alongside these practices were general incorporation laws that continued from emergency measures enacted during the Civil War. Thanks to such instruments, capital was easier to raise than ever before, allowing entrepreneurs to take full advantage of the possibilities new technology afforded them.
- In discussing the major business leaders of the Gilded Age, present the two disparate ways these leaders are sometimes described: "captains of industry" and "robber barons." As with all historical figures, teach these figures as the facts lead you. The accomplishments and benefits these men provided are impossible to ignore, while there are also broader questions that might be raised about certain specific business practices. Specificity is key, as in all historical controversies. Discourage your students from making sweeping generalizations, either favorable or unfavorable.
- From the conversation on business practices, pivot to other underlying challenges that economic changes brought to American life. This conversation should include the livelihood of small businesses and farmers, working conditions for unskilled laborers, and general life in America's growing cities. Accompanying these changes and challenges was a massive immigration wave—"nearly 12 million immigrants ...[arrived] between 1870 and 1900" ([link](#)). Students should understand the many reasons why these immigrants came to America, especially its positive attraction compared to their status in the Old World. Students should appreciate the effects of so many immigrants all at once settling in already crowded cities and joining the urban workforce. They should also learn about the various reasons for ethnic and religious resistance of the native-born to the Catholic, Jewish, and Orthodox immigrants of eastern and southern Europe, and how the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the only law in American history to outlaw immigration based solely on national origin. Students should also consider the importance of citizenship education with so many new people added to the country.
- Discuss the emergence of some labor unions to advocate for better working conditions and wages. Note also the several major strikes and sometimes violence that accompanied these efforts, such as the Molly Maguires, the Great Railroad Strike, the Haymarket Square riot, the Homestead Strike, and the Pullman Strike.
- Teach about the political machines and bosses that emerged in the cities in this period of rapid urban growth.
- Consider changes in life outside of America's major cities. Include in these conversations the status of African Americans, who faced continued discrimination, literacy tests, poll taxes, Jim Crow, convict leasing, and violence, particularly (but not exclusively) in the states of the former Confederacy. Many of these practices were led by members of the Ku Klux Klan as it terrorized

African Americans, immigrants, Catholics, Jews, and Republicans. At the same time, discuss the response of Anna Julia Cooper, Booker T. Washington, and the Tuskegee Institute to these circumstances, and record the successes African Americans achieved in other places in America. Teach also about the U.S. Supreme Court's declaration in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that discrimination that was "separate, but equal" was constitutional. Students should consider the extent to which such a ruling is consistent with the principles they studied about the American Founding.

- Teach about the American West, from cowboys and cattle drives to the Plains Indians and U.S. government policy toward them. As with the other lessons on relationships between Native Americans, settlers, and the U.S. government, important questions of justice and prudence should be directed toward the actions of all parties.
- Finally, while teaching about the West, briefly share with students the developing art of the American West; the gradual development of an American culture in music; and the literary output of Louisa May Alcott, Mark Twain, Emily Dickinson, Stephen Crane, and Laura Ingalls Wilder.
- Review with students the Compromise of 1877 that put Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House. As for his administration itself, show how it was a welcomed reprieve from the corruption of the Grant administration. In his otherwise uneventful term, Hayes is noteworthy for vetoing legislation against Chinese immigrants and African Americans.
- With the Benjamin Harrison administration, introduce the growing debate over the gold standard vs. bimetallism, which should be viewed along with trusts and tariffs as the defining economic issues of the late 19th century. Students should be made to understand that, although this subject seems a bit esoteric, it was of great importance for ordinary American families.
- Against this backdrop, discuss the rise of the Populist Party and William Jennings Bryan, including his 1896 campaign against William McKinley, during which he delivered his "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic National Convention.
- Discuss the new military technology that had been developed since the Civil War, the growing U.S. Navy, the "closing" of the Western frontier, the "social gospel," and shifts in the European balance of power that further fueled colonization and imperialism among those powers, especially in Africa and Asia. Pages 225-231 of *Land of Hope* are helpful for highlighting America's first forays into overseas possessions and the inherent tension between this policy and the principles of the American Founding—a tension evident in the debates of the time.
- Teach the Spanish-American War with brevity, in accordance with the way it was fought. Give proper attention to the role of yellow journalism leading up to the war, the tales of Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders, America's resounding victory, and the challenges that followed the war.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how America changed in the decades following Reconstruction and what accounted for those changes (2-3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the difficulties that accompanied America's rapid economic and societal changes in the late 19th century and how various groups of people addressed these issues (2-3 paragraphs).

Assignment 3: Explain the extent to which American foreign policy under William McKinley both departed from and held to America's traditional stance toward international affairs (2-3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 1, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Pages 205-214

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the date of the Grand Review?
2. What were two areas of business that became dominant in post-Civil War America?
3. Name a positive benefit described in the book of the influence of the railroad industry.
4. Name two prominent businessmen, and their respective industries, who emerged in post-Civil War America.
5. What was the main principle behind “Morganization”?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 1, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Pages 214-224

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Name one reason why labor unions were slow to gain a foothold in America in the late 19th century.
2. What political development was a result of the increasing poverty of American cities?
3. Name three ethnic groups that comprised the growing immigration population in America in the late 19th century.
4. Who wrote the 1893 essay “The Significance of the Frontier in American History”?
5. Briefly describe one argument advanced by the above essay relevant to late 19th-century America.

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 1, Quiz #3
Land of Hope, Pages 225-239

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which American statesman delivered an influential foreign policy address in 1821?
2. What term best describes the Western nations' quest for foreign territorial acquisitions in the 19th century?
3. Who was the author of the 1890 book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*?
4. What event in 1898 directly led to the Spanish-American War?
5. Name three foreign countries the United States became involved in following the Spanish-American War.

Lesson 2 — The Progressive Era

1901–1914

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the issues the Progressive movement sought to address, how its political philosophy compared to that of the American Founding, and how Progressive policy changed American government, politics, and economics.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 240–258

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 232–239

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 142–145

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lectures 14–15

American Heritage

Lecture 8

Introduction to the Constitution

Lecture 12

Constitution 101

Lecture 8

Constitution 201

Lectures 1–4

Civil Rights in American History

Lecture 6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 240–249, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 143–144) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 249–258, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 144–145) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Panama Canal

New Mexico

Oklahoma

Arizona

Persons

Jacob Riis

Ida Tarbell

Eugene V. Debs
John Dewey
Woodrow Wilson

W. E. B. DuBois
William Howard Taft
Pancho Villa

John Muir

Terms and Topics

muckrakers
The Jungle
The Communist Manifesto
Hegelianism
social Darwinism
socialism
social gospel
Progressivism
living Constitution
politics
delegation of power
experts
bureaucracy
administration
Pendleton Civil Service Act
Sherman Antitrust Act
trust-busting
Interstate Commerce Act

The Square Deal
conservationism
national parks
Roosevelt Corollary
Bull Moose Party
The New Freedom
Election of 1912
Niagara Movement
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
Baltimore redlining
Black Wall Street
eugenics
Buck v. Bell
San Francisco Earthquake
income tax
16th Amendment
17th Amendment

Primary Sources

“What Is Progress?”, Woodrow Wilson
“Natural Law,” Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.
“The Presidency,” Theodore Roosevelt
“The Study of Administration,” Woodrow Wilson
“The Talented Tenth,” *The Souls of Black Folk*, W. E. B. DuBois

To Know by Heart

“I aimed for the public’s heart, and ... hit it in the stomach.” —Upton Sinclair
“Speak softly and carry a big stick.” —Theodore Roosevelt
“Chicago” —Carl Sandburg
“The Road Not Taken” —Robert Frost

Timeline

1901	William McKinley assassinated Theodore Roosevelt becomes president
1908	William Howard Taft elected
1912	Woodrow Wilson defeats Taft and Roosevelt
June 14	Flag Day

Images

Historical figures and events
Muckraker newspapers and cartoons
Building the Panama Canal

National Parks
Eugenics propaganda

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft
- Stories of working conditions within various industries
- Pauline Cuoio Pepe's account of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire
- Stories from Theodore Roosevelt's life
- Jack London's account of the San Francisco earthquake of 1906
- Theodore Roosevelt's account of building the Panama Canal

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How did journalists, churches, and charitable organizations seek to address the social challenges that came with a society of mass production, rapid industrialization, and urbanization?
- What ideas relating to democracy, the general will, class identity and struggle, human nature, government, and the processes of historical change (from sources including the French Revolution, Karl Marx, G.W.F. Hegel, and Charles Darwin) influenced the thought of American Progressives?
- What were early 20th-century socialists' main suggestions for controlling what they perceived as the dangers of private businesses, and what counterarguments were offered to their ideas?
- What legal reforms did Progressives pursue to deal with problems of urbanization and industrialization?
- What contributions did Woodrow Wilson make to Progressivism, both as a thinker and as president?
- How did Progressives explain their argument that human nature, truth, and politics were inevitably evolving and improving over the course of history?
- How did Progressives come to view human nature, history, and government in "Darwinian" terms, as a continual process of evolutionary improvement? Why did these ideas lead to a partial critique of the Declaration of Independence, natural rights, and social contract theory?
- What did Progressives mean by *equality*, and why did they believe equality of opportunity and dignity for ordinary citizens necessitated a powerfully activist government?
- How did Progressives critique individualism and the power of special interests, monopolies, and the wealthy in politics?
- In what ways did Progressives critique the Constitution as being too slow, mechanical, and at odds with itself, as presented in their critique of the separation of powers and of checks and balances?
- Why did Progressives believe that many of the Founders' worries over the dangers of tyranny (especially majority tyranny) and constitutional limits on governmental power were outdated?
- In what ways did Progressives promote direct democracy, and how was this concept to solve the problems posed by the influence of special interests? What limits, if any, did Progressives place on the role of the people in making laws?
- What was "government by expertise," and why did the Progressives argue for it?
- How did Progressives believe special interests and prejudices could be overcome by an administrative state insulated from the sway of politics that could enact the people's true will?

- By creating administrative bureaus, both during and after the Progressive era, how did Congress delegate its legislative power to executive agencies that combined into a single unelected body legislative, executive, and judicial functions?
- What were the problems some argued would arise through centralized decisions made by knowledgeable yet unelected experts? How did they compare to problems arising through dispersed decisions made by elected and accountable officials?
- In foreign policy, why did Progressives believe the world would become freer and more peaceful with the spread of democracy and international institutions?
- How did Progressives reframe the president as a visionary and rhetorical leader who sets the legislative agenda and guides general legislation through Congress?
- How did Theodore Roosevelt embrace Progressivism in his politics, in his presidential actions addressing the issues of the day, and in his foreign policy positions?
- To what extent did early Progressives seek to advance the civil rights of African Americans?
- What were the main ideas of W. E. B. DuBois? How were they both alike and different from those of other commentators on improving the condition of African Americans?
- How did the practice of eugenics fit with Progressives' ideas on human improvement, government, and rights?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 5: How are changes made to the U.S. Constitution?
 - Question 32: Who elects U.S. senators?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

As America entered the 20th century, economic and social changes moved reformers toward new ideas, particularly about human nature, the purpose of government, and consequently the form of government institutions. Those who developed and adopted these beliefs worked to change American government. Their loosely coordinated social, political, and intellectual movement became known as Progressivism. Adherents to this new political philosophy explicitly critiqued in their own words some of the fundamental presumptions of the American Founders' political theory. Students should understand what challenges the Progressives sought to address, the substance of their new philosophy, and how they ultimately changed American government.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Progressive Era with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Review from the previous lesson the challenges that came with industrialization and urbanization during the Gilded Age. Many of these challenges were not new, but were, like so many other things, multiplied on a mass scale as the American economy rapidly grew and changed.
- Highlight those Progressives who did investigative and advocacy work, including muckraker journalists and those who served the poor, workers, and immigrants in charity.
- Briefly talk about the Progressive idea of Christianity as primarily a movement for social reform, especially through government action—a view best expressed by the term “the social gospel,” which shaped public debate over religion for much of the 20th century.
- Clarify with students that many of the issues highlighted by Progressives—such as child labor, workplace and consumer safety, problems of conservation, and monopolies—were issues that many Founders also recognized as inappropriate or unjust in their own time. Progressives, however, believed the *federal* government should address these issues, instead of only *state* and

local governments, or private institutions (such as individuals, charities, businesses, consumers, churches, and civic associations), as many of the Founders generally maintained.

- Consider with students the similarities between the ideas of the French Revolution, Marxism, Hegelianism, and social Darwinism. As they themselves acknowledged, Progressives were influenced by certain elements of each of these political philosophies, either in their critiques of the Founding and the issues of the day or in their confidence in changing government and society. Included in this conversation should be the work of socialist and anarchist groups in the United States, which were distinct from Progressivism but shared many critiques of modern America and some ideas on how to address them.
- Introduce Woodrow Wilson as a key Progressive theorist. Include his biography and his writings during the 1880s and 1890s on these topics.
- Help students consider Progressivism's general critique of the Founders' theory of rights. The Progressives generally argued against the insistence that rights were natural, that they were part of what made one human, and that they existed only at the individual level. Instead, leading Progressive thinkers maintained that rights were conditioned on social circumstances and belonged to groups of people, usually organized by class. They feared that the Founding system of equally protected natural rights seemed to favor the wealthy and powerful. Progressives believed that government should redefine rights according to class or group, and should not necessarily protect rights equally when it came to the wealthy and other "special interests" if equality required it. Indeed, since rights were not based on natural personhood, they were instead derived from elsewhere, as determined, distributed, secured, and—if necessary—revoked by government. Students should consider the extent to which this position aligned or contrasted with leading Founders' understanding of unalienable rights grounded in human nature.
- Review with students the American Founders' understanding of human nature. In brief, leading Founders understood human nature to be fixed and unchanging, good but also flawed, and thus tending toward becoming corrupted by power. In response to these tendencies of human nature, government must guard against the opposite dangers of lawlessness and tyranny, accounting for the realities of human nature and rejecting the possibility of utopia. The Constitution, therefore, did not deny, demonize, or elevate human nature, but rather tried to channel human energy and interests into constructive institutions while mitigating man's baser tendencies. The Constitution was constructed on a deep understanding of fixed human nature and was born from the Founders' prudence, experience, and knowledge of history.
- Share with students that while both the Founders and Progressives believed in a moral foundation to politics, Progressives viewed the above-mentioned understanding of human nature and government as overly pessimistic and simplistic. Progressives generally thought of human nature not as fixed but as evolving toward betterment—the core idea from which the movement's name is derived. When looking at technological gains, improvements in the standard of living, and the general pace of scientific discovery, Progressives believed that these factors demonstrated that human beings, and even human nature itself, would also improve. Moreover, government ought to be a key agent in that improvement and perfection. Progressives, however, resisted the Founders' argument that government's primary purpose was to secure unchanging rights and maintain a framework for self-government. Instead, they held that the purpose of government was to keep up with evolving rights and constant social change.
- Explain to students how the Progressives departed from what they considered the negative understanding of rights and equality, i.e., that justice and morality require that the natural rights of individuals be equally protected. Instead, the Progressives viewed government as a positive force not only to protect rights but also to empower people and grant groups of people

special advantages in order to fulfill the potential outcomes of having certain rights. For example, it was not enough to be free to earn a living if there was no job by which to earn it. Government must not only preserve the right to have a job, but also supply the job itself if necessary.

- Emphasize for students how such a relatively idealistic philosophy and view of human nature might lead one to assume that the bad qualities of human nature (such as a desire for political power or human fallibility) are not a permanent problem, and that one thus need not worry as the Founders did about the accumulation of power in any one place. James Madison's concern that "[t]he accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self[-]appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny" ([link](#)) therefore becomes far less of a concern to Progressives than it was to the Founders. Were the Progressives right to see matters in this way?
- Make sure students appreciate the shift in the purpose and operation of government under such a view: government is no longer [1] the defender of certain fundamental rights, rights that exist prior to government itself; [2] limited in size to basic functions (lawmaking, executing law, and adjudicating law); and [3] limited in core responsibilities (such as maintaining courts of law and the nation's security). Rather, government is to be a central active force for change in America, bringing about personal fulfillment of individuals and progress for society. Moreover, these ends were meant to be attained not merely in domestic matters, but also on the world stage in foreign affairs.
- Talk about the Progressive vision for practical politics. A more optimistic view of human nature made them supportive of direct democratic rule. A prime example of this change was the 17th Amendment, which implemented the direct election of senators by the people. The use of initiative, referendum, and recall at the state level are other examples.
- Help students to understand the role of elected officials in this new paradigm. Elected officials were not merely to reflect consent and refine the views of the people, but rather to show (or convince) the people of what they should truly want through the effective use of rhetoric. Progressives were especially interested in making the president the national leader of popular opinion.
- Consider with students how this emphasis on direct democracy could be undermined by actual experience. "Politics" became about expressing general ideas and establishing popular support to get those ideas codified into law. Separate from the democratic process is the difficult task of turning these general ideas into actual governance. The Progressives (particularly Woodrow Wilson) called this task "administration."
- Explain how the Progressives argued that the technical and time-consuming work of actually carrying out the broad, general ideas of the law—detailing how it is to be done, implementing the laws, and making sure those laws are enforced to achieve their objectives—is not the work of Congress or even the president. Rather, a new body of experts and bureaucrats do the real work of governing (i.e., administration) apart from the realm of politics. Congress would *delegate* some of its lawmaking power to these bureaucrats, most of whom would exist under the executive branch and could thus execute the "laws" or regulations they made (for example, clean air and water experts would create the specific details of the respective laws). The president can also delegate his power to *enforce* the laws. The bureaucrats may also assume quasi-judicial powers and have their own *courts* to adjudicate claims against their own laws and regulations. This shift of legislative, executive, and judicial powers away from the branches in which these powers had been separately vested by the people through the Constitution, as well as the accumulation of unelected officials in various departments and agencies, both amounted to the second great shift in the Progressive worldview: government needed to be rearranged

through the creation of the administrative state in order to circumvent the Constitution's political checks and bring about "progress."

- Stress for students the importance of this shift away from government by representatives of the people to government by bureaucratic expertise. Ask them to consider the extent to which it is compatible with the principle of representative and limited self-government on which the Founders established the United States.
- Emphasize how the advent of the administrative state changed the Founders' careful arrangement in which powers were separated and dispersed through checks and balances and federalism. All three types of government power (legislative, executive, and judicial) are instead consolidated into bureaucratic agencies that are, in fact, removed from the people. This is done in the name of efficiency—trusting in improved human nature and scientific expertise to achieve higher aims via government than the Founding generation ever thought possible. The Progressives' confidence in expert knowledge, centralized planning, and improved human nature ensured that only just and effective regulations would be made, without the risk of corruption, incompetence, or tyranny.
- Teach students about the several pieces of Progressive legislation that were enacted at the federal level even before government institutions were adjusted, especially the Pendleton Civil Service Act that ushered in the permanent bureaucracy after the assassination of President James Garfield, the Sherman Antitrust Act, and the Interstate Commerce Act.
- With Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, note for students that the Progressive movement had adherents in both political parties. As for Roosevelt himself, discuss his colorful biography and captivating personality. When teaching his presidency, highlight his embrace of the Progressive view of "politics," his desire to use the power of government to regulate business, his efforts in conservation, and his keen interest in a more active foreign policy, including his "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine.
- Discuss certain famous regulations and busted trusts, such as the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Meat Inspection Act, and the breakups of the Standard Oil Company and the Northern Securities railroad trust.
- Explain the administration of William Howard Taft and the subsequently contentious election of 1912, in which Woodrow Wilson—a Progressive "mastermind," as it were—was elected president. After Republican critics of Progressivism blocked Theodore Roosevelt's nomination for the party, Roosevelt's formation of the Bull Moose third party split the Republican vote and allowed Wilson to win the election as a Democrat.
- Discuss the Niagara Movement and the work of W. E. B. DuBois: his appeal to a liberal education as part of the uplift of African Americans; his concept of the "talented tenth"; and the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Compare these efforts and ideas to those of other African American leaders, such as Booker T. Washington.
- Have students explore the extent to which early Progressives, and especially Progressive leaders, sought to advance or hinder civil rights for African Americans and women.
- Mention how an aspect of Progressivism was its support for eugenics, based on its confidence that science and government could help society evolve past criminality and the need to support those whom they considered to be "undesirable." This movement was later partially backed by the Supreme Court, especially by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. in *Buck v. Bell* (1927), and led to the creation of groups such as the American Eugenics Society.
- Help students to understand the various changes the Progressives made to the functioning of the government. Include in this treatment the 16th and 17th Amendments, as well as the creation of the Federal Reserve System.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Compare and contrast Progressive ideas with those of the American Founding (2-3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Describe examples of Progressive ideas being implemented during the Progressive era. Explain how these changes impacted American society (2-3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 2, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Pages 240-249

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which term best describes the general Progressive attitude toward political and economic entities?
2. Which state became well-known for its implementation of Progressive government?
3. What societal issue demonstrated the Progressive tendency to act as a “social intelligence”?
4. Which Progressive intellectual emphasized the role of the society over the individual?
5. Which scientific/biological theory was widely promoted among Progressives?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 2, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Pages 249-258

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What were the terms for the two Progressive understandings of economic action?
2. What important piece of regulatory legislation was passed by Congress in 1887?
3. Who succeeded William McKinley as president of the United States after his assassination in 1901?
4. Briefly summarize one aspect of Woodrow Wilson's Progressive political thought.
5. Who won the 1912 United States presidential election?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 5 — Formative Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lessons 1-2

10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What sorts of technological changes were developed in the late 19th century? Which were the most important and why?
2. How did general incorporation laws come into existence in America in the Jacksonian era? How did they help larger American businesses expand in the late 19th century?
3. What were some of the characteristics of America's most successful companies and businessmen? In what ways were they similar and in what ways different?
4. What happened in the western United States with respect to relations between Native Americans and the U.S. government?
5. What were early 20th-century socialists' main suggestions for controlling what they perceived as the dangers of private businesses? What counterarguments were offered to their ideas?

6. What legal reforms did Progressives pursue to deal with problems of urbanization and industrialization?
7. What were the problems some argued would arise through centralized decisions made by knowledgeable yet unelected experts? How did these problems compare to those from decisions made by elected and accountable officials?

Lesson 3 — The Great War

1914–1919

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the start of the Great War, America's neutrality and eventual declaration of war, the history of the war, and the Treaty of Versailles.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages 259–275
See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope
A Short History of World War I
Fighting the Great War

Pages 249–257
Pages 155–159

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lectures 16–17
Lecture 9

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 259–268, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 155–157) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 268–275, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 157–159) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Alsace-Lorraine
Austria-Hungary
Ottoman Empire
Balkans
Serbia

Sarajevo
Meuse River
Ardennes Forest
Soviet Union
Argonne Forest

Persons

Orville and Wilbur Wright
 Henry Ford
 Franz Ferdinand
 Wilhelm II
 Nicholas II
 Woodrow Wilson
 Helmuth von Moltke

Paul von Hindenburg
 Winston Churchill
 John Pershing
 Vladimir Lenin
 Carrie Nation
 Susan B. Anthony

Terms and Topics

airplane
 Model T
 assembly line
 nationalism
 militarism
 balance of power
 Triple Alliance
 Triple Entente
 Eastern Question
 reserve system
 industrial warfare
 airplane
 automobile
 assembly line
 mobilization schedules
 “blank check”
 ultimatum
 Allied Powers
 Central Powers
 two-front war
 Schlieffen Plan
 Plan 17
 Pact of London
 Battle of Tannenberg
 First Battle of the Marne
 trench warfare
 machine gun
 barbed wire

No Man’s Land
 war of attrition
 shell shock
 gas attacks
 U-Boats
 unrestricted submarine warfare
Lusitania
 Battle of Gallipoli
 Battle of Verdun
 Battle of the Somme
 Armenian Genocide
 Zimmerman Telegram
 Bolshevik Revolution
 Brest-Litovsk Treaty
 War Industries Board
 Sedition Act
Schenck v. United States
 doughboys
 tank
 Battle of Belleau Wood
 Second Battle of the Marne
 Meuse-Argonne Offensive
 Lost Battalion
 Fourteen Points
 Treaty of Versailles
 League of Nations

Primary Sources

War Message to Congress, Woodrow Wilson
 Fourteen Points, Woodrow Wilson
 League of Nations Speech, Henry Cabot Lodge

To Know by Heart

“If there is ever another war in Europe, it will come out of some damned silly thing in the Balkans.” —Otto von Bismarck ([link](#))
 “Dulce et Decorum Est” —Wilfred Owen
 “The Soldier” —Rupert Brooke

“The world must be made safe for democracy.” —Woodrow Wilson

“Over There” —George Cohan

“Break of Day” —Siegfried Sassoon

“In Flanders Fields” —John McCrae

Timeline

1914–1918	The Great War
June 28, 1914	Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated
1915	Battle of Gallipoli
1916	Battles of Verdun and the Somme; Woodrow Wilson reelected
1917	U.S. declaration of war; Bolshevik Revolution
1918	Hundred Days Offensive
November 11 (1918)	Veterans Day (Armistice Day)

Images

Historical figures and events
 First flight and airplanes
 First assembly lines
 Union and Confederate veterans at Gettysburg in 1913
 Images and uniforms of Allied and Central Powers officers and soldiers
 Depictions and photographs of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
 Video footage of soldiers
 Trench warfare
 Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles
 Military equipment and weaponry
 War propaganda
 Medical equipment
 Reenactment photos
 Facsimiles of documents and letters
 Home front and factory production
 Wounded veterans
 Depictions of the sinking of the *Lusitania*
 Destruction from the war
 Postwar maps

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Orville Wright’s account of the first flight
- Henry Ford’s description of the first assembly line
- Borijove Jevtic’s account of the assassination of Austria-Hungary Archduke Franz Ferdinand by the Serbian terrorist organization, the Black Hand
- Nicholas II’s exaggerated support for Serbia against Austria-Hungary’s ultimatum
- The Willy-Nicky Telegrams
- Helmuth von Moltke’s deceptions of Wilhelm II regarding mobilization against France
- German atrocities in Belgium
- The French capture of a map of the Schlieffen Plan
- Alexander von Kluck’s erroneous turn to the east of Paris
- Paris taxis taking reinforcements to the First Battle of the Marne

- Life in trenches and trench warfare, including firsthand accounts from any of the following figures: Leonard Thompson, Hugh Walpole, Oskar Kokoschka, Robert Graves, John Walker, H. H. Munro, William Pressey, Edwin Vaughan, et al.
- Enduring machine gun fire, artillery bombardments, and gas attacks
- The Christmas Truce
- Walther Schwieger's account of the sinking of the *Lusitania*
- The zeppelin bombing of London
- The Red Baron
- Eddie Rickenbacker's accounts of his dogfights
- Ernest Francis' account of the Battle of Jutland
- Grigori Rasputin and the Romanovs
- The February and Bolshevik Revolutions
- Bert Chaney's account of the first tanks at the Somme
- Pavel Medvedev's account of the assassination of the Romanovs
- The Lost Battalion
- Sergeant Alvin York
- Ambulance driver James McConnell
- Harry Truman's service commanding a field gun battery
- Elmer Sherwood's account of Americans in battle in 1918
- The Fighting Eighth Army Infantry and the Harlem Hellfighters
- Harold Nicolson's account of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How did Germany's unification and military production affect the balance of power in Europe?
- What was the Eastern Question and its significance to Europe?
- What military and nationalist ideas emerged during the late 19th century in Europe?
- Why was rapid and decisive mobilization considered key to winning a modern industrialized war?
- How did European alliances change after the ascension of Kaiser Wilhelm II in Germany?
- Why was Franz Ferdinand assassinated?
- What were the key decisions that led from Franz Ferdinand's assassination to war a month later?
- What did the initial predictions about the war entail?
- Why did the Germans want to avoid a two-front war?
- How was the Schlieffen Plan supposed to work?
- Why did countries reject the idea that defensive warfare would be important?
- What did the Pact of London do and why did the Allies sign it?
- How did Russia's early attack, especially at Tannenberg, help their French allies in the First Battle of the Marne?
- How did German general Alexander von Kluck make a mistake that allowed for French victory in the First Battle of the Marne?
- Why did the Ottoman Empire join the Central Powers?
- How were the Americans, though neutral, really only helping the Allies?
- What three elements of trench warfare made attacking a position so deadly?
- Why did German U-boat *U-20* sink the British luxury liner *Lusitania*?
- Why did the Allies launch the Dardanelles Campaign? Why did it fail?

- Why did the pattern of artillery barrage followed by an infantry attack actually assist the defenders?
- For which reasons did generals continue the fight at Verdun and the Somme for months on end?
- Although the Germans technically won the Battle of Jutland, why was their victory a strategic loss?
- Why did the leaders of European nations and armies fight and continue to fight the Great War?
- What is unrestricted submarine warfare, and why did the Germans resume it in February 1917?
- For what two main reasons did the United States declare war on Germany in 1917?
- How did the February Revolution come about in Russia?
- What tactical innovations did the Allies test out in 1917?
- How did the tank eventually solve the problems of trench warfare?
- How did the October or Bolshevik Revolution come about?
- Who won the first half of 1918, and who won the second half?
- How did the Allies stop the German U-boat threat?
- For what reasons was the Allies' Hundred Days Offensive so successful?
- What were Woodrow Wilson's main ideas as outlined in his Fourteen Points?
- Why did the Allies win the second half of 1918?
- What were the negotiations like at the Versailles Peace Conference?
- Why did Woodrow Wilson struggle to gain American support for his League of Nations?
- What were three main ways that the Treaty of Versailles changed the map of Europe?
- In what ways did the Treaty of Versailles punish Germany?
- Why might it be said that Germany was "forced" to sign the Treaty of Versailles?
- Why did some argue that these terms were unjust to Germany?
- Compare and contrast Europe before and after the Great War, politically, physically (for individuals and in infrastructure), culturally, and philosophically.
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 100: Name one war fought by the United States in the 1900s.
 - Question 101: Why did the United States enter World War I?
 - Question 118: Name one example of an American innovation.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The Great War (later known as the First World War or World War I) is one of the greatest tragedies of the 20th century, even in all of human history. It has been eclipsed in the collective memory of the world by World War II. But at the time it was fought, the Great War's beginnings, rate of slaughter, and lasting effects had no parallel (as that name implies), and its violence would prove arguably more senseless than that which followed it. The fact that the Great War appeared almost out of nowhere at a time when much of the Western world believed mankind was on the verge of a kind of utopian 20th century makes the war all the more remarkable to study. For the purposes of American history, the war would catapult the United States onto the world stage, forever changing its history and its role in the world. While this study focuses especially on American actions toward the belligerent powers and then on its own participation in the conflict, there is plenty for students to learn about Europe and the broader war to give the proper context to understand America and the Great War.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Great War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Provide a brief background to European political history since the unifications of Italy and then, especially, Germany. In short, the unification of Germany following Prussia's resounding military defeat of France in 1871 upset Europe's post-Napoleonic balance of power. It meant that a sizeable German industrial powerhouse with a strong Prussian military organization was now anchored in the middle of Europe. Traditional rivalries with Russia and a vengeful France made for an uneasy peace across Europe. Meanwhile, the waning of the Ottoman Empire left a power vacuum in the Balkans, amid which Slavic nationalists appealed to their fellow Slavs in Russia against the encroachments of Germanic Austria-Hungary. Both Russia and Austria-Hungary sought ethnic influence in the Balkans, partly to stave off their own declines and internal troubles. Meanwhile, the industrialization of Europe was directed not only to peaceful goods but also to new industrial weapons by the millions, including a German navy that was racing to match the traditional top naval power, the United Kingdom. New military war colleges and generals believed this new technology and the proliferation of the Napoleonic reserve system would demand decisive, quick, and total war in order to achieve victory. Against the backdrop of decades of distrust among European leaders, alliances were discreetly made behind the scenes. In the end, these alliances wove Europe into one great tripwire with a very short fuse and plenty of powder. Contrary to the "great illusion" that war was impossible and a utopia was coming, we see in retrospect that all that was needed was one misstep in a seemingly isolated incident to unleash a war the likes of which the world had never experienced before.
- Review the achievements of the Gilded Age, especially those that improved the material standard of living of Americans and, in this case, Europeans. This should include new instruction on the Wright Brothers' invention of the airplane in 1903 and Henry Ford's assembly line system for mass-producing the automobile, begun in 1908. Add to this review Progressive ideas of ever-improving human nature, human knowledge, and government administration—ideas that were widely shared among elite ruling classes around the Western world. Many European and American thinkers believed the world was on the cusp of a utopian future, in which government power would not go astray and war was essentially impossible.
- Begin the war discussion with a careful account of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, as well as the events from his death to the United Kingdom's eventual declaration of war almost two months later. Pay special attention to the roles of figures such as Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, the Russian General Staff, and German General Helmuth von Moltke. Dwell also on key decisions such as Germany's "blank check" to their fellow Germans in Austria-Hungary, Russia's mobilization of its army, and von Moltke's missteps—willful and otherwise—regarding German mobilization against France.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had at the outset of the war and how these shifted throughout its duration. Having students record simple notes in a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Build students' familiarity with the style of warfare in 1914, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the courage of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Present to students explanations of each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Have students track strategic changes on a map of Europe during the Great War. Spend time especially covering the first presumptions and strategies of the war, including the beliefs that the war would be one of rapid movement, that artillery and the offensive would be keys to victory, and that the fighting would be over relatively quickly. This would change into a defensive war of attrition made possible by trenches,

barbed wire, and machine guns. Students should understand why these three modern features of warfare combined to form almost impregnable lines of defense.

- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war, especially Helmuth von Moltke, Wilhelm II, Nicholas II, Paul von Hindenburg, Douglas Haig, Winston Churchill, Woodrow Wilson, and John Pershing.
- Teach the war in some detail, especially the major battles and military campaigns. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes to subsequent events. Employ battle maps often, and have students track battles and campaigns on a map of Europe during the Great War. *A Short History of World War I* and *Fighting the Great War* are both great aids for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of battles from these works, too.
- Help students to note major themes that might loosely describe each year of the war: opening salvos, the near capture of Paris, and the race to the sea in 1914; stalemate in 1915; fruitless efforts to break the stalemate in 1916, constituting a war of attrition; the Russian upheaval and Allied experimentation in 1917; and the German offensive followed by American- and tank-led counterattacks in 1918 that ultimately led to the armistice.
- As the war devolved into trench warfare, consider with students the American position. As with the War of 1812, the Americans sought to trade with all parties possible while remaining neutral. The British blockade of largely landlocked Germany made this trading impossible for the Germans; as a result, American trade overwhelmingly benefited the British and the Allies. The Germans believed they were forced to disrupt this trade by sinking neutral ships sailing to the United Kingdom. After the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, the ensuing outcry nearly led America to declare war, but Woodrow Wilson was able to convince Germany to halt “unrestricted submarine warfare.” Wilson was committed to staying out of the war and campaigned on that pledge in 1916, winning reelection. But the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare in early 1917, along with the intercepted Zimmerman Telegram, eventually brought the United States into the war. Despite his initial reluctance, Wilson saw America’s entry into the war as an opportunity to apply his Progressive ideas to foreign policy and the world order. Study with students Wilson’s stated reasons for going to war in his War Message to Congress, especially as reflecting his Progressive thought and echoing the opening characterization of the war as a “war to end all wars.”
- While discussing America’s entry into the war, be sure to distinguish between the February Revolution in Russia—in which democratic forces forced out the Russian monarchy—and the October/Bolshevik Revolution—in which Bolshevik communists overthrew the new democratic government via military coup. Abetted by Germany—who enabled Vladimir Lenin to return to Russia to seize power—the latter event removed Russia from the war, casting it into a multiyear civil war, while Germany was finally free to fight a one-front war just as American troops were arriving in meaningful numbers. Taking some time to study communism in action in Russia will be fruitful for teaching the rest of American history in subsequent units, especially noting that the Communists immediately looked to expand their revolution into the rest of Europe and beyond.
- Note with students how the first months of 1918 saw impressive German advances with Russia now absent, but the presence of tanks *en masse*, the perfection of the rolling barrage, and most importantly the American troops—with their freshness, daring, innovative form of fighting, and industrial backing—turned the war for the Allies.
- Read with students Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points and discuss his vision for a world after the “war to end all wars.” Students should be asked to identify the Progressive tenets intrinsic to the Points, but also the paradoxical encouragement of nationalism through the idea of “self-

determination.” Point out that the promises of the Fourteen Points were key to convincing the Germans to sign the armistice.

- Describe the Versailles peace negotiations, especially the vindictive desire of the United Kingdom and France to punish Germany, while Woodrow Wilson was largely sidelined. Back in the United States, discuss Wilson’s campaign to attract support for the League of Nations, his unorthodox methods for doing so, and his ultimate failure and eventual debilitating stroke. In covering the terms of the Treaty of Versailles—which Germany was effectively forced to sign—discuss whether the terms accurately reflected the facts of the war’s beginning or the extent to which Germany was actually defeated at its end. Note also the absence of many of Wilson’s Fourteen Points—which the Germans had originally requested as a condition of halting the fighting—and the ongoing blockade of Germany. Does this raise questions of how free the Germans really were in signing a treaty that treated them as the clearly defeated and guilty power?
- Recap the war by considering major statistics, including the vast number of casualties and fatalities on each side, and how it transformed Europe and America in opposite ways. Overall, note the tremendous disillusionment with the idea of inevitable human progress, as well as with Europe’s traditional heritage and institutions.
- Conclude the lesson with a conversation on why the war began and, perhaps more importantly, why it continued, focusing especially on the ideas of European leaders in light of the recent changes in philosophical thought.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how the Great War began, from the state of affairs in Europe prior to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand through the United Kingdom’s declaration of war (2-3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the history of the Great War, with particular focus on America’s involvement and the terms of the Treaty of Versailles (3-4 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 3, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Pages 259-268

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What event was the primary cause of World War I?

2. What event in 1915 contributed to America's eventual entry into World War I?

3. On what date did the United States officially enter World War I?

4. What two pieces of legislation drastically curtailed freedom of speech during World War I?

5. What influential 1910 essay began to shape the way Progressive thinkers considered the "positive" societal effects of World War I?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 3, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Pages 268-275

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the name given to the American forces sent to fight in World War I?
2. What was the name of President Wilson's proposed peace plan for World War I?
3. What organization did President Wilson hope to create as a result of the negotiations for the Treaty of Versailles?
4. Who was the primary opponent of Wilson's World War I peace settlement?
5. Who won the 1920 United States presidential election?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Study Guide—The Turn of the Century Test

Unit 5

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1869	Transcontinental Railroad completed
1898	Spanish-American War
1901	Oil discovered in Beaumont, TX; William McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt becomes president
1908	William Howard Taft elected
1912	Woodrow Wilson defeats Taft and Roosevelt
1914–1918	The Great War
June 28, 1914	Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated
1915	Battle of Gallipoli
1916	Battles of Verdun and the Somme; Woodrow Wilson reelected
1917	U.S. declaration of war; Bolshevik Revolution
1918	Hundred Days Offensive
November 11 (1918)	Veterans Day (Armistice Day)

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Promontory Point	Puerto Rico	Alsace-Lorraine
Ellis Island	Santiago Bay	Austria-Hungary
Coney Island	San Juan Hill	Ottoman Empire
Alaska	Philippines	Balkans
Hawaiian Islands	Manila Bay	Serbia
Spain	China	Sarajevo
Cuba	Panama Canal	Soviet Union

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

Thomas Edison	Samuel Gompers	Sitting Bull
Cornelius Vanderbilt	Booker T. Washington	Rutherford B. Hayes
Andrew Carnegie	George Washington Carver	James A. Garfield
John D. Rockefeller	Winslow Homer	Chester A. Arthur
J. Pierpont Morgan	George Armstrong Custer	Grover Cleveland

Benjamin Harrison
 William Jennings Bryan
 William McKinley
 Theodore Roosevelt
 Eugene V. Debs
 John Dewey
 Woodrow Wilson

W. E. B. DuBois
 William Howard Taft
 Orville and Wilbur Wright
 Henry Ford
 Franz Ferdinand
 Wilhelm II
 Nicholas II

Helmuth von Moltke
 Paul von Hindenburg
 Winston Churchill
 Vladimir Lenin
 Carrie Nation
 Susan B. Anthony

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

railroads
 Transcontinental Railroad
 industrialization
 oil refining
 Standard Oil Co.
 mass production
 division of labor
 vertical integration
 monopoly
 urbanization
 immigration
 tenement
 Chinese Exclusion Act
 Tuskegee Institute
Plessy v. Ferguson
 frontier
 Plains Indians
 Dawes Act
 Battle of Little Bighorn
 Wounded Knee
 political boss
 labor unions
 Populist Party
 Cross of Gold
 Great White Fleet
 USS *Maine*
 Spanish-American War

The Communist Manifesto
 Hegelianism
 social Darwinism
 socialism
 Progressivism
 living Constitution
 experts
 bureaucracy
 administration
 Pendleton Civil Service Act
 Interstate Commerce Act
 The Square Deal
 conservationism
 Roosevelt Corollary
 Bull Moose Party
 The New Freedom
 Election of 1912
 Niagara Movement
 National Association for the
 Advancement of Colored
 People (NAACP)
 Baltimore redlining
 Black Wall Street
 eugenics
Buck v. Bell
 16th Amendment
 17th Amendment

nationalism
 militarism
 balance of power
 Triple Alliance
 Triple Entente
 reserve system
 industrial warfare
 “blank check”
 Allied Powers
 Central Powers
 Schlieffen Plan
 Plan 17
 Pact of London
 trench warfare
 machine gun
 barbed wire
 gas attacks
 unrestricted submarine
 warfare
Lusitania
 Zimmerman Telegram
 Bolshevik Revolution
 tank
 Fourteen Points
 Treaty of Versailles
 League of Nations

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.

“Surrender,” Chief Joseph
 “Wealth,” Andrew Carnegie
 “The Triumph of America,” Andrew Carnegie
 “The Mission of the Populist Party,” William A. Pepper
 “The Cross of Gold,” William Jennings Bryan
 “The March of the Flag,” Albert Beveridge
 Platform, American Anti-Imperialist League
 Atlanta Exposition Address, Booker T. Washington
 “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” Frederick Jackson Turner
 “What Is Progress?,” Woodrow Wilson
 “Natural Law,” Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.
 “The Presidency,” Theodore Roosevelt
 “The Study of Administration,” Woodrow Wilson
 “The Talented Tenth,” *The Souls of Black Folk*, W. E. B. DuBois
 War Message to Congress, Woodrow Wilson
 Fourteen Points, Woodrow Wilson
 League of Nations Speech, Henry Cabot Lodge

TO KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“The cause of freedom is not the cause of a race or a sect, a party or a class—it is the cause of human kind, the very birthright of humanity.” —Anna Julia Cooper
 “Pledge of Allegiance” —Francis Bellamy
 “America the Beautiful” —Katharine Lee Bates
 “I aimed for the public’s heart, and ... hit it in the stomach.” —Upton Sinclair
 “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” —Theodore Roosevelt
 “If there is ever another war in Europe, it will come out of some damned silly thing in the Balkans.”
 —Otto von Bismarck
 “The world must be made safe for democracy.” —Woodrow Wilson
 “Over There” —George Cohan
 “In Flanders Fields” —John McCrae

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biographies and the roles of Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Samuel Gompers, Booker T. Washington, William Jennings Bryan, William McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt
- Immigrant stories
- Chief White Bull’s account of Custer’s Last Stand at Little Bighorn
- Black Elk’s account of the massacre at Wounded Knee
- William Jennings Bryan’s “Cross of Gold” speech
- The explosion of the USS *Maine*

- Biographies and the roles of Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft
- Stories of working conditions within various industries
- Orville Wright's account of the first flight
- Henry Ford's description of the first assembly line
- Borijove Jevtic's account of the assassination of Austria-Hungary Archduke Franz Ferdinand by the Serbian terrorist organization, the Black Hand
- Life in trenches and trench warfare, including firsthand accounts from any of the following figures: Leonard Thompson, Hugh Walpole, Oskar Kokoschka, Robert Graves, John Walker, H. H. Munro, William Pressey, Edwin Vaughan, et al.
- The February and Bolshevik Revolutions
- Harold Nicolson's account of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The Gilded Age

- ☐ How did America change after the Civil War with respect to the agrarian makeup of its economy, workforce, and population distribution?
- ☐ What sorts of technological changes were developed in the late 19th century? Which were the most important and why?
- ☐ Why were the railroads so significant to the transformation of the American economy?
- ☐ What are some of the beneficial developments produced during the Gilded Age?
- ☐ What were some of the characteristics of America's most successful companies and businessmen? In what ways were they similar and in what ways different?
- ☐ In what ways might America's leading businessmen be considered "captains of industry," and in what ways might they be considered "robber barons"?
- ☐ Why did so many people immigrate to the United States in the late 19th century?
- ☐ To what extent did immigrants assimilate into the American populace? What are the advantages and disadvantages of this situation?
- ☐ What was life like for African Americans in the late 19th century?
- ☐ What were Booker T. Washington's ideas for improving conditions for African Americans?
- ☐ What did the U.S. Supreme Court rule in *Plessy v. Ferguson*?
- ☐ What happened in the western United States with respect to relations between Native Americans and the U.S. government?
- ☐ How did the idea of a more active foreign policy and imperialism contend with the American founding and foreign policy precedent?
- ☐ How did the Spanish-American War begin, and why was it fought?

Lesson 2 | The Progressive Era

- ☐ What ideas relating to democracy, the general will, class identity and struggle, human nature, government, and the processes of historical change (from sources including the French Revolution, Karl Marx, George Hegel, and Charles Darwin) influenced the thought of American Progressives?
- ☐ What contributions did Woodrow Wilson make to Progressivism, both as a thinker and as president?

- ☐ How did Progressives come to view human nature, history, and government in “Darwinian” terms, as a continual process of evolutionary improvement? Why did these ideas lead to a partial critique of the Declaration of Independence, natural rights, and social contract theory?
- ☐ What did Progressives mean by *equality*, and why did they believe equality of opportunity and dignity for ordinary citizens necessitated a powerfully activist government?
- ☐ How did Progressives critique individualism and the power of special interests, monopolies, and the wealthy in politics?
- ☐ In what ways did Progressives critique the Constitution as being too slow, mechanical, and at odds with itself, as presented in their critique of the separation of powers and of checks and balances?
- ☐ In what ways did Progressives promote direct democracy, and how was this concept to solve the problems posed by the influence of special interests? What limits, if any, did Progressives place on the role of the people in making laws?
- ☐ What was “government by expertise,” and why did the Progressives argue for it?
- ☐ What were the problems some argued would arise through centralized decisions made by knowledgeable yet unelected experts? How did they compare to problems arising through dispersed decisions made by elected and accountable officials?
- ☐ How did Theodore Roosevelt embrace Progressivism in his politics, in his presidential actions addressing the issues of the day, and in his foreign policy positions?
- ☐ What were the main ideas of W. E. B. DuBois? How were they both alike and different from those of other commentators on improving the condition of African Americans?
- ☐ How did the practice of eugenics fit with Progressives’ ideas on human improvement, government, and rights?

Lesson 3 | The Great War

- ☐ Why was Franz Ferdinand assassinated?
- ☐ What were the key decisions that led from Franz Ferdinand’s assassination to war a month later?
- ☐ Why did the Ottoman Empire join the Central Powers?
- ☐ How were the Americans, though neutral, really only helping the Allies?
- ☐ What three elements of trench warfare made attacking a position so deadly?
- ☐ Why did German U-boat *U-20* sink the British luxury liner *Lusitania*?
- ☐ Why did the leaders of European nations and armies fight and continue to fight the Great War?
- ☐ For what two main reasons did the United States declare war on Germany in 1917?
- ☐ How did the February Revolution come about in Russia?
- ☐ How did the October or Bolshevik Revolution come about?
- ☐ What were Woodrow Wilson’s main ideas as outlined in his “Fourteen Points”?
- ☐ Why did Woodrow Wilson struggle to gain American support for his League of Nations?
- ☐ In what ways did the Treaty of Versailles punish Germany?
- ☐ Compare and contrast Europe before and after the Great War, politically, physically (for individuals and in infrastructure), culturally, and philosophically.

Name _____

Date _____

Test — The Turn of the Century

Unit 5

TIMELINE

Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

1869	_____
1898	_____
1901	_____
1908	_____
1912	_____
1914-1918	_____
June 28, 1914	_____
1915	_____
1916	_____
1917	_____
1918	_____

- A. Woodrow Wilson defeats William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt
- B. Battle of Gallipoli
- C. Battles of Verdun and the Somme; Wilson reelected
- D. Taft elected
- E. Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated
- F. Oil discovered in Beaumont, Texas; William McKinley assassinated; Roosevelt becomes president
- G. Hundred Days Offensive
- H. Spanish-American War
- I. U.S. declaration of war; Bolshevik Revolution
- J. Transcontinental Railroad completed
- K. The Great War/World War I

GEOGRAPHY & PLACES

- Name three countries that were on the side of the Allied Powers.
- Name three countries that were on the side of the Central Powers.
- Name at least one country that remained neutral during the war.



(Map from the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs)

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks.

4. The development of the _____ following the Civil War was the primary cause for America's economic and business expansion during that period.
5. _____ was the prominent American financier who had and wielded substantial influence in both private business and public financial policy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
6. The control exerted by Standard Oil Company over the oil industry by the late 1870s is an example of a _____, which was a significant economic concern for many Americans.
7. _____ and _____ were two influential intellectuals who offered competing answers to the problems faced by African Americans following the Civil War and their gradual integration into American society.
8. The "_____" speech, given by William Jennings Bryan in 1896, typified the controversy over the United States' financial policies in the late 19th century.
9. The Republican president _____, whose most notable accomplishment was the Spanish-American War, was succeeded by his vice president, _____, who would go on to become one of the most domestically and internationally influential "modern" American presidents.
10. _____ is the term for the new American political philosophy that emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a radical alternative to the principles of the American Founding.
11. The popularity of the American socialist _____, in particular his 1912 presidential campaign, showed how the American people were increasingly open to meaningful change throughout American politics and society.
12. The Progressive emphasis on _____, or a body of intelligent officials detached from the everyday business and action of politics, was exemplified by the formation of the state and federal _____ that would later come to impose significant regulations on all aspects of American life.
13. _____ was not only the first academic to be a presidential candidate, but also was a dedicated Progressive who contributed to America's gradual acceptance of Progressive political theory.
14. Founded by former president Theodore Roosevelt, the _____ was a third party in the 1912 election that espoused a highly Progressive-leaning platform.

15. _____ was the third candidate in the 1912 election, running as the Republican Party nominee.
16. In the decades leading up to World War I, a primary cause of unrest plaguing Europe was _____, as various countries sought to assert or solidify their identity against empires such as Austria-Hungary and Russia.
17. The assassination of _____ was the primary catalyst for starting World War I, as it activated numerous international agreements that escalated the military situation.
18. The two opposing factions of World War I were the _____ and the _____.
19. Despite the controversy surrounding his role in the failed Dardanelles/Gallipoli campaign during World War I, _____ would go on to serve as British prime minister during World War II.
20. The primary goal of Wilson's "Fourteen Points" was the formation of the _____, which was an international body designed to prevent another war on the scale of World War I.
21. _____ led the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, and later became dictator of the Communist government there.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker/author.

22. "Pledge of Allegiance"—_____
23. "_____"—Katharine Lee Bates
24. "_____ softly and carry _____."—
Theodore Roosevelt
25. "The _____ must be made safe for _____."—Woodrow
Wilson
26. "Over There"—_____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

27. Tell the story of the explosion of the USS *Maine*.

28. Retell Orville Wright's account of the first flight or Henry Ford's description of the first assembly line.

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

29. Why were the railroads so significant to the transformation of the American economy?
30. Why did so many people immigrate to the United States in the late 19th century?
31. What was life like for African Americans in the late 19th century?
32. What happened in the western United States with respect to relations between Native Americans and the U.S. government?
33. How did the idea of a more active and imperialist American foreign policy compare to the Founding's understanding of the concept?
34. How did the Spanish-American War begin, and why was it fought?
35. What contributions did Woodrow Wilson make to Progressivism, both as a thinker and as President?
36. In what ways did Progressives critique the Constitution as being too slow, mechanical, and at odds with itself, particularly with regard to separation of powers & checks and balances?
37. What was "government by expertise," and why did the Progressives argue for it?
38. How did Theodore Roosevelt embrace Progressivism in his politics, in his presidential actions addressing the issues of the day, and in his foreign policy positions?

39. What were the main ideas of W. E. B. DuBois? How were they both alike and different from those of other commentators on improving the condition of African Americans?
40. How did the practice of eugenics fit with Progressives' ideas on human improvement, government, and rights?
41. What were the key decisions made from June-August 1914 that ultimately led to World War I?
42. Why did the leaders of European nations and armies fight and continue to fight the Great War?
43. For what two main reasons did the United States finally declare war on Germany in World War I?
44. What were Woodrow Wilson's main ideas as outlined in his "Fourteen Points"?
45. In what ways did the Treaty of Versailles punish Germany?
46. Briefly compare and contrast Europe before and after the Great War as viewed politically, physically (for individuals and in infrastructure), culturally, or philosophically.

Writing Assignment — The Turn of the Century

Unit 5

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write an essay of 500–800 words answering the following question:

How did America as a nation develop politically from after the Civil War to the Treaty of Versailles? (Limit your answer to one [1] aspect of either domestic or foreign policy.)

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Chief Joseph

Andrew Carnegie

William A. Peffer

William Jennings Bryan

Albert J. Beveridge

American Anti-Imperialist League

Booker T. Washington

Frederick Jackson Turner

Woodrow Wilson

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.

Theodore Roosevelt

W. E. B. DuBois

Henry Cabot Lodge

CHIEF JOSEPH

Surrender

DOCUMENT

October 5, 1877
Bears Paw Mountains | Montana

BACKGROUND

American westward expansion in the mid-19th century often brought settlers into contact with the native Indian tribes. Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekt, also known as Chief Joseph, was a leader of the Nez Percé tribe during this period. When the U.S. government attempted to remove the tribe forcibly from their ancestral lands in the late 19th century, Chief Joseph and his tribe resisted in what became known as the Nez Percé War in 1877. After months of violent conflict, Chief Joseph finally delivered this surrender document to his fellow chiefs and United States General Nelson A. Miles.

GUIDING QUESTION

Who was Chief Joseph primarily concerned with as indicated in his surrender, and why?

Taken from “Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce.” C. E. S. Wood. Journal article, in *The Century: a Popular Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (May 1884): 151. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079630343&view=1up&seq=135>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

... I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed; Looking-glass is dead. *Too-hul-hul-suit* is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men, now, who say 'yes' or 'no' [that is, vote in council]. He who led on the young men [Joseph's brother, Ollicut] is dead. It is cold, and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people—some
5 of them—have run away to the hills, and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children, and see how many of them I can find; maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun *now* stands, I will fight no more forever!

ANDREW CARNEGIE**Wealth**

ARTICLE

North American Review | June 1889

BACKGROUND

The Gilded Age marked a time of unprecedented industrial and economic growth in America. With the advent of many new industries, the possibility of amassing great wealth was open to those who were financially intelligent and shrewd. One of these figures was Andrew Carnegie, who rose out of poverty to create a massive fortune from his pioneering work in the steel industry. However, as he discusses in this article, Carnegie firmly advocated for not only the economic progress of the day, but also the duty of the wealthy to engage in philanthropy.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Carnegie say about the “good old times”?
2. What are the effects of equality and inequality in society?
3. What should the rich ultimately do with their money, according to Carnegie?
4. What does his ideal millionaire look like?
5. How does Carnegie tie wealth to Christianity?

Andrew Carnegie. “Wealth.” Magazine article, *North American Review* CCCXCI [391], June 1889. From Swarthmore College. <https://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/rbannis1/AIH19th/Carnegie.html>.

The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. The Indians are to-day where civilized man then was. When visiting the Sioux, I was led to the wigwam of the chief. It was just like the others in external appearance, and even within the difference was trifling between it and those of the poorest of his braves. The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us to-day measures the change which has come with civilization.

This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Mæcenæ. The “good old times” were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as to-day. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both—not the least so to him who serves—and would {sweep} away civilization with it. But whether the change be for good or ill, it is upon us, beyond our power to alter, and therefore to be accepted and made the best of. It is a waste of time to criticise the inevitable.

It is easy to see how the change has come. One illustration will serve for almost every phase of the cause. In the manufacture of products we have the whole story. It applies to all combinations of human industry, as stimulated and enlarged by the inventions of this scientific age. Formerly articles {were} manufactured at the domestic hearth or in small shops which formed part of the household. The master and his apprentices worked side by side, the latter living with the master, and therefore subject to the same conditions. When these apprentices rose to be masters, there was little or no change in their mode of life, and they, in turn, educated in the same routine succeeding apprentices. There was, substantially social equality, and even political equality, for those engaged in industrial pursuits had then little or no political voice in the State.

But the inevitable result of such a mode of manufacture was crude articles at high prices. To-day the world obtains commodities of excellent quality at prices which even the generation preceding this would have deemed incredible. In the commercial world
5 similar causes have produced similar results, and the race is benefited thereby. The poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessities of life. The laborer has now more comforts than the landlord had a few generations ago. The farmer has more luxuries than the landlord had, and is more richly clad and better housed. The landlord has books and pictures rarer, and appointments
10 more artistic, than the King could then obtain.

The price we pay for this salutary change is, no doubt, great. We assemble thousands of operatives in the factory, in the mine, and in the counting-house, of whom the employer can know little or nothing, and to whom the employer is little better than a myth. All
15 intercourse between them is at an end. Rigid Castes are formed, and, as usual, mutual ignorance breeds mutual distrust. Each Caste is without sympathy for the other, and ready to credit anything disparaging in regard to it. Under the law of competition, the employer of thousands is forced into the strictest economies, among which the rates paid to labor figure prominently, and often there is friction between the employer and the
20 employed, between capital and labor, between rich and poor. Human society loses homogeneity.

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantage of this law are {sic} also greater
25 still, for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train. But, whether the law be benign or not, we must say of it, as we say of the change in the conditions of men to which we have referred: It is here; we cannot evade it; no substitutes for it have been found; and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival
30 of the fittest in every department. We accept and welcome therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few, and the law

of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race. Having accepted these, it follows that there must be great scope for the exercise of special ability in the merchant and in the manufacturer who has to conduct affairs upon a great scale. That this talent for organization and management is

5 rare among men is proved by the fact that it invariably secures for its possessor enormous rewards, no matter where or under what laws or conditions. The experienced in affairs always rate the MAN whose services can be obtained as a partner as not only the first consideration, but such as to render the question of his capital scarcely worth considering, for such men soon create capital; while, without the special talent required,

10 capital soon takes wings. Such men become interested in firms or corporations using millions; and estimating only simple interest to be made upon the capital invested, it is inevitable that their income must exceed their expenditures, and that they must accumulate wealth. Nor is there any middle ground which such men can occupy, because the great manufacturing or commercial concern which does not earn at least interest

15 upon its capital soon becomes bankrupt. It, must either go forward or fall behind: to stand still is impossible. It is a condition essential for its successful operation that it should be thus far profitable, and even that, in addition to interest on capital, it should make profit. It is a law, as certain as any of the others named, that men possessed of this peculiar talent for affair, under the free play of economic forces, must, of necessity, soon

20 be in receipt of more revenue than can be judiciously expended upon themselves; and this law is as beneficial for the race as the others.

Objections to the foundations upon which society is based are not in order, because the condition of the race is better with these than it has been with any others which have

25 been tried. Of the effect of any new substitutes proposed we cannot be sure. The Socialist or Anarchist who seeks to overturn present conditions is to be regarded as attacking the foundation upon which civilization itself rests, for civilization took its start from the day that the capable, industrious workman said to his incompetent and lazy fellow, "If thou dost {not} sow, thou shalt {not} reap," and thus ended primitive Communism by

30 separating the drones from the bees. One who studies this subject will soon be brought face to face with the conclusion that upon the sacredness of property civilization itself depends--the right of the laborer to his hundred dollars in the savings bank, and equally

the legal right of the millionaire to his millions. To these who propose to substitute Communism for this intense Individualism the answer, therefore, is: The race has tried that. All progress from that barbarous day to the present time has resulted from its displacement. Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth

5 by those who have the ability and energy that produce it. But even if we admit for a moment that it might be better for the race to discard its present foundation, Individualism,--that it is a nobler ideal that man should labor, not for himself alone, but in and for a brotherhood of his fellows, and share with them all in common, realizing Swedenborg's idea of Heaven, where, as he says, the angels derive their happiness, not

10 from laboring for self, but for each other,--even admit all this, and a sufficient answer is, This is not evolution, but revolution. It necessitates the changing of human nature itself a work of aeons, even if it were good to change it, which we cannot know. It is not practicable in our day or in our age. Even if desirable theoretically, it belongs to another and long-succeeding sociological stratum. Our duty is with what is practicable now; with

15 the next step possible in our day and generation. It is criminal to waste our energies in endeavoring to uproot, when all we can profitably or possibly accomplish is to bend the universal tree of humanity a little in the direction most favorable to the production of good fruit under existing circumstances. We might as well urge the destruction of the highest existing type of man because he failed to reach our ideal as favor the destruction

20 of Individualism, Private Property, the Law of Accumulation of Wealth, and the Law of Competition; for these are the highest results of human experience, the soil in which society so far has produced the best fruit. Unequally or unjustly, perhaps, as these laws sometimes operate, and imperfect as they appear to the Idealist, they are, nevertheless, like the highest type of man, the best and most valuable of all that humanity has yet

25 accomplished.

We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few. Thus far, accepting conditions as they exist, the situation can be surveyed and pronounced good. The question then

30 arises, --and, if the foregoing be correct, it is the only question with which we have to deal, --What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few? And it is of this great

question that I believe I offer the true solution. It will be understood that *fortunes* are here spoken of, not moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns on which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not *wealth*, but only *competence* which it should be the aim of all to
5 acquire.

There are but three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of. It call *{sic}* be left to the families of the decedents; or it can be bequeathed for public purposes; or, finally, it can be administered during their lives by its possessors. Under the first and second
10 modes most of the wealth of the world that has reached the few has hitherto been applied. Let us in turn consider each of these modes. The first is the most injudicious. In monarchical countries, the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth are left to the first son, that the vanity of the parent may be gratified by the thought that his name and title are to descend to succeeding generations unimpaired. The condition of this class in
15 Europe to-day teaches the futility of such hopes or ambitions. The successors have become impoverished through their follies or from the fall in the value of land. Even in Great Britain the strict law of entail has been found inadequate to maintain the status of an hereditary class. Its soil is rapidly passing into the hands of the stranger. Under republican institutions the division of property among the children is much fairer, but
20 the question which forces itself upon thoughtful men in all lands is: Why should men leave great fortunes to their children? If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection? Observation teaches that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children that they should be so burdened. Neither is it well for the state. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any,
25 for the sons, men may well hesitate, for it is no longer questionable that great *{sums}* bequeathed oftener work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients. Wise men will soon conclude that, for the best interests of the members of their families and of the state, such bequests are an improper use of their means.

30 It is not suggested that men who have failed to educate their sons to earn a livelihood shall cast them adrift in poverty. If any man has seen fit to rear his sons with a view to their living idle lives, or, what is highly commendable, has instilled in them the sentiment

that they are in a position to labor for public ends without reference to pecuniary considerations, then, of course, the duty of the parent is to see that such are provided for *moderation*. There are instances of millionaires' sons unspoiled by wealth, who, being rich, still perform great services in the community. Such are the very salt of the earth, as valuable as, unfortunately, they are rare; still it is not the exception, but the rule, that men must regard, and, looking at the usual result of enormous sums conferred upon legatees, the thoughtful man must shortly say, "I would as soon leave to my son a curse as the almighty dollar," and admit to himself that it is not the welfare of the children, but family pride, which inspires these enormous legacies.

As to the second mode, that of leaving wealth at death for public uses, it may be said that this is only a means for the disposal of wealth, provided a man is content to wait until he is dead before it becomes of much good in the world. Knowledge of the results of legacies bequeathed is not calculated to inspire the brightest hopes of much posthumous good being accomplished. The cases are not few in which the real object sought by the testator is not attained, nor are they few in which his real wishes are thwarted. In many cases the bequests are so used as to become only monuments of his folly. It is well to remember that it requires the exercise of not less ability than that which acquired the wealth to use it so as to be really beneficial to the community. Besides this, it may fairly be said that no man is to be extolled for doing what he cannot help doing, nor is he to be thanked by the community to which he only leaves wealth at death. Men who leave vast sums in this way may fairly be thought men who would not have left it at all, had they been able to take it with them. The memories of such cannot be held in grateful remembrance, for there is no grace in their gifts. It is not to be wondered at that such bequests seem so generally to lack the blessing. –

The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion. The State of Pennsylvania now takes--subject to some exceptions--one-tenth of the property left by its citizens. The budget presented in the British Parliament the other day proposes to increase the death-duties; and, most significant of all, the new tax is to be a graduated one. Of all forms of taxation, this seems the wisest. Men who continue hoarding great

sums all their lives, the proper use of which for - public ends would work good to the community, should be made to feel that the community, in the form of the state, cannot thus be deprived of its proper share. By taxing estates heavily at death the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life.

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It is desirable; that nations should go much further in this direction. Indeed, it is difficult to set bounds to the share of a rich man's estate which should go at his death to the public through the agency of the state, and by all means such taxes should be graduated, beginning at nothing upon moderate sums to dependents, and increasing rapidly as the amounts swell, until of the millionaire's hoard, as of Shylock's, at least

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“_____ The other half
Comes to the privy coffer of the state.”

This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to attend to the administration of wealth during his life, which is the end that society should always have in view, as being that by far most fruitful for the people. Nor need it be feared that this policy would sap the root of enterprise and render men less anxious to accumulate, for to the class whose ambition it is to leave great fortunes and be talked about after their death, it will attract even more attention, and, indeed, be a somewhat nobler ambition to have enormous sums paid over to the state from their fortunes.

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There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes; but in this we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor--a reign of harmony--another ideal, differing, indeed, from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is projected to put it in practice by degree whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense the property of the many, because administered for the common good, and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums

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gathered by some of their fellow-citizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts.

- 5 If we consider what results flow from the Cooper Institute, for instance, to the best portion of the race in New York not possessed of means, and compare these with those which would have arisen for the good of the masses from an equal sum distributed by Mr. Cooper in his lifetime in the form of wages, which is the highest form of distribution, being for work done and not for charity, we can form some estimate of the possibilities
- 10 for the improvement of the race which lie embedded in the present law of the accumulation of wealth. Much of this sum if distributed in small quantities among the people, would have been wasted in the indulgence of appetite, some of it in excess, and it may be doubted whether even the part put to the best use, that of adding to the comforts of the home, would have yielded results for the race, as a race, at all comparable to those
- 15 which are flowing and are to flow from the Cooper Institute from generation to generation. Let the advocate of violent or radical change ponder well this thought.

- We might even go so far as to take another instance, that of Mr. Tilden's bequest of five millions of dollars for a free library in the city of New York, but in referring to this one
- 20 cannot help saying involuntarily, how much better if Mr. Tilden had devoted the last years of his own life to the proper administration of this immense sum; in which case neither legal contest nor any other cause of delay could have interfered with his aims. But let us assume that Mr. Tilden's millions finally become the means of giving to this city a noble public library, where the treasures of the world contained in books will be open to
- 25 all forever, without money and without price. Considering the good of that part of the race which congregates in and around Manhattan Island, would its permanent benefit have been better promoted had these millions been allowed to circulate in small sums through the hands of the masses? Even the most strenuous advocate of Communism must entertain a doubt upon this subject. Most of those who think will probably entertain
- 30 no doubt whatever.

Poor and restricted are our opportunities in this life; narrow our horizon; our best work most imperfect; but rich men should be thankful for one inestimable boon. They have it in their power during their lives to busy themselves in organizing benefactions from which the masses of their fellows will derive lasting advantage, and thus dignify their own lives. The highest life is probably to be reached, not by such imitation of the life of Christ as Count Tolstoi gives us, but, while animated by Christ's spirit, by recognizing the changed conditions of this age, and adopting modes of expressing this spirit suitable to the changed conditions under which we live; still laboring for the good of our fellows, which was the essence of his life and teaching, but laboring in a different manner.

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community--the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.

We are met here with the difficulty of determining what are moderate sums to leave to members of the family; what is modest, unostentatious living; what is the test of extravagance. There must be different standards for different conditions. The answer is that it is as impossible to name exact amounts or actions as it is to define good manners, good taste, or the rules of propriety; but, nevertheless, these are verities, well known although undefinable. Public sentiment is quick to know and to feel what offends these. So in the case of wealth. The rule in regard to good taste in the dress of men or women applies here. Whatever makes one conspicuous offends the canon. If any family be chiefly known for display, for extravagance in home, table, equipage, for enormous sums ostentatiously spent in any form upon itself, if these be its chief distinctions, we have no difficulty in estimating its nature or culture. So likewise in regard to the use or abuse of its surplus wealth, or to generous, freehanded cooperation in good public uses, or to

unabated efforts to accumulate and hoard to the last, whether they administer or bequeath. The verdict rests with the best and most enlightened public sentiment. The community will surely judge and its judgments will not often be wrong.

- 5 The best uses to which surplus wealth can be put have already been indicated. These who, would administer wisely must, indeed, be wise, for one of the serious obstacles to the improvement of our race is indiscriminate charity. It were better for mankind that the millions of the rich were thrown in to the sea than so spent as to encourage the slothful, the drunken, the unworthy. Of every thousand dollars spent in so called charity to-day,
10 it is probable that \$950 is unwisely spent; so spent, indeed as to produce the very evils which it proposes to mitigate or cure. A well-known writer of philosophic books admitted the other day that he had given a quarter of a dollar to a man who approached him as he was coming to visit the house of his friend. He knew nothing of the habits of this beggar; knew not the use that would be made of this money, although he had every
15 reason to suspect that it would be spent improperly. This man professed to be a disciple of Herbert Spencer; yet the quarter-dollar given that night will probably work more injury than all the money which its thoughtless donor will ever be able to give in true charity will do good. He only gratified his own feelings, saved himself from annoyance—and this was probably one of the most selfish and very worst actions of his life, for in all
20 respects he is most worthy.

- In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to use the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or
25 never to do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by alms-giving. Those worthy of assistance, except in rare cases, seldom require assistance. The really valuable men of the race never do, except in cases of accident or sudden change. Every one has, of course, cases of individuals brought to his own knowledge where temporary assistance can do genuine good, and these he will not overlook. But the amount which can be wisely
30 given by the individual for individuals is necessarily limited by his lack of knowledge of the circumstances connected with each. He is the only true reformer who is as careful and as anxious not to aid the unworthy as he is to aid the worthy, and, perhaps, even

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more so, for in alms-giving more injury is probably done by rewarding vice than by relieving virtue.

5 The rich man is thus almost restricted to following the examples of Peter Cooper, Enoch Pratt of Baltimore, Mr. Pratt of Brooklyn, Senator Stanford, and others, who know that the best means of benefiting the community is to place within its reach the ladders upon which the aspiring can rise—parks, and means of recreation, by which men are helped in body and mind; works of art, certain to give pleasure and improve the public taste, and public institutions of various kinds, which will improve the general condition of the
10 people; —in this manner returning their surplus wealth to the mass of their fellows in the forms best calculated to do them lasting good.

Thus is the problem of Rich and Poor to be solved. The laws of accumulation will be left free; the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be
15 but a trustee for the poor; {entrusted} for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done for itself. The best minds will thus have reached a stage in the development of the race which it is clearly seen that there is no mode of disposing of surplus wealth creditable to thoughtful and earnest men into whose hands it flows save
20 by using it year by year for the general good. This day already dawns. But a little while, and although, without incurring the pity of their fellows, men may die sharers in great business enterprises from which their capital cannot be or has not been withdrawn, and is left chiefly at death for public uses, yet the man who dies leaving behind many millions of available wealth, which was his to administer during life, will pass away “unwept,
25 unhonored, and unsung,” no matter to what uses he leaves the dross which he cannot take with him. Of such as these the public verdict will then be: “The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced.”

Such, in my opinion, is the true Gospel concerning Wealth, obedience to which is destined some day to solve the problem of the Rich and the Poor, and to bring “Peace on
30 earth, among men Good-Will.”

ANDREW CARNEGIE

The Triumph of America

ESSAY EXCERPTS

1885

BACKGROUND

In this essay, the famous steel magnate Andrew Carnegie explores the many reasons behind America's cultural, political, and economic successes up to the late 19th century.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Carnegie see as the future of America from the perspective of 1885?
2. What does Carnegie understand to be the impact of race on America's development?
3. How does Carnegie see the American continent itself as beneficial to the nation?
4. How does Carnegie see politics as key to America's continued progress?
5. What does Carnegie see as the role of education in America?

Andrew Carnegie. "The Triumph of America." Essay excerpts, 1885. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-triumph-of-america/>.

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The old nations of the earth creep on at a snail's pace; the Republic thunders past with the rush of the express. The United States, the growth of a single century, has already reached the foremost rank among nations, and is destined soon to out-distance all others in the race. In population, in wealth, in annual savings, and in public credit; in freedom
5 from debt, in agriculture, and in manufactures, America already leads the civilized world{.} ...

Into the distant future of this giant nation we need not seek to peer; but if we cast a glance forward, as we have done backward, for only fifty years, and assume that in that short
10 interval no serious change will occur, the astounding fact startles us that in 1935, fifty years from now, when many in manhood will still be living, one hundred and eighty millions of English-speaking republicans will exist under one flag and possess more than two hundred and fifty thousand millions of dollars, or fifty thousand millions sterling of national wealth. Eighty years ago the whole of America and Europe did not contain so
15 many people; and, if Europe and America continue their normal growth, it will be little more than another eighty years ere the mighty Republic may boast as many loyal citizens as all the rulers of Europe combined, for before the year 1980 Europe and America will each have a population of about six hundred millions.

20 The causes which have led to the rapid growth and aggrandizement of this latest addition to the family of nations constitute one of the most interesting problems in the social history of mankind. What has brought about such stupendous results — so unparalleled a development of a nation within so ethnic character of the people, the topographical and climatic conditions under which they developed, and the influence of political
25 institutions founded upon the equality of the citizen.

Certain writers in the past have maintained that the ethnic type of a people has less influence upon its growth as a nation than the conditions of life under which it is developing. The modern ethnologist knows better. We have only to imagine what
30 America would be today if she had fallen, in the beginning, into the hands of any other people than the colonizing British, to see how vitally important is this question of race. America was indeed fortunate in the seed planted upon her soil. With the exception of a

few Dutch and French it was wholly British; and ... the American of today remains true to this noble strain and is four-fifths British. The special aptitude of this race for colonization, its vigor and enterprise, and its capacity for governing, although brilliantly manifested in all parts of the world, have never been shown to such advantage as in
5 American. Freed here from the pressure of feudal institutions no longer fitted to their present development, and freed also from the dominion of the upper classes, which have kept the people at home from effective management of affairs and sacrificed the nation's interest for their own, as is the nature of classes, these masses of the lower ranks of Britons, called upon to found a new state, have proved themselves possessors of a positive
10 genius for political administration.

The second, and perhaps equally important factor in the problem of the rapid advancement of this branch of the British race, is the superiority of the conditions under which it has developed. The home which has fallen to its lot, a domain more magnificent
15 than has cradled any other race in the history of the world, presents no obstructions to unity — to the thorough amalgamation of its dwellers, North, South, East, and West, into one homogeneous mass — for the conformation of the American continent differs in important respects from that of every other great division of the globe. In Europe the Alps occupy a central position, forming on each side watersheds of rivers which flow into
20 opposite seas. In Asia the Himalaya, the Hindu Kush, and the Altai Mountains divide the continent, rolling from their sides many great rivers which pour their floods into widely separated oceans. But in North America the mountains rise up on each coast, and from them the land slopes gradually together in one valley, offering to commerce many thousand miles of navigable streams. The map thus proclaims the unity of North
25 America, for in this great central basin, three million square miles in extent, free from impassable rivers or mountain barriers great enough to hinder free intercourse, political integration is a necessity and consolidation a certainty{.} ...

The unity of the American people is further powerfully promoted by the foundation upon which the political structure rests, the equality of the citizen. There is not one shred
30 of privilege to be met with anywhere in all the laws. One man's right is every man's right. The flag is the guarantor and symbol of equality. The people are not emasculated by being made to feel that their own country decrees their inferiority, and holds them unworthy

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of privileges accorded to others. No ranks, no titles, no hereditary dignities, and therefore no classes. Suffrage is universal, and votes are of equal weight. Representatives are paid, and political life and usefulness thereby thrown open to all. Thus there is brought about a community of interests and aims which a Briton, accustomed to monarchial and aristocratic institutions, dividing the people into classes with separate interests, aims, thoughts, and feelings, can only with difficulty understand.

The free common school system of the land is probably, after all, the greatest single power in the unifying process which is producing the new American race. Through the crucible of a good common English education, furnished free by the State, pass the various racial elements — children of Irishmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Swedes, side by side with the native American, all to be fused into one, in language, in thought, in feeling, and in patriotism. The Irish boy loses his brogue, and the German child learns English. The sympathies suited to the feudal systems of Europe, which they inherit from their fathers, pass off as dross, leaving behind the pure gold of the only noble political creed: “All men are created free and equal.” Taught now to live and work for the common weal, and not for the maintenance of a royal family or an overbearing aristocracy, not for the continuance of a social system which ranks them beneath an arrogant class of drones, children of Russian and German serfs, of Irish evicted tenants, Scotch crofters, and other victims of feudal tyranny, are translated into republican Americans, and are made in one love for a country which provides equal rights and privileges for all her children. There is no class so intensely patriotic, so wildly devoted to the Republic as the naturalized citizen and his child, for little does the native-born citizen know of the value of rights which have never been denied. Only the man born abroad, like myself, under institutions which insult him at his birth, can know the full meaning of Republicanism{.} ...

It is these causes which render possible the growth of a great homogeneous nation, alike in race, language, literature, interest, patriotism — an empire of such overwhelming power and proportions as to require neither army nor navy to ensure its safety, and a people so educated and advanced as to value the victories of peace.

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The student of American affairs today sees no influences at work save those which make for closer and closer union. The Republic has solved the problem of governing large areas by adopting the federal, or home-rule system, and has proved to the world that the freest self-government of the parts produces the strongest government of the whole.

WILLIAM A. PEFFER

The Mission of the Populist Party

ARTICLE EXCERPTS

North American Review | December 31, 1893

BACKGROUND

The rapid changes caused by the Gilded Age produced negative as well as positive benefits for American society. The American people responded to the drawbacks of this advancement by calling for many reforms, especially in the economic sphere. One manifestation of this reform spirit was the creation of the People's (or Populist) Party, which sought to fight the economic corruption of the Gilded Age by calling for the dismantling of monopolies, the regulation of railroads, and the granting of legislative power to the people via electoral initiative and referendum. In 1890, William Pepper of Kansas was the first Populist Party member elected to the Senate (there would eventually be 6), and wrote this article three years later explaining the principles behind the Party.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the purpose of government, according to Pepper?
2. What are the four points that define the mission of the Populist Party?
3. What does Pepper say about the Party's views on monetary policy?
4. What is the Party's view of American railroads?
5. According to Pepper, how do banks and excessive wealth undermine American government?

William A. Pepper. "The Mission of the Populist Party." Article excerpts, *North American Review*, December 31, 1893. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-mission-of-the-populist-party/>.

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The Populist Party is an organized demand that the functions of government shall be exercised only for the mutual benefit of all the people. It asserts that government is useful only to the extent that it serves to advance the common weal. Believing that the public good is paramount to private interests, it protests against the delegation of sovereign powers to private agencies. Its motto is: "Equal rights to all; special privileges to none." Its creed is written in a single line of the Declaration of Independence—"All men are created equal." Devoted to the objects for which the Constitution of the United States was adopted, it proposes to "form a more perfect union" by cultivating a national sentiment among the people; to "insure domestic tranquility" by securing to every man and woman what they earn; to "establish justice" by procuring an equitable distribution of the products and profits of labor; to "provide for the common defence" by interesting every citizen in the ownership of his home; to "promote the general welfare" by abolishing class legislation and limiting the government to its proper functions; and to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" by protecting the producing masses against the spoliation of speculators and usurers.

The Populist claims that the mission of his party is to emancipate labor. He believes that men are not only created equal, but that they are equally entitled to the use of natural resources in procuring means of subsistence and comfort. He believes that an equitable distribution of the products and profits of labor is essential to the highest form of civilization; that taxation should only be for public purposes, and that all moneys raised by taxes should go into the public treasury; that public needs should be supplied by public agencies, and that the people should be served equally and alike.

The party believes in popular government. Its demands may be summarized fairly to be—

1. An exclusively national currency in amount amply sufficient for all the uses for which money is needed by the people, to consist of gold and silver coined on equal terms, and government paper, each and all legal tender in payment of debts of whatever nature or amount, receivable for taxes and all public dues.

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2. That rates of interest for the use of money be reduced to the level of average net profits in productive industries.
3. That the means of public transportation be brought under public control, to the end that carriage shall not cost more than it is reasonably worth, and that charges may be made uniform.
4. That large private land-holdings be discouraged by law. ...

The Populist Party is the only party that honestly favors good money. ... We have seven different kinds of money, and only one of them is good, according to the determination
15 of the Treasury officials. Bank notes are not legal tender, neither are silver certificates, nor gold certificates. Treasury notes are not legal tender in cases where another kind of money is expressed in the contract, and United States notes (greenbacks) will not pay either principal or interest on any government bond. None of our paper money is taxable. Silver dollars are by law full legal tender in payment of debts to any amount
20 whatever, but the Treasury does not pay them out on any obligation unless they are specially requested. In practice, we have but one full legal tender money—gold coin; and Republicans and Democrats are agreed on continuing that policy; while Populists demand gold, silver, and paper money, all equally full legal tender.

25 The fact that we have now out about \$700,000,000 in paper is proof that our stock of coin is utterly inadequate to perform all the money duty required in the people's business transactions. The discontinuance of silver coinage stops the supply from that source. It is believed by men best informed on the subject that the gold used in the arts has reached an amount about equal to the annual output of the mines. Then the world's
30 stock of gold coin will not be increased unless the arts are drawn upon, and that can be done successfully only at a price above the money value of the coin. Russia, Austria, Italy, and the United States all want more gold. Where is it to come from? And what will it cost the purchaser? Are we to drop back to Roman methods of procuring treasure? When all the nations set out on gold-hunting expeditions, who will be the
35 victor and what will become of the spoils?

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It is evident that we must have more money, and Congress alone is authorized to prepare it. States are prohibited by the Constitution of the United States from making anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debts, and nothing is money that is not a tender. The people can rely only on Congress for a safe circulating
5 medium.

Populists demand not only a sufficiency of money, but a reduction of interest rates at least as low as the general level of the people's savings. They aver that with interest at present legal and actual rates, an increase in the volume of money in the country would
10 be of little permanent benefit, for bankers and brokers would control its circulation, just as they do now. But with interest charges reduced to 3 or 2 percent, the business of the money-lender would be no more profitable than that of the farmer—and why should it be? ...

15 ... The rate of interest ought to be what, with prudent management through a reasonable number of average seasons, he [the farmer] can pay yearly, with part of the principal, until he has paid out and has the farm left.

Three percent, compounded annually is a fair average the world over for labor's saving.
20 It has been a little more in the United States, but a gold basis will soon bring us to the general level, and that will settle lower as population and trade increase.

While the Populist Party favors government ownership and control of railroads, it wisely leaves for future consideration the means by which such ownership and control
25 can best be brought about. The conditions which seem to make necessary such a change in our transportation system preclude all probability of its ever being practicable, if it were desirable, to purchase existing railway lines. The total capitalization of railroads in the United States in 1890 was put at \$9,871,378,389—nearly ten thousand million dollars. It would be putting the figures high to say that the roads are worth one-half the
30 amount of their capital stock. This leaves a fictitious value of \$5,000,000,000 which the people must maintain for the roads by transportation charges twice as high as they would be if the capitalization were only half as much. It is the excessive capitalization

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which the people have to maintain that they complain about. It would be an unbusinesslike proceeding for the people to purchase roads when they could build better ones just where and when they are needed for less than half the money that would be required to clear these companies' books. It is conceded that none of the highly capitalized railroad corporations expect to pay their debts. If they can keep even on interest account, they do well, and that is all they are trying to do. While charges have been greatly reduced, they are still based on capitalization, and courts have held that the companies are entitled to reasonable profits on their investment. The people have but one safe remedy—to construct their own roads as needed, and then they will “own and control” them.

This is not a new doctrine. A select committee of the Senate of the United States, at the head of which was Hon. William Windom, then a senator and afterward secretary of the Treasury appointed in December 1872, reported among other recommendations one proposing the construction of a “government freight railway,” for the purpose of effectively regulating interstate commerce. A government freight railway would have no capitalization, no debt, bonded or otherwise; its charges would be only what it would cost to handle the traffic and keep the road in repair. That would reduce cost of carriage to a minimum, and nothing else will.

Populists complain of legislation in the interest of favored classes. At the very time when the homestead law was passed a scheme was hatching to absorb the public lands by railway corporations. Scarcely had the great war begun when a plan was laid to establish a system of national banking based on the people's debts; and while customs duties were raised to increase the public revenues, cheap foreign labor was brought in under contract to man the factories. Banks have been specially favored.

When it was to their interest to withdraw their notes it was done with impunity. They have been permitted to openly violate the law that authorizes their existence, and this without rebuke.

The U.S. Senate shields them from exposure. When the Treasury was flush, public moneys were lavishly left with the banks to use without interest, and when the great

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banks in New York City needed funds to relieve the stringency in the “money market” there, they had only to ask and they received. And now that the Treasury is running short in gold reserves, there is a demand for more bonds to purchase more gold to be used in redeeming Treasury notes which the law requires to be redeemed in silver, thus
5 again reducing the reserves, making another bond issue necessary to procure more gold; and so on, as the “money market” may require. These “Napoleons of Finance” are playing a bold game. ...

Rapid accumulation of wealth by a few citizens, as we have seen it in the United States
10 during the last thirty years, is evidence of morbidly abnormal conditions. It is inconsistent with free institutions. It is breeding anarchy and trouble. No man can honestly take to himself what he does not earn; and if he does no more than that, riches will come to him slowly. It is only when he gets what he does not earn that his “success” attracts attention. Fortunes running into millions of dollars must be made up of
15 property and profits mostly produced and earned by persons other than those who claim them.

No man ever earned a million dollars. If he was moved to great undertakings, nature’s God inspired him. And if, in the play of his ambition he marshaled effective forces, his equipment cost him little. To a great mind success is compensation. The value of its
20 labor cannot be measured with money. A strong man’s intellect moves as easily as a blacksmith’s arm. Both are gifts.

The best men are content with little. Vast enterprises that move the world are maintained by contributions from the labor of the poor. Leaders do but organize and direct; the rank and file do all the rest. Apply the “iron law of wages” equally to all that
25 work and you scale down the salaries of many useless people. If the Republic is to endure we must encourage the average man.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

The Cross of Gold

SPEECH EXCERPTS

July 9, 1896
Chicago Coliseum | Chicago, IL

BACKGROUND

The spirit of reform championed by the Populist Party found moderate success in the last quarter of the 19th century. However, their greatest triumph would occur in the 1896 presidential election, albeit under the auspices of the Democratic Party. Former Nebraska Congressman William Jennings Bryan, the Democrat (as well as Populist) nominee, was a firm advocate for retaining silver as well as gold for the monetary standard in America, rather than using gold alone. At the Democratic National Convention that year, Bryan gave this speech which garnered massive support for his campaign, but he ultimately lost to William McKinley.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the “paramount issue,” according to Bryan?
2. Does Bryan agree that the government should be able to impose an income tax?
3. How does Bryan explain the relationship between banks and government?
4. Why does he object to the gold standard?
5. What are the “two ideas of government” that Bryan describes?

William Jennings Bryan. “The Cross of Gold Speech.” Speech, July 9, 1896. From George Mason University. <https://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5354/>.

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I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were but a measuring of ability; but this is not a contest among persons. The humblest citizen in all the land when clad in the armor of a righteous cause is stronger than all the whole hosts of error that they can bring. I come to speak to
5 you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity. When this debate is concluded, a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the administration and also the resolution in condemnation of the administration. I shall object to bringing this question down to a level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but principles are eternal; and
10 this has been a contest of principle.

Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out as this issue has been by the voters themselves.

15

On the 4th of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; asserting also the right of a majority of the Democratic Party to control the position of the party on this paramount issue; concluding with the
20 request that all believers in free coinage of silver in the Democratic Party should organize and take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic Party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and boldly and courageously proclaiming their belief and declaring that if successful they would crystallize in a platform the declaration which they had made; and then began the
25 conflict with a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit. Our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory, until they are assembled now, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment rendered by the plain people of this country.

30 But in this contest, brother has been arrayed against brother, and father against son. The warmest ties of love and acquaintance and association have been disregarded. Old leaders have been cast aside when they refused to give expression to the sentiments of those

whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of freedom. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever fastened upon the representatives of a people.

5 We do not come as individuals. Why, as individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York [Senator Hill], but we knew that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic Party. I say it was not a question of persons; it was a question of principle; and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into
10 conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side. The gentleman who just preceded me [Governor Russell] spoke of the old state of Massachusetts. Let me assure him that not one person in all this convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the state of Massachusetts.

15 But we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the largest cities in the state of Massachusetts. When you come before us and tell us that we shall disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your action. We say to you that you have made too limited in its application the definition of a businessman. The man who is employed for wages is as much a
20 businessman as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as much a businessman as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the crossroads store is as much a businessman 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 the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is
25 as much a businessman as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain. The miners who go 1,000 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 businessmen as the few financial magnates who in a backroom corner the money of the world.

30 We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen. Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic Coast; but those hardy pioneers who

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braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—those pioneers away out there, rearing their children near to nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected schoolhouses for the education of their children and churches where they praise
5 their Creator, and the cemeteries where sleep the ashes of their dead—are as deserving of the consideration of this party as any people in this country.

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
10 have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, 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!

15 The gentleman from Wisconsin has said he fears a Robespierre. My friend, in this land of the free you need fear no tyrant who will spring up from among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand as Jackson stood, against the encroachments of aggregated wealth.

20 They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make new issues; that the principles upon which rest Democracy are as everlasting as the hills; but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise.

Conditions have arisen and we are attempting to meet those conditions. They tell us that
25 the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that is not a new idea. They criticize us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have made no criticism. We have simply called attention to what you know. If you want criticisms, read the dissenting opinions of the Court. That will give you criticisms.

30 They say we passed an unconstitutional law. I deny it. The income tax was not unconstitutional when it was passed. It was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time. It did not become unconstitutional until one judge

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changed his mind; and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind.

5 The income tax is a just law. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to pay his share of the burden of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.

10 He says that we are opposing the national bank currency. It is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said, you will find that he said that in searching history he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson. That was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracies of Cataline and saved Rome. He did for Rome what Jackson did when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America.

15 We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin money and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe it is a part of sovereignty and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than can the power to make penal statutes or levy laws for taxation.

20 Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good Democratic authority, seems to have a different opinion from the gentleman who has addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank and that the government ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them, as he did, that the issue of
25 money is a function of the government and that the banks should go out of the governing business.

They complain about the plank which declares against the life tenure in office. They have tried to strain it to mean that which it does not mean. What we oppose in that plank is
30 the life tenure that is being built up in Washington which establishes an office-holding class and excludes from participation in the benefits the humbler members of our society.

...

Let me call attention to two or three great things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment providing that this change in our law shall not affect contracts which, according to the present laws, are made payable in gold. But if he means
5 to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I want to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find authority for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed when he now insists that we must protect the creditor. He says he also wants to amend this platform so as to provide that if we fail to maintain the parity within a year that we
10 will then suspend the coinage of silver. We reply that when we advocate a thing which we believe will be successful we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by trying to show what we will do if we are wrong.

I ask him, if he will apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says that
15 he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why doesn't he tell us what he is going to do if they fail to secure an international agreement. There is more reason for him to do that than for us to expect to fail to maintain the parity. They have tried for thirty years—thirty years—to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who don't want it at all.

20 Now, my friends, let me come to the great paramount issue. If they ask us here why it is we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that if protection has slain its thousands the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we did not embody all these things in our platform which we believe, we reply
25 to them that when we have restored the money of the Constitution, all other necessary reforms will be possible, and that until that is done there is no reform that can be accomplished.

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the sentiments of the
30 country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believed in the gold standard would frame our platforms and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President; but they had

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good reasons for the suspicion, because there is scarcely a state here today asking for the gold standard that is not within the absolute control of the Republican Party.

But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform that
5 declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it should be changed into
bimetallism by an international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man
among the Republicans; and everybody three months ago in the Republican Party
prophesied his election. How is it today? Why, that man who used to boast that he looked
like Napoleon, that man shudders today when he thinks that he was nominated on the
10 anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. Not only that, but as he listens he can hear with
ever increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores
of St. Helena.

Why this change? Ah, my friends. is not the change evident to anyone who will look at
15 the matter? It is because no private character, however pure, no personal popularity,
however great, can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people the man who
will either declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this people, or
who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place legislative control in
the hands of foreign potentates and powers. ...

20 We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue in this
campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge
battle. Why, if they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we point to their
platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of a gold standard
25 and substitute bimetallism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it?
If the gold standard, and I might call your attention to the fact that some of the very
people who are in this convention today and who tell you that we ought to declare in
favor of international bimetallism and thereby declare that the gold standard is wrong
and that the principles of bimetallism are better—these very people four months ago were
30 open and avowed advocates of the gold standard and telling us that we could not legislate
two metals together even with all the world.

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I want to suggest this truth, that if the gold standard is a good thing we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing, why should we wait until some other nations are willing to help us to let it go?

5 Here is the line of battle. We care not upon which issue they force the fight. We are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard, and both the parties this year are declaring against it. If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends,
10 should we not have it? So if they come to meet us on that, we can present the history of our nation. More than that, we can tell them this, that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance in which the common people of any land ever declared themselves in favor of a gold standard. They can find where the holders of fixed
15 investments have.

Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between the idle holders of idle capital and the struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country; and my friends, it is simply a question that we shall decide upon which side shall the Democratic Party fight. Upon the side of the idle holders of idle capital, or upon the side
20 of the struggling masses? That is the question that the party must answer first; and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic Party, as described by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses, who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic Party.

25 There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up and through every class that rests upon it.

30 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 the country.

5 My friends, we shall declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth, and upon that issue we expect to carry every single state in the Union.

10 I shall not slander the fair state of Massachusetts nor the state of New York by saying that when citizens are confronted with the proposition, "Is this nation able to attend to its own business?"—I will not slander either one by saying that the people of those states will declare our helpless impotency as a nation to attend to our own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, when but 3 million, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation upon earth. Shall we, their
15 descendants, when we have grown to 70 million, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, it will never be the judgment of this people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good but we cannot have it till some nation helps us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we shall restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States have.

20

If they dare to come out in the open field and 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
25 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.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

The March of the Flag

SPEECH EXCERPTS

September 16, 1898
Indianapolis, IN

BACKGROUND

Following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Spain handed over its territories of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to the United States. Having these new lands under American control raised many questions among the people, many of whom were unsure if the United States should be so involved abroad. Senator Albert Beveridge, running for reelection in Indiana, argued in this speech that it was indeed America's mission to expand itself to those islands—perhaps even beyond—and to spread its principles across the world.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How does Beveridge describe America?
2. What is America's mission to the world?
3. What are the limitations to rule by consent?
4. What is the "march of the flag"?
5. What opposition does Beveridge face? How does he respond to it?
6. What is the "greatest fact of the future"?

Albert J. Beveridge. "The March of the Flag." Speech excerpts, September 16, 1898. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-march-of-the-flag-campaign-speech/>.

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Fellow citizens, it is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would enclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny. It is a mighty people that He has planted on this soil; a people sprung
5 from the most masterful blood of history; a people perpetually revitalized by the virile, man-producing working-folk of all the earth; a people imperial by virtue of their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their heaven-directed purposes—the propagandists and not the misers of liberty. It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon His chosen people; a history whose keynote was struck by [the] Liberty
10 Bell; a history heroic with faith in our mission and our future; a history of statesmen who flung the boundaries of the Republic out into unexplored lands and savage wildernesses; a history of soldiers who carried the flag across the blazing deserts and through the ranks of hostile mountains, even to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century; a history of prophets
15 who saw the consequences of evils inherited from the past and of martyrs who died to save us from them; a history divinely logical, in the process of whose tremendous reasoning we find ourselves today.

Therefore, in this campaign, the question is larger than a party question. It is an
20 American question. It is a world question. Shall the American people continue their resistless march toward the commercial supremacy of the world? Shall free institutions broaden their blessed reign as the children of liberty wax in strength, until the empire of our principles is established over the hearts of all mankind?

25 Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge to our fellow man? Has God endowed us with gifts beyond our deserts and marked us as the people of His peculiar favor, merely to rot in our own selfishness, as men and nations must, who take cowardice for their companion and self for their deity as China has, as India has, as Egypt has? Shall we be as the man who had one talent and hid it, or as he who had ten
30 talents and used them until they grew to riches? And shall we reap the reward that waits on the discharge of our high duty as the sovereign power of earth; shall we occupy new markets for what our farmers raise, new markets for what our factories make, new

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markets for what our merchants sell—aye, and, please God, new markets for what our ships shall carry? Shall we avail ourselves of new sources of supply of what we do not raise or make, so that what are luxuries today will be necessities to-morrow? ...

- 5 ... For William McKinley is continuing the policy that Jefferson began, Monroe continued, Seward advanced, Grant promoted, Harrison championed, and the growth of the Republic has demanded. Hawaii is ours; Puerto Rico is to be ours; at the prayer of the people Cuba will finally be ours; in the islands of the east, even to the gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours; at the very least the flag of a liberal government is
- 10 to float over the Philippines, and it will be the stars and stripes of glory. And the burning question of this campaign is, whether the American people will accept the gifts of events; whether they will rise, as lifts their soaring destiny; whether they will proceed upon the lines of national development surveyed by the statesmen of our past; or whether, for the first time, the American people doubt their mission, question fate,
- 15 prove apostate to the spirit of their race, and halt the ceaseless march of free institutions?

- The opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, the rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the
- 20 consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. How do they know what our government would be without their consent? Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, humane, civilizing government of this Republic to the savage, bloody
- 25 rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them? Do not the blazing fires of joy and the ringing bells of gladness in Puerto Rico prove the welcome of our flag? And, regardless of this formula of words made only for enlightened, self-governing peoples, do we owe no duty to the world? Shall we turn these peoples back to the reeking hands from which we have taken them? Shall we abandon them to their
- 30 fate with the wolves of conquest all about them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy? It would be like giving a razor to a babe and telling

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it to shave itself. It would be like giving a typewriter to an Eskimo and telling him to publish one of the great dailies of the world.

They ask us how we will govern these new possessions. I answer: out of local conditions
5 and the necessities of the case methods of government will grow. If England can govern
foreign lands so can America. If Germany can govern foreign lands so can America. If
they can supervise protectorates so can America. Why is it more difficult to administer
Hawaii than New Mexico or California? Both had a savage and an alien population;
both were more remote from the seat of government when they came under our
10 dominion than Hawaii is today. Will you say by your vote that American ability to
govern has decayed, that you are an infidel to American vigor and practical sense? Or
that we are of the ruling race of the world; that ours is the blood of government; ours
the heart of dominion; ours the brain and the genius of administration? We do but
what our fathers did—but pitch the tents of liberty farther westward, farther
15 southward—we only continue the march of the flag.

The march of the flag! In 1789 the flag of the Republic waved over 4 million souls in
thirteen States, and their savage territory which stretched to the Mississippi, to Canada,
to the Floridas. The timid minds of that day said that no new territory was needed, and,
20 for the hour, they were right. But Jefferson ... acquired the territory which swept from
the Mississippi to the mountains, from Texas to the British possessions, and the march
of the flag began. The infidels to the gospel of liberty raved, but the flag swept on. The
title to that noble land out of which Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana have
been carved was uncertain; Jefferson ... obeyed the Anglo-Saxon impulse within him
25 ... and another empire was added to the Republic and the march of the flag went on.
Those who deny the power of free institutions to expand urged every argument, and
more, that we hear today, but the march of the flag went on. A screen of land from New
Orleans to Florida shut us from the gulf, and over this and the Everglade Peninsula
waved the saffron flag of Spain. Andrew Jackson seized both, the American people
30 stood at his back, and under Monroe the Floridas came under the dominion of the
Republic, and the march of the flag went on. The Cassandras prophesied every
prophecy of despair we hear today, but the march of the flag went on. Then Texas

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responded to the bugle calls of liberty and the march of the flag went on. And at last we waged war with Mexico and the flag swept over the Southwest, over peerless California, past the Gate of Gold to Oregon on the north, and from ocean to ocean its folds of glory blazed. And now, obeying the same voice that Jefferson heard and obeyed, that Jackson heard and obeyed, that Seward heard and obeyed, that Grant and Harrison heard and obeyed, William McKinley plants the flag over the islands of the sea, outposts of commerce, citadels of national security, and the march of the flag goes on. ...

Distance and oceans are no arguments. The fact that all the territory our fathers bought and seized is contiguous is no argument. In 1819 Florida was farther from New York than Puerto Rico is from Chicago today; Texas farther from Washington in 1845 than Hawaii is from Boston in 1898; California more inaccessible in 1847 than the Philippines are now. Gibraltar is farther from London than Havana is from Washington; Melbourne is farther from Liverpool than Manila is from San Francisco. The ocean does not separate us from the lands of our duty and desire—the ocean joins us, a river never to be dredged, a canal never to be repaired. Steam joins us; electricity joins us—the very elements are in league with our destiny. Cuba not contiguous! Puerto Rico not contiguous! Hawaii and the Philippines not contiguous! Our navy will make them contiguous. Dewey and Sampson and Schley have made them contiguous and American speed, American guns, American heart and brain and nerve will keep them contiguous forever.

But the opposition is right—there is a difference. We did not need the western Mississippi Valley when we acquired it, nor Florida, nor Texas, nor California, nor the royal provinces of the far Northwest. We had no emigrants to people this imperial wilderness, no money to develop it, even no highways to cover it. No trade awaited us in its savage fastnesses. Our productions were not greater than our internal trade. There was not one reason for the land lust of our statesmen from Jefferson to Grant, other than the prophet and the Saxon within them. But, today, we are raising more than we can consume. Today, we are making more than we can use. ... Therefore, we must find new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor. And so, while we did not need the territory taken during the past century at the time it was acquired, we do need what we have taken in 1898, and we need it now. Think of

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the thousands of Americans who will pour into Hawaii and Puerto Rico when the Republic's laws cover those islands with justice and safety. Think of the tens of thousands of Americans who will invade the Philippines when a liberal government, protected and controlled by this Republic, if not the government of the Republic itself,
5 shall establish order and equity there. Think of the hundreds of thousands of Americans who will build a soap-and-water, common school civilization of energy and industry in Cuba, when a government of law replaces the double reign of anarchy and tyranny. Think of the prosperous millions that empress of islands will support when, obedient to the law of political gravitation, her people ask for the highest honor liberty
10 can bestow—the sacred order of the stars and stripes, the citizenship of the great Republic!

What does all this mean for every one of us? It means opportunity for all the glorious young manhood of the Republic. ... It means that the resources and the commerce of
15 these immensely rich dominions will be increased as much as American energy is greater than Spanish sloth; for Americans, henceforth, will monopolize those resources and that commerce. In Cuba, alone, there are 15 million acres of forest unacquainted with the ax. There are exhaustless mines of iron. There are priceless deposits of manganese. ... There are millions of acres yet unexplored. The resources of Puerto Rico
20 have only been trifled with. The riches of the Philippines have hardly been touched by the fingertips of modern methods. And they produce what we cannot, and they consume what we produce—the very predestination of reciprocity. ... And William McKinley intends that their trade shall be ours. ... It means ... an opportunity for the rich man to do something with his money, besides hoarding it or lending it. It means
25 occupation for every workingman in the country at wages which the development of new resources, the launching of new enterprises, the monopoly of new markets always brings. Cuba is as large as Pennsylvania, and is the richest spot on all the globe. Hawaii is as large as New Jersey; Puerto Rico half as large as Hawaii; the Philippines larger than all New England, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. All these are larger than the
30 British Isles, larger than France, larger than Germany, larger than Japan. The trade of these islands, developed as we will develop it, ... monopolized as we will monopolize

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it, will set every reaper in this Republic singing, every spindle whirling, every furnace spouting the flames of industry. ...

... The commercial empire of the Republic! That is the greatest fact of the future. And
5 that is why these islands involve considerations larger than their own commerce. The
commercial supremacy of the Republic means that this nation is to be the sovereign
factor in the peace of the world. For the conflicts of the future are to be conflicts of
trade—struggles for markets—commercial wars for existence. And the golden rule of
peace is impregnability of position and invincibility of preparation. So we see England,
10 the greatest strategist of history, plant her flag and her cannon on Gibraltar, at Quebec,
the Bermudas, Vancouver—everywhere—until from every point of vantage her royal
banner flashes in the sun. So Hawaii furnishes us a naval base in the heart of the Pacific;
the Ladrões another, a voyage further into the region of sunset and commerce;
Manila, another, at the gates of Asia—Asia, to the trade of whose hundreds of millions
15 American merchants, American manufacturers, American farmers have as good a right
as those of Germany, or France, or Russia, or England; Asia, whose commerce with
England alone amounts to billions of dollars every year; Asia, to whom Germany looks
to take the surplus of her factories, and foundries, and mills; Asia, whose doors shall
not be shut against American trade!

20 Within two decades the bulk of Oriental commerce will be ours—the richest commerce
in the world. In the light of that golden future our chain of new-won stations rise like
ocean sentinels from the night of waters—Puerto Rico, a nobler Gibraltar; the Isthmian
canal, a greater Suez; Hawaii, the Ladrões, the Philippines, commanding the Pacific!
25 Ah! as our commerce spreads, the flag of liberty will circle the globe and the highways
of the ocean-carrying trade of all mankind be guarded by the guns of the Republic.
And, as their thunders salute the flag, benighted peoples will know that the voice of
Liberty is speaking, at last, for them; that civilization is dawning, at last for them—
Liberty and Civilization, those children of Christ's gospel, who follow and never
30 precede the preparing march of commerce! It is the tide of God's great purposes made
manifest in the instincts of our race, whose present phase is our personal profit, but

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whose far-off end is the redemption of the world and the Christianization of mankind.
{...}

5 ... Shall this future of the race be left with those who, under God, began this career of
sacred duty and immortal glory; or, shall we risk it to those who would build a dam in
the current of destiny's large designs{?} ...

10 Fellow Americans, we are God's chosen people. Yonder at Bunker Hill and Yorktown
His providence was above us. At New Orleans and on ensanguined seas His hand
sustained us. Abraham Lincoln was His minister; and His was the altar of freedom, the
boys in blue set on a hundred smoking battlefields. His power directed Dewey in the
East, and He delivered the Spanish fleet into our hands on the eve of Liberty's natal day
as He delivered the elder Armada into the hands of our English sires two centuries ago.
15 His great purposes are revealed in the progress of the flag, which surpasses the
intentions of Congresses and cabinets, and leads us, like a holier pillar of cloud by day
and pillar of fire by night, into situations unforeseen by finite wisdom and duties
unexpected by the unprophetic heart of selfishness. The American people cannot use a
dishonest medium of exchange; it is ours to set the world its example of right and
honor. We cannot fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate
20 that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We cannot retreat from any
soil where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty
and civilization. For liberty and civilization and God's promises fulfilled, the flag must
henceforth be the symbol and the sign to all mankind. ...

THE AMERICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League

PARTY PLATFORM

1899

BACKGROUND

Founded in 1899 by Andrew Carnegie and William James, the American Anti-Imperialist League was a response to the United States' occupation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippine Islands following the Spanish-American War. This platform expressed their fundamental differences with American expansion. (Note the contrasts to the previous speech of Sen. Beveridge defending the islands' possession by the United States.)

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Where does the League say imperialism often leads a nation?
2. What does the League condemn?
3. How does 1899 compare to 1861, according to the League?
4. Does it say citizens should always support their government?
5. What does the League say about self-government?

The American Anti-Imperialist League. "Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League." Public document, 1899. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/platform-of-american-anti-imperialist-league/>.

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 has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln *to* {italics original} reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the subjugation of any 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 seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands. We deplore the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, whose bravery deserves admiration even in an unjust war. We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We protest against the extension of American sovereignty by Spanish methods.

We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us. We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs.

The United States have always protested against the doctrine of international law which permits the subjugation of the weak by the strong. A self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people. The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy that might makes right.

Imperialists assume that with the destruction of self-government in the Philippines by American hands, all opposition here will cease. This is a grievous error. Much as we abhor the war of “criminal aggression” in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. The foe is of our own household. The attempt of 1861 was to divide the country. That of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals.

Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of the Republic is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for liberty of a vast immigration are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions.

10

We deny that the obligation of all citizens to support their Government in times of grave National peril applies to the present situation. If an Administration may with impunity ignore the issues upon which it was chosen, deliberately create a condition of war anywhere on the face of the globe, debauch the civil service for spoils to promote the adventure, organize a truth suppressing censorship and demand of all citizens a suspension of judgment and their unanimous support while it chooses to continue the fighting, representative government itself is imperiled.

15

We propose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people. We shall oppose for reelection all who in the White House or in Congress betray American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends. We still hope that both of our great political parties will support and defend the Declaration of Independence in the closing campaign of the century.

20

We hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that “no man is good enough to govern another man without that other’s consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government-that is despotism.” “Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.”

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We cordially invite the cooperation of all men and women who remain loyal to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Atlanta Exposition Address

SPEECH

September 18, 1895

Cotton States and International Exposition | Atlanta, GA

BACKGROUND

Following the Civil War, African Americans—many of whom were former slaves—struggled to be fully accepted into American society due to white racial prejudice in the North and South alike, despite the presence of the Reconstruction Amendments to the Constitution. Thus, different schools of thought developed in the African American community as to how best to address this issue given the present circumstances. Booker T. Washington, himself a former slave, gave his views on the subject and the problems facing a changing America in this speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How does Washington say friendship can grow between the two races?
2. By what means does he suggest blacks can improve their position in American society?
3. For what reason does Washington believe that blacks will find success even in the South?
4. What public activity does he say most African Americans would consider ill-advised?
5. What virtue does Washington say is crucial to making progress in racial relationships?

Booker T. Washington. "Atlanta Exposition Address." Speech, September 18, 1895. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/atlanta-exposition-address-2/>.

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Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens:

One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

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

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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
5 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
10 common labor, 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 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
15 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 it down
20 among the 8 million Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, built your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth and helped make possible this magnificent
25 representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and, with education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories.

30 While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing

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your children, watching by the sickbed 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, 5 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.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and 10 development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand percent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed—"blessing him that gives and him that takes."

15 There is no escape, through law of man or God, from the inevitable:

20 The laws of changeless justice bind
 Oppressor with oppressed;
 And close as sin and suffering joined
 We march to fate abreast.

Nearly 16 million hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and 25 crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

30 Gentlemen of the exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember: the path that has led from these to the invention and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam engines, newspapers, books,

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statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drugstores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the southern states but especially from northern philanthropists who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of those privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement and drawn us so near to you of the white race as this opportunity offered by the exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that, in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come—yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that let us pray God will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

The Significance of the Frontier in American History

ESSAY EXCERPTS

1893

BACKGROUND

The open expanse of the American West provided substantial room for settlement, national growth, and exploration even before the Civil War. By the close of the 19th century, however, due to continued expansion and the relegation of the Indians to comparatively small reservations, the Western frontier could be said to have faded into irrelevancy—there was simply not as much (if anything) left to explore. In 1890, the U.S. Census Bureau itself officially declared that the frontier no longer existed. In response, American scholar Frederick Jackson Turner published this essay exploring the tangible, lasting effects of the Western frontier’s exploration on the United States.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How does Turner describe the Western frontier?
2. What are the multiple “frontiers” that have existed throughout American history?
3. How did economic development influence the settlement of the West, according to Turner?
4. How does he describe the evolution of Western farming and its effects?
5. Whom does Turner say presented the biggest potential obstacle to Western expansion?
6. In what ways does he say the West shaped the rest of America both culturally and politically?

Frederick Jackson Turner. “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.” Essay excerpts, 1893. From the American Historical Association. [https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/historical-archives/the-significance-of-the-frontier-in-american-history-\(1893\)](https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/historical-archives/the-significance-of-the-frontier-in-american-history-(1893)).

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In a recent bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 appear these significant words: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports." This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development.

Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. Said Calhoun in 1817, "We are great, and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing!" [1] So saying, he touched the distinguishing feature of American life. All peoples show development; the germ theory of politics has been sufficiently emphasized.

In the case of most nations, however, the development has occurred in a limited area; and if the nation has expanded, it has met other growing peoples whom it has conquered. But in the case of the United States we have a different phenomenon. Limiting our attention to the Atlantic coast, we have the familiar phenomenon of the evolution of institutions in a limited area, such as the rise of representative government; the differentiation of simple colonial governments into complex organs; the progress from primitive industrial society, without division of labor, up to manufacturing civilization. But we have in addition to this a recurrence of the process of evolution in each western area reached in the process of expansion. Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities,

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its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the great West. Even the slavery struggle, which is made so exclusive an object of attention by writers like Prof. von Holst, occupies its important
5 place in American history because of its relation to westward expansion.

In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization. Much has been written about the frontier from the point of view of border warfare and the chase, but as a field for the serious study of the economist
10 and the historian it has been neglected.

The American frontier is sharply distinguished from the European frontier—a fortified boundary line running through dense populations. The most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land. In the census reports it is
15 treated as the margin of that settlement which has a density of two or more to the square mile. The term is an elastic one, and for our purposes does not need sharp definition. We shall consider the whole frontier belt, including the Indian country and the outer margin of the “settled area” of the census reports. This paper will make no attempt to treat the subject exhaustively; its aim is simply to call attention to the frontier as a fertile field for
20 investigation, and to suggest some of the problems which arise in connection with it.

In the settlement of America we have to observe how European life entered the continent, and how America modified and developed that life and reacted on Europe. Our early history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment. Too
25 exclusive attention has been paid by institutional students to the Germanic origins, too little to the American factors. The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization. The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in
30 the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick; he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in

orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails. Little by little he transforms the wilderness; but the outcome is not the old Europe, not simply the development of Germanic germs, any more than the first phenomenon was a case of reversion to the Germanic mark. The fact is, that here is a new product that is American. At first, the frontier was the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving westward, the frontier became more and more American. As successive terminal moraines result from successive glaciations, so each frontier leaves its traces behind it, and when it becomes a settled area the region still partakes of the frontier characteristics. Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history.

Stages of Frontier Advance

In the course of the seventeenth century the frontier was advanced up the Atlantic river courses, just beyond the "fall line," and the tidewater region became the settled area. In the first half of the eighteenth century another advance occurred. Traders followed the Delaware and Shawnese Indians to the Ohio as early as the end of the first quarter of the century. [2] Gov. Spotswood, of Virginia, made an expedition in 1714 across the Blue Ridge. The end of the first quarter of the century saw the advance of the Scotch-Irish and the Palatine Germans up the Shenandoah Valley into the western part of Virginia, and along the Piedmont region of the Carolinas. [3] The Germans in New York pushed the frontier of settlement up the Mohawk to German Flats. [4] In Pennsylvania the town of Bedford indicates the line of settlement. Settlements had begun on New River, a branch of the Kanawha, and on the sources of the Yadkin and French Broad. [5] The King attempted to arrest the advance by his proclamation of 1763, [6] forbidding settlements beyond the sources of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic; but in vain. In the period of the Revolution the frontier crossed the Alleghanies into Kentucky and Tennessee, and the upper waters of the Ohio were settled. [7] When the first census was taken in 1790, the continuous settled area was bounded by a line which ran near the coast of Maine, and

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included New England except a portion of Vermont and New Hampshire, New York along the Hudson and up the Mohawk about Schenectady, eastern and southern Pennsylvania, Virginia well across the Shenandoah Valley, and the Carolinas and eastern Georgia. [8] Beyond this region of continuous settlement were the small settled areas of Kentucky and Tennessee, and the Ohio, with the mountains intervening between them and the Atlantic area, thus giving a new and important character to the frontier. The isolation of the region increased its peculiarly American tendencies, and the need of transportation facilities to connect it with the East called out important schemes of internal improvement, which will be noted farther on. The “West,” as a self-conscious section, began to evolve.

From decade to decade distinct advances of the frontier occurred. By the census of 1820, [9] the settled area included Ohio, southern Indiana and Illinois, southeastern Missouri, and about one-half of Louisiana. This settled area had surrounded Indian areas, and the management of these tribes became an object of political concern. The frontier region of the time lay along the Great Lakes, where Astor’s American Fur Company operated in the Indian trade, [10] and beyond the Mississippi, where Indian traders extended their activity even to the Rocky Mountains; Florida also furnished frontier conditions. The Mississippi River region was the scene of typical frontier settlements. [11]

The rising steam navigation [12] on western waters, the opening of the Erie Canal, and the westward extension of cotton [13] culture added five frontier states to the Union in this period. Grund, writing in 1836, declares: “It appears then that the universal disposition of Americans to emigrate to the western wilderness, in order to enlarge their dominion over inanimate nature, is the actual result of an expansive power which is inherent in them, and which by continually agitating all classes of society is constantly throwing a large portion of the whole population on the extreme confines of the State, in order to gain space for its development. Hardly is a new State or Territory formed before the same principle manifests itself again and gives rise to a further emigration; and so is it destined to go on until a physical barrier must finally obstruct its progress.” [14]

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- In the middle of this century the line indicated by the present eastern boundary of Indian Territory, Nebraska, and Kansas marked the frontier of the Indian country. [15] Minnesota and Wisconsin still exhibited frontier conditions, [16] but the distinctive frontier of the period is found in California, where the gold discoveries had sent a sudden
- 5 tide of adventurous miners, and in Oregon, and the settlements in Utah. [17] As the frontier has leaped over the Alleghanies, so now it skipped the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains; and in the same way that the advance of the frontiersmen beyond the Alleghanies had caused the rise of important questions of transportation and internal improvement, so now the settlers beyond the Rocky Mountains needed means of
- 10 communication with the East, and in the furnishing of these arose the settlement of the Great Plains and the development of still another kind of frontier life. Railroads, fostered by land grants, sent an increasing tide of immigrants into the far West. The United States Army fought a series of Indian wars in Minnesota, Dakota, and the Indian Territory.
- 15 By 1880 the settled area had been pushed into northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, along Dakota rivers, and in the Black Hills region, and was ascending the rivers of Kansas and Nebraska. The development of mines in Colorado had drawn isolated frontier settlements into that region, and Montana and Idaho were receiving settlers. The frontier was found in these mining camps and the ranches of the Great
- 20 Plains. The superintendent of the census for 1890 reports, as previously stated, that the settlements of the West lie so scattered over the region that there can no longer be said to be a frontier line.
- In these successive frontiers we find natural boundary lines which have served to mark
- 25 and to affect the characteristics of the frontiers, namely: The "fall line;" the Alleghany Mountains; the Mississippi; the Missouri, where its direction approximates north and south; the line of the arid lands, approximately the ninety-ninth meridian; and the Rocky Mountains. The fall line marked the frontier of the seventeenth century; the Alleghanies that of the eighteenth; the Mississippi that of the first quarter of the nineteenth; the
- 30 Missouri that of the middle of this century (omitting the California movement); and the belt of the Rocky Mountains and the arid tract, the present frontier. Each was won by a series of Indian wars.

The Frontier Furnishes a Field for Comparative Study of Social Development

At the Atlantic frontier one can study the germs of processes repeated at each successive frontier. We have the complex European life sharply precipitated by the wilderness into the simplicity of primitive conditions. The first frontier had to meet its Indian question, its question of the disposition of the public domain, of the means of intercourse with older settlements, of the extension of political organization, of religious and educational activity. And the settlement of these and similar questions for one frontier served as a guide for the next. {...} Each frontier has made similar contributions to American character, as will be discussed farther on.

But with all these similarities there are essential differences, due to the place element and the time element. It is evident that the farming frontier of the Mississippi Valley presents different conditions from the mining frontier of the Rocky Mountains. The frontier reached by the Pacific Railroad, surveyed into rectangles, guarded by the United States Army, and recruited by the daily immigrant ship, moves forward at a swifter pace and in a different way than the frontier reached by the birch canoe or the pack horse. The geologist traces patiently the shores of ancient seas, maps their areas, and compares the older and the newer. It would be a work worth the historian's labors to mark these various frontiers and in detail compare one with another. Not only would there result a more adequate conception of American development and characteristics, but invaluable additions would be made to the history of society. {...}

The Atlantic frontier was compounded of fisherman, fur trader, miner, cattle-raiser, and farmer. Excepting the fisherman, each type of industry was on the march toward the West, impelled by an irresistible attraction. Each passed in successive waves across the continent. {...} The unequal rate of advance compels us to distinguish the frontier into the trader's frontier, the rancher's frontier, or the miner's frontier, and the farmer's frontier. When the mines and the cow pens were still near the fall line the traders' pack trains were tinkling across the Alleghanies, and the French on the Great Lakes were fortifying their posts, alarmed by the British trader's birch canoe. When the trappers scaled the Rockies, the farmer was still near the mouth of the Missouri.

The Indian Trader's Frontier

Why was it that the Indian trader passed so rapidly across the continent? What effects followed from the trader's frontier? The trade was coeval with American discovery{.} {...}

5 All along the coast from Maine to Georgia the Indian trade opened up the river courses. Steadily the trader passed westward, utilizing the older lines of French trade. The Ohio, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Platte, the lines of western advance, were ascended by traders. They found the passes in the Rocky Mountains and guided Lewis and Clarke, [24] Fremont, and Bidwell. The explanation of the rapidity of
10 this advance is connected with the effects of the trader on the Indian. The trading post left the unarmed tribes at the mercy of those that had purchased fire-arms—a truth which the Iroquois Indians wrote in blood, and so the remote and unvisited tribes gave eager welcome to the trader. “The savages,” wrote La Salle, “take better care of us French than of their own children; from us only can they get guns and goods.” This accounts for the
15 trader's power and the rapidity of his advance. Thus the disintegrating forces of civilization entered the wilderness. Every river valley and Indian trail became a fissure in Indian society, and so that society became honeycombed. Long before the pioneer farmer appeared on the scene, primitive Indian life had passed away. The farmers met Indians armed with guns. The trading frontier, while steadily undermining Indian power by
20 making the tribes ultimately dependent on the whites, yet, through its sale of guns, gave to the Indians increased power of resistance to the farming frontier. French colonization was dominated by its trading frontier; English colonization by its farming frontier. There was an antagonism between the two frontiers as between the two nations. {...}

25 And yet, in spite of this opposition of the interests of the trader and the farmer, the Indian trade pioneered the way for civilization. The buffalo trail became the Indian trail, and this because the trader's “trace;” the trails widened into roads, and the roads into turnpikes, and these in turn were transformed into railroads. The same origin can be shown for the railroads of the South, the far West, and the Dominion of Canada. [25] The
30 trading posts reached by these trails were on the sites of Indian villages which had been placed in positions suggested by nature; and these trading posts, situated so as to command the water systems of the country, have grown into such cities as Albany,

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Pittsburg, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City. Thus civilization in America has followed the arteries made by geology, pouring an ever richer tide through them, until at last the slender paths of aboriginal intercourse have been broadened and interwoven into the complex mazes of modern commercial lines; the wilderness has been interpenetrated by lines of civilization growing ever more numerous. It is like the steady growth of a complex nervous system for the originally simple, inert continent. If one would understand why we are to-day one nation, rather than a collection of isolated states, he must study this economic and social consolidation of the country. In this progress from savage conditions lie topics for the evolutionist. [26]

The effect of the Indian frontier as a consolidating agent in our history is important. {...} The Indian was a common danger, demanding united action. {...}

The Rancher's Frontier

It would not be possible in the limits of this paper to trace the other frontiers across the continent. Travelers of the eighteenth century found the "cowpens" among the canebrakes and peavine pastures of the South, and the "cow drivers" took their droves to Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York. [27] Travelers at the close of the War of 1812 met droves of more than a thousand cattle and swine from the interior of Ohio going to Pennsylvania to fatten for the Philadelphia market. [28] The ranges of the Great Plains, with ranch and cowboy and nomadic life, are things of yesterday and of to-day. The experience of the Carolina cowpens guided the ranchers of Texas. One element favoring the rapid extension of the rancher's frontier is the fact that in a remote country lacking transportation facilities the product must be in small bulk, or must be able to transport itself, and the cattle raiser could easily drive his product to market. The effect of these great ranches on the subsequent agrarian history of the localities in which they existed should be studied.

The Farmer's Frontier

The maps of the census reports show an uneven advance of the farmer's frontier, with tongues of settlement pushed forward and with indentations of wilderness. In part this is due to Indian resistance, in part to the location of river valleys and passes, in part to the unequal force of the centers of frontier attraction. Among the important centers of

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attraction may be mentioned the following: fertile and favorably situated soils, salt springs, mines, and army posts.

Army Posts

- 5 The frontier army post, serving to protect the settlers from the Indians, has also acted as a wedge to open the Indian country, and has been a nucleus for settlement. [29] In this connection mention should also be made of the Government military and exploring expeditions in determining the lines of settlement. But all the more important expeditions were greatly indebted to the earliest pathmakers, the Indian guides, the
- 10 traders and trappers, and the French voyageurs, who were inevitable parts of governmental expeditions from the days of Lewis and Clarke. [30] Each expedition was an epitome of the previous factors in western advance.

Salt Springs

- 15 In an interesting monograph, Victor Hehn [31] has traced the effect of salt upon early European development, and has pointed out how it affected the lines of settlement and the form of administration. A similar study might be made for the salt springs of the United States. The early settlers were tied to the coast by the need of salt, without which they could not preserve their meats or live in comfort. Writing in 1752, Bishop
- 20 Spangenburg says of a colony for which he was seeking lands in North Carolina, "They will require salt & other necessities which they can neither manufacture nor raise. Either they must go to Charleston, which is 300 miles distant * * * Or else they must go to Boling's Point in Va on a branch of the James & is also 300 miles from here * * * Or else they must go down the Roanoke—I know not how many miles—where salt is brought
- 25 up from the Cape Fear." [32] This may serve as a typical illustration. An annual pilgrimage to the coast for salt thus became essential. Taking flocks or furs and ginseng root, the early settlers sent their pack trains after seeding time each year to the coast. [33] This proved to be an important educational influence, since it was almost the only way in which the pioneer learned what was going on in the East. But when discovery was
- 30 made of the salt springs of the Kanawha, and the Holston, and Kentucky, and central New York, the West began to be freed from dependence on the coast. It was in part the effect of finding these salt springs that enabled settlement to cross the mountains.

From the time the mountains rose between the pioneer and the seaboard, a new order of Americanism arose. The West and the East began to get out of touch of each other. The settlements from the sea to the mountains kept connection with the rear and had a certain solidarity. But the overmountain men grew more and more independent. The East took a narrow view of American advance, and nearly lost these men. Kentucky and Tennessee history bears abundant witness to the truth of this statement. The East began to try to hedge and limit westward expansion. Though Webster could declare that there were no Alleghanies in his politics, yet in politics in general they were a very solid factor.

Land

The exploitation of the beasts took hunter and trader to the west, the exploitation of the grasses took the rancher west, and the exploitation of the virgin soil of the river valleys and prairies attracted the farmer. Good soils have been the most continuous attraction to the farmer's frontier. The land hunger of the Virginians drew them down the rivers into Carolina, in early colonial days; the search for soils took the Massachusetts men to Pennsylvania and to New York. As the eastern lands were taken up migration flowed across them to the west. {...}

The farmer's advance came in a distinct series of waves. In Peck's New Guide to the West, published in Boston in 1837, occurs this suggestive passage:

Generally, in all the western settlements, three classes, like the waves of the ocean, have rolled one after the other. First comes the pioneer, who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of vegetation, called the "range," and the proceeds of hunting. His implements of agriculture are rude, chiefly of his own make, and his efforts directed mainly to a crop of corn and a "truck patch." The last is a rude garden for growing cabbage, beans, corn for roasting ears, cucumbers, and potatoes. A log cabin, and, occasionally, a stable and corn-crib, and a field of a dozen acres, the timber girdled or "deadened," and fenced, are enough for his occupancy. It is quite immaterial whether he ever becomes the owner of the soil. He is the occupant for the time being, pays no rent, and feels as independent as the "lord of the manor." With a horse, cow, and one or two breeders of swine, he strikes into the woods with his family, and becomes the founder of a new county, or perhaps state. He builds his cabin, gathers around him a few other families of similar tastes and habits, and occupies till the range is somewhat subdued, and hunting a little precarious, or, which is more frequently the case, till the neighbors crowd around, roads, bridges, and fields annoy him, and he lacks elbow room.

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The preemption law enables him to dispose of his cabin and cornfield to the next class of emigrants; and, to employ his own figures, he “breaks for the high timber,” “clears out for the New Purchase,” or migrates to Arkansas or Texas, to work the same process over.

5 The next class of emigrants purchase the lands, add field to field, clear out the roads, throw rough bridges over the streams, put up hewn log houses with glass windows and brick or stone chimneys, occasionally plant orchards, build mills, schoolhouses, court-houses, etc., and exhibit the picture and forms of plain, frugal, civilized life.

10 Another wave rolls on. The men of capital and enterprise come. The settler is ready to sell out and take the advantage of the rise in property, push farther into the interior and become, himself, a man of capital and enterprise in turn. The small village rises to a spacious town or city; substantial edifices of brick, extensive fields, orchards, gardens, colleges, and churches are seen. Broadcloths, silks, leghorns, crapes, and all the
15 refinements, luxuries, elegancies, frivolities, and fashions are in vogue. Thus wave after wave is rolling westward; the real Eldorado is still farther on.

A portion of the two first classes remain stationary amidst the general movement, improve their habits and condition, and rise in the scale of society.
20

The writer has traveled much amongst the first class, the real pioneers. He has lived many years in connection with the second grade; and now the third wave is sweeping over large districts of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Migration has become almost a habit in the west. Hundreds of men can be found, not over 50 years of age, who have settled for the
25 fourth, fifth, or sixth time on a new spot. To sell out and remove only a few hundred miles makes up a portion of the variety of backwoods life and manners. [35]

Omitting those of the pioneer farmers who move from the love of adventure, the advance of the more steady farmer is easy to understand. Obviously the immigrant was attracted
30 by the cheap lands of the frontier, and even the native farmer felt their influence strongly. Year by year the farmers who lived on soil whose returns were diminished by unrotated crops were offered the virgin soil of the frontier at nominal prices. Their growing families demanded more lands, and these were dear. The competition of the unexhausted, cheap, and easily tilled prairie lands compelled the farmer either to go west and continue the
35 exhaustion of the soil on a new frontier, or to adopt intensive culture. {...}

Having now roughly outlined the various kinds of frontiers, and their modes of advance, chiefly from the point of view of the frontier itself, we may next inquire what were the

influences on the East and on the Old World. A rapid enumeration of some of the more noteworthy effects is all that I have time for.

Composite Nationality

- 5 First, we note that the frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people. The coast was preponderantly English, but the later tides of continental immigration flowed across to the free lands. This was the case from the early colonial days. The Scotch Irish and the Palatine Germans, or “Pennsylvania Dutch,” furnished the dominant element in the stock of the colonial frontier. With these peoples were also
- 10 the freed indentured servants, or redemptioners, who at the expiration of their time of service passed to the frontier. Governor Spottswood of Virginia writes in 1717, “The inhabitants of our frontiers are composed generally of such as have been transported hither as servants, and, being out of their time, settle themselves where land is to be taken up and that will produce the necessaries of life with little labour.” [36] Very generally
- 15 these redemptioners were of non-English stock. In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality or characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own. Burke and other writers in the middle of the eighteenth century believed that Pennsylvania [37] was “threatened with the danger of being wholly foreign in language,
- 20 manners, and perhaps even inclinations.” The German and Scotch-Irish elements in the frontier of the South were only less great. In the middle of the present century the German element in Wisconsin was already so considerable that leading publicists looked to the creation of a German state out of the commonwealth by concentrating their colonization. [38] Such examples teach us to beware of misinterpreting the fact that there
- 25 is a common English speech in America into a belief that the stock is also English.

Industrial Independence

- In another way the advance of the frontier decreased our dependence on England. The coast, particularly of the South, lacked diversified industries, and was dependent on
- 30 England for the bulk of its supplies. In the South there was even a dependence on the Northern colonies for articles of food. Governor Glenn, of South Carolina, writes in the middle of the eighteenth century: “Our trade with New York and Philadelphia was of this

sort, draining us of all the little money and bills we could gather from other places for their bread, flour, beer, hams, bacon, and other things of their produce, all which, except beer, our new townships begin to supply us with, which are settled with very industrious and thriving Germans. This no doubt diminishes the number of shipping and the appearance of our trade, but it is far from being a detriment to us.” [39] Before long the frontier created a demand for merchants. As it retreated from the coast it became less and less possible for England to bring her supplies directly to the consumer’s wharfs, and carry away staple crops, and staple crops began to give way to diversified agriculture for a time. The effect of this phase of the frontier action upon the northern section is perceived when we realize how the advance of the frontier aroused seaboard cities like Boston, New York, and Baltimore, to engage in rivalry for what Washington called “the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire.”

Effects on National Legislation

The legislation which most developed the powers of the National Government, and played the largest part in its activity, was conditioned on the frontier. Writers have discussed the subjects of tariff, land, and internal improvement, as subsidiary to the slavery question. But when American history comes to be rightly viewed it will be seen that the slavery question is an incident. In the period from the end of the first half of the present century to the close of the civil war slavery rose to primary, but far from exclusive, importance. {...} The growth of nationalism and the evolution of American political institutions were dependent on the advance of the frontier. {...}

{...} The pioneer needed the goods of the coast, and so the grand series of internal improvement and railroad legislation began, with potent nationalizing effects. Over internal improvements occurred great debates, in which grave constitutional questions were discussed. Sectional groupings appear in the votes, profoundly significant for the historian. Loose construction increased as the nation marched westward. [40] But the West was not content with bringing the farm to the factory. Under the lead of Clay—“Harry of the West”—protective tariffs were passed, with the cry of bringing the factory to the farm. The disposition of the public lands was a third important subject of national legislation influenced by the frontier.

The Public Domain

The public domain has been a force of profound importance in the nationalization and development of the Government. The effects of the struggle of the landed and the landless States, and of the ordinance of 1787, need no discussion. [41] Administratively the frontier called out some of the highest and most vitalizing activities of the General Government. The purchase of Louisiana was perhaps the constitutional turning point in the history of the Republic, inasmuch as it afforded both a new area for national legislation and the occasion of the downfall of the policy of strict construction. But the purchase of Louisiana was called out by frontier needs and demands. As frontier States accrued to the Union the national power grew. In a speech on the dedication of the Calhoun monument Mr. Lamar explained: "In 1789 the States were the creators of the Federal Government; in 1861 the Federal Government was the creator of a large majority of the States."

When we consider the public domain from the point of view of the sale and disposal of the public lands we are again brought face to face with the frontier. The policy of the United States in dealing with its lands is in sharp contrast with the European system of scientific administration. Efforts to make this domain a source of revenue, and to withhold it from emigrants in order that settlement might be compact, were in vain. The jealousy and the fears of the East were powerless in the face of the demands of the frontiersmen. John Quincy Adams was obliged to confess: "My own system of administration, which was to make the national domain the inexhaustible fund for progressive and unceasing internal improvement, has failed." The reason is obvious; a system of administration was not what the West demanded; it wanted land. Adams states the situation as follows: "The slaveholders of the South have bought the cooperation of the western country by the bribe of the western lands, abandoning to the new Western States their own proportion of the public property and aiding them in the design of grasping all the lands into their own hands." {...}

"No subject," said Henry Clay, "which has presented itself to the present, or perhaps any preceding, Congress, is of greater magnitude than that of the public lands." When we

consider the far-reaching effects of the Government's land policy upon political, economic, and social aspects of American life, we are disposed to agree with him. But this legislation was framed under frontier influences, and under the lead of Western statesmen like Benton and Jackson. {...}

5

National Tendencies of the Frontier

It is safe to say that the legislation with regard to land, tariff, and internal improvements—the American system of the nationalizing Whig party—was conditioned on frontier ideas and needs. But it was not merely in legislative action that the frontier worked against the sectionalism of the coast. The economic and social characteristics of the frontier worked against sectionalism. The men of the frontier had closer resemblances to the Middle region than to either of the other sections. Pennsylvania had been the seed-plot of frontier emigration, and, although she passed on her settlers along the Great Valley into the west of Virginia and the Carolinas, yet the industrial society of these Southern frontiersmen was always more like that of the Middle region than like that of the tide-water portion of the South, which later came to spread its industrial type throughout the South.

The Middle region, entered by New York harbor, was an open door to all Europe. The tide-water part of the South represented typical Englishmen, modified by a warm climate and servile labor, and living in baronial fashion on great plantations; New England stood for a special English movement—Puritanism. The Middle region was less English than the other sections. It had a wide mixture of nationalities, a varied society, the mixed town and county system of local government, a varied economic life, many religious sects. In short, it was a region mediating between New England and the South, and the East and the West. It represented that composite nationality which the contemporary United States exhibits, that juxtaposition of non-English groups, occupying a valley or a little settlement, and presenting reflections of the map of Europe in their variety. It was democratic and nonsectional, if not national; “easy, tolerant, and contented;” rooted strongly in material prosperity. It was typical of the modern United States. It was least sectional, not only because it lay between North and South, but also because with no barriers to shut out its frontiers from its settled region, and with a system of connecting

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waterways, the Middle region mediated between East and West as well as between North and South. Thus it became the typically American region. {...}

The spread of cotton culture into the interior of the South finally broke down the contrast
5 between the “tide-water” region and the rest of the State, and based Southern interests on slavery. Before this process revealed its results the western portion of the South, which was akin to Pennsylvania in stock, society, and industry, showed tendencies to fall away from the faith of the fathers into internal improvement legislation and nationalism. {...}

10 It was this nationalizing tendency of the West that transformed the democracy of Jefferson into the national republicanism of Monroe and the democracy of Andrew Jackson. The West of the war of 1812, the West of Clay, and Benton, and Harrison, and Andrew Jackson, shut off by the Middle States and the mountains from the coast sections, had a solidarity of its own with national tendencies. [44] On the tide of the Father of
15 Waters, North and South met and mingled into a nation. Interstate migration went steadily on—a process of cross-fertilization of ideas and institutions. The fierce struggle of the sections over slavery on the western frontier does not diminish the truth of this statement; it proves the truth of it. Slavery was a sectional trait that would not down, but in the West it could not remain sectional. It was the greatest of frontiersmen who
20 declared: “I believe this Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all of one thing or all of the other.” Nothing works for nationalism like intercourse within the nation. Mobility of population is death to localism, and the western frontier worked irresistibly in unsettling population. The effects reached back from the frontier and affected profoundly the Atlantic coast and even the Old World.

25 **Growth of Democracy**

But the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe. As has been indicated, the frontier is productive of individualism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization
30 based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control. The tax-gatherer is viewed as a representative of

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oppression. {...} The frontier individualism has from the beginning promoted democracy.

5 The frontier States that came into the Union in the first quarter of a century of its
existence came in with democratic suffrage provisions, and had reactive effects of the
highest importance upon the older States whose peoples were being attracted there. An
extension of the franchise became essential. It was western New York that forced an
extension of suffrage in the constitutional convention of that State in 1821; and it was
western Virginia that compelled the tide-water region to put a more liberal suffrage
10 provision in the constitution framed in 1830, and to give to the frontier region a more
nearly proportionate representation with the tide-water aristocracy. The rise of
democracy as an effective force in the nation came in with western preponderance under
Jackson and William Henry Harrison, and it meant the triumph of the frontier—with all
of its good and with all of its evil elements. [46] An interesting illustration of the tone of
15 frontier democracy in 1830 comes from the same debates in the Virginia convention
already referred to. A representative from western Virginia declared:

20 But, sir, it is not the increase of population in the West which this gentleman ought to
fear. It is the energy which the mountain breeze and western habits impart to those
emigrants. They are regenerated, politically I mean, sir. They soon become working
politicians; and the difference, sir, between a talking and a working politician is immense.
The Old Dominion has long been celebrated for producing great orators; the ablest
metaphysicians in policy; men that can split hairs in all abstruse questions of political
economy. But at home, or when they return from Congress, they have negroes to fan
25 them asleep. But a Pennsylvania, a New York, an Ohio, or a western Virginia statesman,
though far inferior in logic, metaphysics, and rhetoric to an old Virginia statesman, has
this advantage, that when he returns home he takes off his coat and takes hold of the
plow. This gives him bone and muscle, sir, and preserves his republican principles pure
and uncontaminated.

30
So long as free land exists, the opportunity for a competency exists, and economic power
secures political power. But the democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and
individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing
individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has its dangers as well as it benefits.
35 Individualism in America has allowed a laxity in regard to governmental affairs which
has rendered possible the spoils system and all the manifest evils that follow from the

lack of a highly developed civic spirit. In this connection may be noted also the influence of frontier conditions in permitting lax business honor, inflated paper currency and wild-cat banking. The colonial and revolutionary frontier was the region whence emanated many of the worst forms of an evil currency. [47] The West in the war of 1812 repeated
5 the phenomenon on the frontier of that day, while the speculation and wild-cat banking of the period of the crisis of 1837 occurred on the new frontier belt of the next tier of States. Thus each one of the periods of lax financial integrity coincides with periods when a new set of frontier communities had arisen, and coincides in area with these successive frontiers, for the most part. The recent Populist agitation is a case in point. Many a State
10 that now declines any connection with the tenets of the Populists, itself adhered to such ideas in an earlier stage of the development of the State. A primitive society can hardly be expected to show the intelligent appreciation of the complexity of business interests in a developed society. The continual recurrence of these areas of paper-money agitation is another evidence that the frontier can be isolated and studied as a factor in American
15 history of the highest importance. [48]

Attempts to Check and Regulate the Frontier

The East has always feared the result of an unregulated advance of the frontier, and has tried to check and guide it. The English authorities would have checked settlement at the headwaters of the Atlantic tributaries and allowed the “savages to enjoy their deserts in
20 quiet lest the peltry trade should decrease.” This called out Burke’s splendid protest:

If you stopped your grants, what would be the consequence? The people would occupy without grants. They have already so occupied in many places. You cannot station garrisons in every part of these deserts. If you drive the people from one place, they will
25 carry on their annual tillage and remove with their flocks and herds to another. Many of the people in the back settlements are already little attached to particular situations. Already they have topped the Appalachian mountains. From thence they behold before them an immense plain, one vast, rich, level meadow; a square of five hundred miles. Over this they would wander without a possibility of restraint; they would change their
30 manners with their habits of life; would soon forget a government by which they were disowned; would become hordes of English Tartars; and, pouring down upon your unfortified frontiers a fierce and irresistible cavalry, become masters of your governors and your counselors, your collectors and comptrollers, and of all the slaves that adhered to them. Such would, and in no long time must, be the effect of attempting to forbid as a
35 crime and to suppress as an evil the command and blessing of Providence, “Increase and

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multiply.” Such would be the happy result of an endeavor to keep as a lair of wild beasts that earth which God, by an express charter, has given to the children of men.

But the English Government was not alone in its desire to limit the advance of the frontier and guide its destinies. Tidewater Virginia [49] and South Carolina [50] gerrymandered those colonies to insure the dominance of the coast in their legislatures. Washington desired to settle a State at a time in the Northwest; Jefferson would reserve from settlement the territory of his Louisiana purchase north of the thirty-second parallel, in order to offer it to the Indians in exchange for their settlements east of the Mississippi. “When we shall be full on this side,” he writes, “we may lay off a range of States on the western bank from the head to the mouth, and so range after range, advancing compactly as we multiply.” Madison went so far as to argue to the French minister that the United States had no interest in seeing population extend itself on the right bank of the Mississippi, but should rather fear it. When the Oregon question was under debate, in 1824, Smyth, of Virginia, would draw an unchangeable line for the limits of the United States at the outer limit of two tiers of States beyond the Mississippi, complaining that the seaboard States were being drained of the flower of their population by the bringing of too much land into market. Even Thomas Becton, the man of widest views of the destiny of the West, at this stage of his career declared that along the ridge of the Rocky mountains “the western limits of the Republic should be drawn, and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be raised upon its highest peak, never to be thrown down.” [51] But the attempts to limit the boundaries, to restrict land sales and settlement, and to deprive the West of its share of political power were all in vain. Steadily the frontier of settlement advanced and carried with it individualism, democracy, and nationalism, and powerfully affected the East and the Old World.

Missionary Activity

The most effective efforts of the East to regulate the frontier came through its educational and religious activity, exerted by interstate migration and by organized societies. Speaking in 1835, Dr. Lyman Beecher declared: “It is equally plain that the religious and political destiny of our nation is to be decided in the West,” and he pointed out that the population of the West “is assembled from all the States of the Union and from all the

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nations of Europe, and is rushing in like the waters of the flood, demanding for its moral preservation the immediate and universal action of those institutions which discipline the mind and arm the conscience, and the heart. And so various are the opinions and habits, and so recent and imperfect is the acquaintance, and so sparse are the settlements
5 of the West, that no homogeneous public sentiment can be formed to legislate immediately into being the requisite institutions. And yet they are all needed immediately in their utmost perfection and power. A nation is being 'born in a day.' * *
* But what will become of the West if her prosperity rushes up to such a majesty of power, while those great institutions linger which are necessary to form the mind and the
10 conscience and the heart of that vast world. It must not be permitted. * * * Let no man at the East quiet himself and dream of liberty, whatever may become of the West. * * * Her destiny is our destiny." [52]

With the appeal to the conscience of New England, he adds appeals to her fears lest other
15 religious sects anticipate her own. The New England preacher and school-teacher left their mark on the West. The dread of Western emancipation from New England's political and economic control was paralleled by her fears lest the West cut loose from her religion. Commenting in 1850 on reports that settlement was rapidly extending northward in Wisconsin, the editor of the Home Missionary writes: "We scarcely know
20 whether to rejoice or mourn over this extension of our settlements. While we sympathize in whatever tends to increase the physical resources and prosperity of our country, we can not forget that with all these dispersions into remote and still remoter corners of the land the supply of the means of grace is becoming relatively less and less." Acting in accordance with such ideas, home missions were established and Western colleges were
25 erected. As seaboard cities like Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore strove for the mastery of Western trade, so the various denominations strove for the possession of the West. Thus an intellectual stream from New England sources fertilized the West. Other sections sent their missionaries; but the real struggle was between sects. The contest for power and the expansive tendency furnished to the various sects by the existence of a
30 moving frontier must have had important results on the character of religious organization in the United States. The multiplication of rival churches in the little

frontier towns had deep and lasting social effects. The religious aspects of the frontier make a chapter in our history which needs study.

Intellectual Traits

- 5 From the conditions of frontier life came intellectual traits of profound importance. The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That
- 10 coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; [53] that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or
- 15 traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American
- 20 life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. But never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves. For a moment, at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unrestraint is triumphant. There is not tabula rasa. The stubborn American environment is there with
- 25 its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier. What the
- 30 Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more

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remotely. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.

Notes {from original document, abridged here}

Since the meeting of the American Historical Association, this paper has also been given as an address to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, December 14, 1893. I have to thank the Secretary of the Society, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, for securing valuable material for my use in the preparation of the paper.

1. Abridgment of Debates of Congress, v., p. 706.
2. Bancroft (1860 ed.), III, pp. 344, 345, citing Logan MSS.; [Mitchell] Contest in America, etc. (1752), p. 237.
3. Kercheval, History of the Valley; Bernheim, German Settlements in the Carolinas; Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, V, p. 304; Colonial Records of North Carolina, IV, p. xx; Weston, Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina, p. 82; Ellis and Evans, History of Lancaster County, Pa., chs. iii, xxvi.
4. Parkman, Pontiac, II; Griffis, Sir William Johnson, p. 6; Simms's Frontiersmen of New York.
5. Monette, Mississippi Valley, I, p. 311.
6. Wis. Hist. Cols., XI, p. 50; Hinsdale, Old Northwest, p. 121; Burke, "Oration on Conciliation," Works (1872 ed.), I, p. 473.
7. Roosevelt, Winning of the West, and citations there given; Cutler's Life of Cutler.
8. Scribner's Statistical Atlas, xxxviii, pl. 13; MacMaster, Hist. of People of U. S., I, pp. 4, 60, 61; Imlay and Filson, Western Territory of America (London, 1793); Rochefoucault-Liancourt, Travels Through the United States of North America (London, 1799); Michaux's "Journal," in Proceedings American Philosophical Society, XXVI, No. 129; Forman, Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1780-'90 (Cincinnati, 1888); Bartram, Travels Through North Carolina, etc. (London, 1792); Pope, Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories, etc. (Richmond, 1792); Weld, Travels Through the States of North America (London, 1799); Bailly, Journal of a Tour in the Unsettled States of North America, 1796-'97 (London, 1856); Pennsylvania Magazine of History, July, 1886; Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, VII, pp. 491, 492, citations.
9. Scribner's Statistical Atlas, xxxix.
10. Turner, Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin (Johns Hopkins University Studies, Series IX), pp. 61 ff.
11. Monette, History of the Mississippi Valley, II; Flint, Travels and Residence in Mississippi; Flint, Geography and History of the Western States; Abridgment of Debates of Congress, VII, pp. 397, 398, 404; Holmes, Account of the U. S.; Kingdom, America and the British Colonies (London, 1820); Grund, Americans, II, chs. i, iii, vi (although writing, in 1836, he treats of conditions that grew out of western advance from the era of 1820 to that time); Peck, Guide for Emigrants (Boston, 1831); Darby, Emigrants' Guide to Western and Southwestern States and Territories; Dana, Geographical Sketches in the Western Country; Kinzie, Waubun; Keating, Narrative of Long's Expedition; Schoolcraft, Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi River, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, and Lead Mines of the Missouri; Andreas, History of Illinois, I, 86-99; Hurlbut, Chicago Antiquities; McKenney, Tour to the Lakes; Thomas, Travels through the Western Country, etc. (Auburn, N. Y., 1819).
12. Darby, Emigrants' Guide, pp. 272 ff.; Benton, Abridgment of Debates, VII, p. 397.
13. De Bow's Review, IV, p. 254; XVII, p. 428
14. Grund, Americans, II, p. 8.
15. Peck, New Guide to the West (Cincinnati, 1848), ch. IV; Parkman, Oregon Trail; Hall, The West (Cincinnati, 1848); Pierce, Incidents of Western Travel; Murray, Travels in North America; Lloyd, Steamboat Directory (Cincinnati, 1856); "Forty Days in a Western Hotel" (Chicago), in Putnam's Magazine, December, 1894; Mackay, The Western World, II, ch. II, III; Meeker, Life in the West; Bogen, German in America (Boston, 1851); Olmstead, Texas Journey; Greeley, Recollections of a Busy Life; Schouler, History of the United States, V, 261-267; Peyton, Over the Alleghanies and Across the Prairies (London, 1870); Loughborough, The Pacific Telegraph and Railway (St. Louis, 1849); Whitney, Project for a Railroad to the Pacific (New York, 1849); Peyton, Suggestions on Railroad Communication with the Pacific, and the Trade of China and the Indian Islands; Benton, Highway to the Pacific (a speech delivered in the U. S. Senate, December 16, 1850).

16. A writer in *The Home Missionary* (1850), p. 239, reporting Wisconsin conditions, exclaims: "Think of this, people of the enlightened East. What an example, to come from the very frontiers of civilization!" But one of the missionaries writes: "In a few years Wisconsin will no longer be considered as the West, or as an outpost of civilization, any more than western New York, or the Western Reserve."
17. Bancroft (H. H.), *History of California, History of Oregon, and Popular Tribunals*; Shinn, *Mining Camps*.
 {...}
24. But Lewis and Clarke were the first to explore the route from the Missouri to the Columbia.
25. *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VIII, p.10; Sparks' *Washington Works*, IX, pp. 303, 327; Logan, *History of Upper South Carolina*, I; McDonald, *Life of Kenton*, p. 72; Cong. Record, XXIII, p. 57.
26. On the effect of the fur trade in opening the routes of migration, see the author's *Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin*.
27. Lodge, *English Colonies*, p. 152 and citations; Logan, *Hist. of Upper South Carolina*, I, p. 151.
28. Flint, *Recollections*, p. 9.
29. See Monette, *Mississippi*, I, p. 344.
30. Cones', *Lewis and Clarke's Expedition*, I, pp. 2, 253-259; Benton, in Cong. Record, XXIII, p. 57.
31. Hehn, *Das Salz* (Berlin, 1873).
32. Col. Records of N. C., V, p. 3.
33. Findley, *History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Year 1,794* (Philadelphia, 1796), p. 35.
 {...}
35. Compare Bailly, *Tour in the Unsettled Parts of North America* (London, 1856), pp. 217-219, where a similar analysis is made for 1796. See also Collot, *Journey in North America* (Paris, 1826), p. 109; *Observations on the North American Land Company* (London, 1796), pp. XV, 144; Logan, *History of Upper South Carolina*.
36. "Spottswood Papers," in *Collections of Virginia Historical Society*, I, II.
37. [Burke], *European Settlements, etc.* (1765 ed.), II, p. 200.
38. Everest, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XII, pp. 7 ff.
39. Weston, *Documents connected with History of South Carolina*, p. 61.
40. See, for example, the speech of Clay, in the House of Representatives, January 30, 1824.
41. See the admirable monograph by Prof. H. B. Adams, *Maryland's Influence on the Land Cessions*; and also President Welling, in *Papers American Historical Association*, III, p. 411.
 {...}
44. Compare Roosevelt, Thomas Benton, ch. i.
 {...}
46. Compare Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 15, 24.
47. On the relation of frontier conditions to Revolutionary taxation, see Sumner, Alexander Hamilton, Ch. iii.
48. I have refrained from dwelling on the lawless characteristics of the frontier, because they are sufficiently well known. The gambler and desperado, the regulators of the Carolinas and the vigilantes of California, are types of that line of scum that the waves of advancing civilization bore before them, and of the growth of spontaneous organs of authority where legal authority was absent. Compare Barrows, *United States of Yesterday and To-morrow*; Shinn, *Mining Camps*; and Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*. The humor, bravery, and rude strength, as well as the vices of the frontier in its worst aspect, have left traces on American character, language, and literature, not soon to be effaced.
49. *Debates in the Constitutional Convention, 1829-1830*.
50. [McCrary] *Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas*, I, p.43; Calhoun's *Works*, I, pp. 401-406.
51. Speech in the Senate, March 1, 1825; *Register of Debates*, I, 721.
52. *Plea for the West* (Cincinnati, 1835), pp. 11 ff.
53. Colonial travelers agree in remarking on the phlegmatic characteristics of the colonists. It has frequently been asked how such a people could have developed that strained nervous energy now characteristic of them. Compare Sumner, Alexander Hamilton, p. 98, and Adams's *History of the United States*, I, p. 60; IX, pp. 240, 241. The transition appears to become marked at the close of the war of 1812, a period when interest centered upon the development of the West, and the West was noted for restless energy. Grund, *Americans*, II., ch. i.

WOODROW WILSON**What is Progress?****CAMPAIGN SPEECH EXCERPTS**1912/December 31, 1913

BACKGROUND

As noted in previous selections, the Gilded Age produced a variety of new problems and issues that Americans were initially unprepared to solve. However, the rise of the “new” political philosophy of Progressivism promised to provide a blueprint guaranteeing not only solutions to America’s current problems, but also the nation’s future development. Woodrow Wilson, the governor of New Jersey—as well as the former president of Princeton University and one of the earliest Progressives—ran his 1912 American presidential campaign on a promise to reform America’s ideals and structures to meet the challenges of the ever-changing political landscape. Such rhetoric is typified by this campaign speech of Wilson’s, published after he had won the presidency.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. With what parable does Wilson begin his speech?
2. What does it mean to be Progressive?
3. What is “progress,” according to Wilson?
4. Does he consider change to always be good?
5. What does Wilson say about the American Founding?
6. How does he think modern Americans should understand the Constitution?

Woodrow Wilson. “What Is Progress?” Speech excerpts, December 31, 1913. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/what-is-progress-3/>.

In that sage and veracious chronicle, Alice through the Looking-Glass, it is recounted how, on a noteworthy occasion, the little heroine is seized by the Red Chess Queen, who races her off at a terrific pace. They run until both of them are out of breath; then they stop, and Alice looks around her and says, "Why, we are just where we were when we started!" "Oh, yes," says the Red Queen; "you have to run twice as fast as that to get anywhere else."

That is a parable of progress. The laws of this country have not kept up with the change of economic circumstances in this country; they have not kept up with the change of political circumstances; and therefore we are not even where we were when we started. We shall have to run, not until we are out of breath, but until we have caught up with our own conditions, before we shall be where we were when we started; when we started this great experiment which has been the hope and the beacon of the world. And we should have to run twice as fast as any rational program I have seen in order to get anywhere else.

I am, therefore, forced to be a progressive, if for no other reason, because we have not kept up with our changes of conditions, either in the economic field or in the political field. We have not kept up as well as other nations have. We have not kept our practices adjusted to the facts of the case, and until we do, and unless we do, the facts of the case will always have the better of the argument; because if you do not adjust your laws to the facts, so much the worse for the laws, not for the facts, because law trails along after the facts. Only that law is unsafe which runs ahead of the facts and beckons to it and makes it follow the will-o'-the-wisps of imaginative projects. ...

Politics in America is in a case which sadly requires attention. The system set up by our law and our usage doesn't work—or at least it can't be depended on; it is made to work only by a most unreasonable expenditure of labor and pains. The government, which was designed for the people, has got into the hands of bosses and their employers, the special interests. An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy. ...

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Now, movement has no virtue in itself. Change is not worth while for its own sake. I am not one of those who love variety for its own sake. If a thing is good today, I should like to have it stay that way tomorrow. Most of our calculations in life are dependent upon things staying the way they are. For example, if, when you got up this morning,

5 you had forgotten how to dress, if you had forgotten all about those ordinary things which you do almost automatically, which you can almost do half awake, you would have to find out what you did yesterday. I am told by the psychologists that if I did not remember who I was yesterday, I should not know who I am today, and that, therefore, my very identity depends upon my being able to tally today with yesterday. If they do

10 not tally, then I am confused; I do not know who I am, and I have to go around and ask somebody to tell me my name and where I came from.

I am not one of those who wish to break connection with the past; I am not one of those who wish to change for the mere sake of variety. The only men who do that are the

15 men who want to forget something, the men who filled yesterday with something they would rather not recollect today, and so go about seeking diversion, seeking abstraction in something that will blot out recollection, or seeking to put something into them which will blot out all recollection. Change is not worth while unless it is improvement. If I move out of my present house because I do not like it, then I have got to choose a

20 better house, or build a better house, to justify the change. ...

Progress! Did you ever reflect that that word is almost a new one? No word comes more often or more naturally to the lips of modern man, as if the thing it stands for were almost synonymous with life itself, and yet men through many thousand years never

25 talked or thought of progress. They thought in the other direction. Their stories of heroisms and glory were tales of the past. The ancestor wore the heavier armor and carried the larger spear. "There were giants in those days." Now all that has altered. We think of the future, not the past, as the more glorious time in comparison with which the present is nothing. Progress, development—those are modern words. The modern

30 idea is to leave the past and press onward to something new.

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But what is progress going to do with the past, and with the present? How is it going to treat them? With ignominy, or respect? Should it break with them altogether, or rise out of them, with its roots still deep in the older time? What attitude shall progressives take toward the existing order, toward those institutions of conservatism, the
5 Constitution, the laws, and the courts?

Are those thoughtful men who fear that we are now about to disturb the ancient foundations of our institutions justified in their fear? If they are, we ought to go very slowly about the processes of change. If it is indeed true that we have grown tired of
10 the institutions which we have so carefully and sedulously built up, then we ought to go very slowly and very carefully about the very dangerous task of altering them. We ought, therefore, to ask ourselves, first of all, whether thought in this country is tending to do anything by which we shall retrace our steps, or by which we shall change the whole direction of our development?

I believe, for one, that you cannot tear up ancient rootages and safely plant the tree of liberty in soil which is not native to it. I believe that the ancient traditions of a people are its ballast; you cannot make a *tabula rasa* upon which to write a political program. You cannot take a new sheet of paper and determine what your life shall be tomorrow.
20 You must knit the new into the old. You cannot put a new patch on an old garment without ruining it; it must be not a patch, but something woven into the old fabric, of practically the same pattern, of the same texture and intention. If I did not believe that to be progressive was to preserve the essentials of our institutions, I for one could not be a progressive.

One of the chief benefits I used to derive from being president of a university was that I had the pleasure of entertaining thoughtful men from all over the world. I cannot tell you how much has dropped into my granary by their presence. I had been casting around in my mind for something by which to draw several parts of my political
30 thought together when it was my good fortune to entertain a very interesting Scotsman who had been devoting himself to the philosophical thought of the seventeenth century. His talk was so engaging that it was delightful to hear him speak of anything,

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and presently there came out of the unexpected region of his thought the thing I had been waiting for. He called my attention to the fact that in every generation all sorts of speculation and thinking tend to fall under the formula of the dominant thought of the age. For example, after the Newtonian theory of the universe had been developed,

5 almost all thinking tended to express itself in the analogies of the Newtonian theory, and since the Darwinian theory has reigned amongst us, everybody is likely to express whatever he wishes to expound in terms of development and accommodation to environment.

10 Now, it came to me, as this interesting man talked, that the Constitution of the United States had been made under the dominion of the Newtonian theory. You have only to read the papers of *The Federalist* to see that fact written on every page. They speak of the “checks and balances” of the Constitution, and use to express their idea the simile of the organization of the universe, and particularly of the solar system—how by the

15 attraction of gravitation the various parts are held in their orbits; and then they proceed to represent Congress, the judiciary, and the president as a sort of imitation of the solar system.

They were only following the English Whigs, who gave Great Britain its modern

20 constitution. Not that those Englishmen analyzed the matter, or had any theory about it; Englishmen care little for theories. It was a Frenchman, Montesquieu, who pointed out to them how faithfully they had copied Newton’s description of the mechanism of the heavens.

25 The makers of our federal Constitution read Montesquieu with true scientific enthusiasm. They were scientists in their way—the best way of their age—those fathers of the nation. Jefferson wrote of “the laws of Nature”—and then by way of afterthought—“and of Nature’s God.” And they constructed a government as they would have constructed an orrery—to display the laws of nature. Politics in their

30 thought was a variety of mechanics. The Constitution was founded on the law of gravitation. The government was to exist and move by virtue of the efficacy of “checks and balances.”

The trouble with the theory is that government is not a machine but a living thing. It falls not under the theory of the universe, but under the theory of organic life. It is accountable to Darwin, not to Newton. It is modified by its environment, necessitated
5 by its tasks, shaped to its functions by the sheer pressure of life. No living thing can have its organs offset against each other, as checks, and live. On the contrary, its life is dependent upon their quick cooperation, their ready response to the commands of instinct or intelligence, their amicable community of purpose. Government is not a body of blind forces; it is a body of men, with highly differentiated functions, no doubt,
10 in our modern day, of specialization, with a common task and purpose. Their cooperation is indispensable, their warfare fatal. There can be no successful government without the intimate, instinctive coordination of the organs of life and action. This is not theory, but fact, and displays its force as fact, whatever theories may be thrown across its track. Living political constitutions must be Darwinian in structure
15 and in practice. Society is a living organism and must obey the laws of life, not of mechanics; it must develop.

All that progressives ask or desire is permission—in an era when “development,” “evolution,” is the scientific word—to interpret the Constitution according to the
20 Darwinian principle; all they ask is recognition of the fact that a nation is a living thing and not a machine.

Some citizens of this country have never got beyond the Declaration of Independence, signed in Philadelphia, July 4th, 1776. Their bosoms swell against George III, but they
25 have no consciousness of the war for freedom that is going on today.

The Declaration of Independence did not mention the questions of our day. It is of no consequence to us unless we can translate its general terms into examples of the present day and substitute them in some vital way for the examples it itself gives, so concrete,
30 so intimately involved in the circumstances of the day in which it was conceived and written. It is an eminently practical document, meant for the use of practical men; not a thesis for philosophers, but a whip for tyrants; not a theory of government, but a

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program of action. Unless we can translate it into the questions of our own day, we are not worthy of it, we are not the sons of the sires who acted in response to its challenge.

What form does the contest between tyranny and freedom take today? What is the special form of tyranny we now fight? How does it endanger the rights of the people, and what do we mean to do in order to make our contest against it effectual? What are to be the items of our new declaration of independence?

By tyranny, as we now fight it, we mean control of the law, of legislation and adjudication, by organizations which do not represent the people, by means which are private and selfish. We mean, specifically, the conduct of our affairs and the shaping of our legislation in the interest of special bodies of capital and those who organize their use. We mean the alliance, for this purpose, of political machines with selfish business. We mean the exploitation of the people by legal and political means. We have seen many of our governments under these influences cease to be representative governments, cease to be governments representative of the people, and become governments representative of special interests, controlled by machines, which in their turn are not controlled by the people. ...

Well, we have started now at all events. The procession is under way. The stand-patter doesn't know there is a procession. He is asleep in the back part of his house. He doesn't know that the road is resounding with the tramp of men going to the front. And when he wakes up, the country will be empty. He will be deserted, and he will wonder what has happened. Nothing has happened. The world has been going on. The world has a habit of going on. The world has a habit of leaving those behind who won't go with it. The world has always neglected stand-patters. And, therefore, the stand-patter does not excite my indignation; he excites my sympathy. He is going to be so lonely before it is all over. And we are good fellows, we are good company; why doesn't he come along? We are not going to do him any harm. We are going to show him a good time. We are going to climb the slow road until it reaches some upland where the air is fresher, where the whole talk of mere politicians is stilled, where men can look in each other's faces and see that there is nothing to conceal, that all they have to talk about

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they are willing to talk about in the open and talk about with each other; and whence, looking back over the road, we shall see at last that we have fulfilled our promise to mankind. We had said to all the world, “America was created to break every kind of monopoly, and to set men free, upon a footing of equality, upon a footing of
5 opportunity, to match their brains and their energies.” And now we have proved that we meant it.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES JR.

Natural Law

JOURNAL ARTICLE

Harvard Law Review | November 1918

BACKGROUND

One of the most well-known Supreme Court justices, Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., served on the Court from 1902 to 1932, and wrote opinions for many famous cases during that time. As a lawyer and judge, one of his philosophical positions was arguing against natural law—the bedrock of Western civilization’s thinking since its very inception. This article by Holmes summarizes well his position on the issue.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Holmes say his view of truth used to be?
2. What is his opinion of absolute truth?
3. How does Holmes tie truth to civilization generally?
4. How does he view teleology?
5. Does Holmes think man is capable of truly understanding the universe in a philosophical sense?

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. “Natural Law.” Journal article, *Harvard Law Review* 32, no. 1 (November 1918). From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/natural-law/>. See also: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1327676>.

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It is not enough for the knight of romance that you agree that his lady is a very nice girl—if you do not admit that she is the best that God ever made or will make, you must fight. There is in all men a demand for the superlative, so much so that the poor devil who has no other way of reaching it attains it by getting drunk. It seems to me
5 that this demand is at the bottom of the philosopher's effort to prove that truth is absolute and of the jurist's search for criteria of universal validity which he collects under the head of natural law.

I used to say when I was young, that truth was the majority vote of that nation that
10 could lick all others. Certainly we may expect that the received opinion about the present war will depend a good deal upon which side wins (I hope with all my soul it will be mine), and I think that the statement was correct insofar as it implied that our test of truth is a reference to either a present or an imagined future majority in favor of our view. If ... the truth may be defined as the system of my (intellectual) limitations,
15 what gives it objectivity is the fact that I find my fellow man to a greater or less extent (never wholly) subject to the same *Can't Helps*. If I think that I am sitting at a table I find that the other persons present agree with me; so if I say that the sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles. If I am in a minority of one they send for a doctor or lock me up; and I am so far able to transcend the to me convincing testimony
20 of my sense or my reason as to recognize that if I am alone probably something is wrong with my works.

Certitude is not the test of certainty. We have been cocksure of many things that were not so. If I may quote myself again, property, friendship, and truth have a common
25 root in time. One cannot be wrenched from the rocky crevices into which one has grown for many years without feeling that one is attacked in one's life. What we most love and revere generally is determined by early associations. I love granite rocks and barberry bushes, no doubt because with them were my earliest joys that reach back through the past eternity of my life. But while one's experience thus makes certain
30 preferences dogmatic for oneself, recognition of how they came to be so leaves one able to see that others, poor souls, may be equally dogmatic about something else. And this again means skepticism. Not that one's belief or love does not remain. Not that we

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would not fight and die for it if important—we all, whether we know it or not, are fighting to make the kind of a world that we should like—but that we have learned to recognize that others will fight and die to make a different world, with equal sincerity or belief. Deep-seated preferences cannot be argued about—you cannot argue a man
5 into liking a glass of beer—and therefore, when differences are sufficiently far reaching, we try to kill the other man rather than let him have his way. But that is perfectly consistent with admitting that, so far as appears, his grounds are just as good as ours.

The jurists who believe in natural law seem to me to be in that naïve state of mind that
10 accepts what has been familiar and accepted by all men everywhere. No doubt it is true that, so far as we can see ahead, some arrangements and the rudiments of familiar institutions seem to be necessary elements in any society that may spring from our own and that would seem to us to be civilized—some form of permanent association between the sexes—some residue of property individually owned—some mode of
15 binding oneself to specified future conduct—at the bottom of all, some protection for the person. But without speculating whether a group is imaginable in which all but the last of these might disappear and the last be subject to qualifications that most of us would abhor, the question remains as to the *Ought* of natural law.

It is true that beliefs and wishes have a transcendental basis in the sense that their foundation is arbitrary. You cannot help entertaining and feeling them, and there is an end of it. As an arbitrary fact people wish to live, and we say with various degrees of certainty that they can do so only on certain conditions. To do it they must eat and drink. That necessity is absolute. It is a necessity of less degree but practically general
20 that they should live in society. If they live in society, so far as we can see, there are further conditions. Reason working on experience does tell us, no doubt, that if our wish to live continues, we can do it only on those terms. But that seems to me the whole of the matter. I see no *a priori* duty to live with others and in that way, but simply a statement of what I must do if I wish to remain alive. If I do live with others they tell
25 me that I must do and abstain from doing various things or they will put the screws on to me. I believe that they will, and being of the same mind as to their conduct I not only accept the rules but come in time to accept them with sympathy and emotional
30

affirmation and begin to talk about duties and rights. But for legal purposes a right is only the hypostasis of a prophecy—the imagination of a substance supporting the fact that the public force will be brought to bear upon those who do things said to contravene it—just as we talk of the force of gravitation accounting for the conduct of
5 bodies in space. One phrase adds no more than the other to what we know without it. No doubt behind these legal rights is the fighting will of the subject to maintain them, and the spread of his emotions to the general rules by which they are maintained; but that does not seem to me the same thing as the supposed *a priori* discernment of a duty or the assertion of a preexisting right. A dog will fight for his bone.

10

The most fundamental of the supposed preexisting rights—the right to life—is sacrificed without a scruple not only in war, but whenever the interest of society, that is, of the predominant power in the community, is thought to demand it. Whether that interest is the interest of mankind in the long run no one can tell, and as, in any event,
15 to those who do not think with Kant and Hegel it is only an interest, the sanctity disappears. I remember a very tender-hearted judge being of opinion that closing a hatch to stop a fire and the destruction of a cargo was justified even if it was known that doing so would stifle a man below. It is idle to illustrate further, because to those who agree with me I am uttering commonplaces and to those who disagree I am
20 ignoring the necessary foundations of thought. The *a priori* men generally call the dissentients superficial. But I do agree with them in believing that one's attitude on these matters is closely connected with one's general attitude toward the universe. Proximately, as has been suggested, it is determined largely by early associations and temperament, coupled with the desire to have an absolute guide. Men to a great extent
25 believe what they want to—although I see in that no basis for a philosophy that tells us what we should want to want.

30

Now when we come to our attitude toward the universe I do not see any rational ground for demanding the superlative—for being dissatisfied unless we are assured that
our truth is cosmic truth, if there is such a thing—that the ultimates of a little creature on this little earth are the last word of the unimaginable whole. If a man sees no reason for believing that significance, consciousness and ideals are more than marks of the

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- finite, that does not justify what has been familiar in French skeptics; getting upon a pedestal and professing to look with haughty scorn upon a world in ruins. The real conclusion is that the part cannot swallow the whole—that our categories are not, or may not be, adequate to formulate what we cannot know. If we believe that we come
- 5 out of the universe, not it out of us, we must admit that we do not know what we are talking about when we speak of brute matter. We do know that a certain complex of energies can wag its tail and another can make syllogisms. These are among the powers of the unknown, and if, as may be, it has still greater powers that we cannot understand, as Fabre in his studies of instinct would have us believe, studies that gave Bergson one
- 10 of the strongest strands for his philosophy and enabled Maeterlinck to make us fancy for a moment that we heard a clang from behind phenomena—if this be true, why should we not be content? Why should we employ the energy that is furnished to us by the cosmos to defy it and shake our fist at the sky? It seems to me silly.
- 15 That the universe has in it more than we understand, that the private soldiers have not been told the plan of campaign, or even that there is one, rather than some vaster unthinkable to which every predicate is an impertinence, has no bearing upon our conduct. We still shall fight—all of us because we want to live, some, at least, because we want to realize our spontaneity and prove our powers, for the joy of it, and we may
- 20 leave to the unknown the supposed final valuation of that which in any event has value to us. It is enough for us that the universe has produced us and has within it, as less than it, all that we believe and love. If we think of our existence not as that of a little god outside, but as that of a ganglion within, we have the infinite behind us. It gives us our only but our adequate significance. A grain of sand has the same, but what
- 25 competent person supposes that he understands a grain of sand? That is as much beyond our grasp as man. If our imagination is strong enough to accept the vision of ourselves as parts inseverable from the rest, and to extend our final interest beyond the boundary of our skins, it justifies the sacrifice even of our lives for ends outside of ourselves. The motive, to be sure, is the common wants and ideals that we find in man.
- 30 Philosophy does not furnish motives, but it shows men that they are not fools for doing what they already want to do. It opens to the forlorn hopes on which we throw

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ourselves away, the vista of the farthest stretch of human thought, the chords of a harmony that breathes from the unknown.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The Presidency; Making an Old Party Progressive

BOOK CHAPTER

1913

BACKGROUND

Following the assassination of President William McKinley in September 1901, his vice president Theodore Roosevelt assumed office. A relatively young and energetic president, Roosevelt enacted many reforms and Progressive-leaning policies during his administration, including food safety protections, natural conservation laws, and legislation aimed at “trust busting.” After failing to secure the presidency for a third term as the Republican (and then Progressive Party) nominee in 1912, Roosevelt published his autobiography the following year. The chapter excerpted below (Chapter 10) details the aftermath of his first accession to the presidency.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Roosevelt generally do upon succeeding McKinley?
2. What does he see as the good and bad aspects of the Republican Party of his day?
3. Who are examples Roosevelt cites as excellent politicians of his time?
4. What does he imply is a major reason for his presidency’s success?
5. How does Roosevelt understand executive power?
6. What two broad schools of American political thought does he discuss?

Theodore Roosevelt. “The Presidency; Making an Old Party Progressive.” Book chapter, Ch. 10 of *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography*, 1913. From Teaching American History.
<https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-presidency-making-an-old-party-progressive/>.

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- On September 6, 1901, President McKinley was shot by an Anarchist in the city of Buffalo. I went to Buffalo at once. The President's condition seemed to be improving, and after a day or two we were told that he was practically out of danger. I then joined my family, who were in the Adirondacks, near the foot of Mount Tahawus. A day or two afterwards we took a long tramp through the forest, and in the afternoon I climbed Mount Tahawus. After reaching the top I had descended a few hundred feet to a shelf of land where there was a little lake, when I saw a guide coming out of the woods on our trail from below. I felt at once that he had bad news, and, sure enough, he handed me a telegram saying that the President's condition was much worse and that I must come to Buffalo immediately. It was late in the afternoon, and darkness had fallen by the time I reached the clubhouse where we were staying. It was some time afterwards before I could get a wagon to drive me out to the nearest railway station, North Creek, some forty or fifty miles distant.
- The roads were the ordinary wilderness roads and the night was dark. But we changed horses two or three times – when I say “we” I mean the driver and I, as there was no one else with us – and reached the station just at dawn, to learn from Mr. Loeb, who had a special train waiting, that the President was dead. That evening I took the oath of office, in the house of Ansley Wilcox, at Buffalo.
- On three previous occasions the Vice-President had succeeded to the Presidency on the death of the President. In each case there had been a reversal of party policy, and a nearly immediate and nearly complete change in the personnel of the higher offices, especially the Cabinet. I had never felt that this was wise from any standpoint. If a man is fit to be President, he will speedily so impress himself in the office that the policies pursued will be his anyhow, and he will not have to bother as to whether he is changing them or not; while as regards the offices under him, the important thing for him is that his subordinates shall make a success in handling their several departments. The subordinate is sure to desire to make a success of his department for his own sake, and if he is a fit man, whose views on public policy are sound, and whose abilities entitle him to his position, he will do excellently under almost any chief with the same purposes.

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I at once announced that I would continue unchanged McKinley's policies for the honor and prosperity of the country, and I asked all the members of the Cabinet to stay. There were no changes made among them save as changes were made among their successors whom I myself appointed. I continued Mr. McKinley's policies, changing and developing
5 them and adding new policies only as the questions before the public changed and as the needs of the public developed. Some of my friends shook their heads over this, telling me that the men I retained would not be "loyal to me," and that I would seem as if I were "a pale copy of McKinley." I told them that I was not nervous on this score, and that if the men I retained were loyal to their work they would be giving me the loyalty for which I
10 most cared; and that if they were not, I would change them anyhow; and that as for being "a pale copy of McKinley," I was not primarily concerned with either following or not following in his footsteps, but in facing the new problems that arose; and that if I were competent I would find ample opportunity to show my competence by my deeds without worrying myself as to how to convince people of the fact.

15 For the reasons I have already given in my chapter on the Governorship of New York, the Republican party, which in the days of Abraham Lincoln was founded as the radical progressive party of the Nation, had been obliged during the last decade of the nineteenth century to uphold the interests of popular government against a foolish and illjudged
20 mock-radicalism. It remained the Nationalist as against the particularist or State's rights party, and in so far it remained absolutely sound; for little permanent good can be done by any party which worships the State's rights fetish or which fails to regard the State, like the county or the municipality, as merely a convenient unit for local self-government, while in all National matters, of importance to the whole people, the Nation is to be
25 supreme over State, county, and town alike. But the State's rights fetish, although still effectively used at certain times by both courts and Congress to block needed National legislation directed against the huge corporations or in the interests of workingmen, was not a prime issue at the time of which I speak. In 1896, 1898, and 1900 the campaigns
30 were waged on two great moral issues: (1) the imperative need of a sound and honest currency; (2) the need, after 1898, of meeting in manful and straightforward fashion the extraterritorial problems arising from the Spanish War. On these great moral issues the Republican party was right, and the men who were opposed to it, and who claimed to be

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the radicals, and their allies among the sentimentalists, were utterly and hopelessly wrong. This had, regrettably but perhaps inevitably, tended to throw the party into the hands not merely of the conservatives but of the reactionaries; of men who, sometimes for personal and improper reasons, but more often with entire sincerity and uprightness

5 of purpose, distrusted anything that was progressive and dreaded radicalism. These men still from force of habit applauded what Lincoln had done in the way of radical dealing with the abuses of his day; but they did not apply the spirit in which Lincoln worked to the abuses of their own day. Both houses of Congress were controlled by these men. Their leaders in the Senate were Messrs. Aldrich and Hale. The Speaker of the House when I

10 became President was Mr. Henderson, but in a little over a year he was succeeded by Mr. Cannon, who, although widely differing from Senator Aldrich in matters of detail, represented the same type of public sentiment. There were many points on which I agreed with Mr. Cannon and Mr. Aldrich, and some points on which I agreed with Mr. Hale. I made a resolute effort to get on with all three and with their followers, and I have

15 no question that they made an equally resolute effort to get on with me. We succeeded in working together, although with increasing friction, for some years, I pushing forward and they hanging back. Gradually, however, I was forced to abandon the effort to persuade them to come my way, and then I achieved results only by appealing over the heads of the Senate and House leaders to the people, who were the masters of both of us.

20 I continued in this way to get results until almost the close of my term; and the Republican party became once more the progressive and indeed the fairly radical progressive party of the Nation. When my successor was chosen, however, the leaders of the House and Senate, or most of them, felt that it was safe to come to a break with me, and the last or short session of Congress, held between the election of my successor and

25 his inauguration four months later, saw a series of contests between the majorities in the two houses of Congress and the President,-myself,- quite as bitter as if they and I had belonged to opposite political parties. However, I held my own. I was not able to push through the legislation I desired during these four months, but I was able to prevent them doing anything I did not desire, or undoing anything that I had already succeeded in

30 getting done.

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There were, of course, many Senators and members of the lower house with whom up to the very last I continued to work in hearty accord, and with a growing understanding. I have not the space to enumerate, as I would like to, these men. For many years Senator Lodge had been my close personal and political friend, with whom I discussed all public questions, that arose, usually with agreement; and our intimately close relations were of course unchanged by my entry into the White House. He was of all our public men the man who had made the closest and wisest study of our foreign relations, and more clearly than almost any other man he understood the vital fact that the efficiency of our navy conditioned our national efficiency in foreign affairs. Anything relating to our international relations, from Panama and the navy to the Alaskan boundary question, the Algeciras negotiations, or the peace of Portsmouth, I was certain to discuss with Senator Lodge and also with certain other members of Congress, such as Senator Turner of Washington and Representative Hitt of Illinois. Anything relating to labor legislation and to measures for controlling big business or efficiently regulating the giant railway systems, I was certain to discuss with Senator Dolliver or Congressman Hepburn or Congressman Cooper. With men like Senator Beveridge, Congressman (afterwards Senator) Dixon, and Congressman Murdock, I was apt to discuss pretty nearly everything relating to either our internal or our external affairs[.] There were many, many others. The present President of the Senate, Senator Clark, of Arkansas, was as fearless and high-minded a representative of the people of the United States as I ever dealt with. He was one of the men who combined loyalty to his own State with an equally keen loyalty to the people of all the United States. He was politically opposed to me; but when the interests of the country were at stake, he was incapable of considering party differences; and this was especially his attitude in international matters – including certain treaties which most of his party colleagues, with narrow lack of patriotism, and complete subordination of National to factional interest, opposed. I have never anywhere met finer, more faithful, more disinterested, and more loyal public servants than Senator O. H. Platt, a Republican, from Connecticut, and Senator Cockrell, a Democrat, from Missouri. They were already old men when I came to the Presidency; and doubtless there were points on which I seemed to them to be extreme and radical; but eventually they found that our motives and beliefs were the same, and they did all in their power to help any movement that was for the interest of our people as a whole. I had met them when I was Civil Service

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Commissioner and Assistant Secretary of the Navy. All I ever had to do with either was to convince him that a given measure I championed was right, and he then at once did all he could to have it put into effect. If I could not convince them, why! that was my fault, or my misfortune; but if I could convince them, I never had to think again as to whether they would or would not support me. There were many other men of mark in both houses with whom I could work on some points, whereas on others we had to differ. There was one powerful leader – a burly, forceful man, of admirable traits – who had, however, been trained in the post-bellum school of business and politics, so that his attitude towards life, quite unconsciously, reminded me a little of Artemus Ward’s view of the Tower of London – “If I like it, I’ll buy it.” There was a big governmental job in which this leader was much interested, and in reference to which he always wished me to consult a man whom he trusted, whom I will call Pitt Rodney. One day I answered him, “The trouble with Rodney is that he misestimates his relations to cosmos”; to which he responded, “Cosmos – Cosmos? Never heard of him. You stick to Rodney. He’s your man!” Outside of the public servants there were multitudes of men, in newspaper offices, in magazine offices, in business or the professions or on farms or in shops, who actively supported the policies for which I stood and did work of genuine leadership which was quite as effective as any work done by men in public office. Without the active support of these men I would have been powerless. In particular, the leading newspaper correspondents at Washington were as a whole a singularly able, trustworthy, and public-spirited body of men, and the most useful of all agents in the fight for efficient and decent government.

As for the men under me in executive office, I could not overstate the debt of gratitude I owe them. From the heads of the departments, the Cabinet officers, down, the most striking feature of the Administration was the devoted, zealous, and efficient work that was done as soon as it became understood that the one bond of interest among all of us was the desire to make the Government the most effective instrument in advancing the interests of the people as a whole, the interests of the average men and women of the United States and of their children. I do not think I overstate the case when I say that most of the men who did the best work under me felt that ours was a partnership, that we all stood on the same level of purpose and service, and that it mattered not what

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position anyone of us held so long as in that position he gave the very best that was in him. We worked very hard; but I made a point of getting a couple of hours off each day for equally vigorous play. The men with whom I then played, whom we laughingly grew to call the "Tennis Cabinet," have been mentioned in a previous chapter of this book in
5 connection with the gift they gave me at the last breakfast which they took at the White House. There were many others in the public service under me with whom I happened not to play, but who did their share of our common work just as effectively as it was done by us who did play. Of course nothing could have been done in my Administration if it had not been for the zeal, intelligence, masterful ability, and downright hard labor of
10 these men in countless positions under me. I was helpless to do anything except as my thoughts and orders were translated into action by them; and, moreover, each of them, as he grew specially fit for his job, used to suggest to me the right thought to have, and the right order to give, concerning that job. It is of course hard for me to speak with cold and dispassionate partiality of these men, who were as close to me as were the men of my
15 regiment. But the outside observers best fitted to pass judgment about them felt as I did. At the end of my Administration Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador, told me that in a long life, during which he had studied intimately the government of many different countries, he had never in any country seen a more eager, high-minded, and efficient set of public servants, men more useful and more creditable to their country, than the men
20 then doing the work of the American Government in Washington and in the field. I repeat this statement with the permission of Mr. Bryce.

At about the same time, or a little before, in the spring of 1908, there appeared in the English Fortnightly Review an article, evidently by a competent eye witness, setting forth
25 more in detail the same views to which the British Ambassador thus privately gave expression. It was in part as follows:

"Mr. Roosevelt has gathered around him a body of public servants who are nowhere surpassed, I question whether they are anywhere equaled, for efficiency, self-sacrifice,
30 and an absolute devotion to their country's interests. Many of them are poor men, without private means, who have voluntarily abandoned high professional ambitions and turned their backs on the rewards of business to serve their country on salaries that are not merely inadequate, but indecently so. There is not one of them who is not constantly assailed by offers of positions in the world of commerce, finance, and the law that would

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5 satisfy every material ambition with which he began life. There is not one of them who
could not, if he chose, earn outside Washington from ten to twenty times the income on
which he economizes as a State official. But these men are as indifferent to money and to
the power that money brings as to the allurements of Newport and New York, or to
10 merely personal distinctions, or to the commercialized ideals which the great bulk of
their fellow-countrymen accept without question. They are content, and more than
content, to sink themselves in the National service without a thought of private
advancement, and often at a heavy sacrifice of worldly honors, and to toil on ... sustained
by their own native impulse to make of patriotism an efficient instrument of public
10 betterment."

The American public rarely appreciate the high quality of the work done by some of our
diplomats – work, usually entirely unnoticed and unrewarded, which redounds to the
interest and the honor of all of us. The most useful man in the entire diplomatic service,
15 during my presidency, and for many years before, was Henry White; and I say this having
in mind the high quality of work done by such admirable ambassadors and ministers as
Bacon, Meyer, Straus, O'Brien, Rockhill, and Egan, to name only a few among many.
When I left the presidency White was Ambassador to France; shortly afterwards he was
removed by Mr. Taft, for reasons unconnected with the good of the service.

20 The most important factor in getting the right spirit in my Administration, next to the
insistence upon courage, honesty, and a genuine democracy of desire to serve the plain
people, was my insistence upon the theory that the executive power was limited only by
specific restrictions and prohibitions appearing in the Constitution or imposed by the
25 Congress under its Constitutional powers. My view was that every executive officer, and
above all every executive officer in high position, was a steward of the people bound
actively and affirmatively to do all he could for the people, and not to content himself
with the negative merit of keeping his talents undamaged in a napkin. I declined to adopt
the view that what was imperatively necessary for the Nation could not be done by the
30 President unless he could find some specific authorization to do it. My belief was that it
was not only his right but his duty to do anything that the needs of the Nation demanded
unless such action was forbidden by the Constitution or by the laws. Under this
interpretation of executive power I did and caused to be done many things not previously
done by the President and the heads of the departments. I did not usurp power, but I did
35 greatly broaden the use of executive power. In other words, I acted for the public welfare,

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I acted for the common well-being of all our people, whenever and in whatever manner was necessary, unless prevented by direct constitutional or legislative prohibition. I did not care a rap for the mere form and show of power; I cared immensely for the use that could be made of the substance. The Senate at one time objected to my communicating with them in printing, preferring the expensive, foolish, and laborious practice of writing out the messages by hand. It was not possible to return to the outworn archaism of hand writing; but we endeavored to have the printing made as pretty as possible. Whether I communicated with the Congress in writing or by word of mouth, and whether the writing was by a machine, or a pen, were equally, and absolutely, unimportant matters. The importance lay in what I said and in the heed paid to what I said. So as to my meeting and consulting Senators, Congressmen, politicians, financiers, and labor men. I consulted all who wished to see me; and if I wished to see anyone, I sent for him; and where the consultation took place was a matter of supreme unimportance. I consulted every man with the sincere hope that I could profit by and follow his advice; I consulted every member of Congress who wished to be consulted, hoping to be able to come to an agreement of action with him; and I always finally acted as my conscience and common sense bade me act.

About appointments I was obliged by the Constitution to consult the Senate; and the long-established custom of the Senate meant that in practice this consultation was with individual Senators and even with big politicians who stood behind the Senators. I was only one-half the appointing power; I nominated; but the Senate confirmed. In practice, by what was called "the courtesy of the Senate," the Senate normally refused to confirm any appointment if the Senator from the State objected to it. In exceptional cases, where I could arouse public attention, I could force through the appointment in spite of the opposition of the Senators; in all ordinary cases this was impossible. On the other hand, the Senator could of course do nothing for any man unless I chose to nominate him. In consequence the Constitution itself forced the President and the Senators from each State to come to a working agreement on the appointments in and from that State.

My course was to insist on absolute fitness, including honesty, as a prerequisite to every appointment; and to remove only for good cause, and, where there was such cause, to

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refuse even to discuss with the Senator in interest the unfit servant's retention. Subject to these considerations, I normally accepted each Senator's recommendations for offices of a routine kind, such as most post-offices and the like, but insisted on myself choosing the men for the more important positions. I was willing to take any good man for postmaster;

5 but in the case of a Judge or District Attorney or Canal Commissioner or Ambassador, I was apt to insist either on a given man or else on any man with a given class of qualifications. If the Senator deceived me, I took care that he had no opportunity to repeat the deception.

10 I can perhaps best illustrate my theory of action by two specific examples. In New York Governor Odell and Senator Platt sometimes worked in agreement and sometimes were at swords' points, and both wished to be consulted. To a friendly Congressman, who was also their friend, I wrote as follows on July 22, 1903:

15 "I want to work with Platt. I want to work with Odell. I want to support both and take the advice of both. But of course ultimately I must be the judge as to acting on the advice given. When, as in the case of the judgeship, I am convinced that the advice of both is wrong, I shall act as I did when I appointed Holt. When I can find a friend of Odell's like Cooley, who is thoroughly fit for the position I desire to fill, it gives me the greatest

20 pleasure to appoint him. When Platt proposes to me a man like Hamilton Fish, it is equally a pleasure to appoint him."

This was written in connection with events which led up to my refusing to accept Senator Platt's or Governor Odell's sug[g]estions as to a Federal Judgeship and a Federal District

25 Attorneyship, and insisting on the appointment, first of Judge Hough and later of District Attorney Stimson; because in each case I felt that the work to be done was of so high an order that I could not take an ordinary man.

The other case was that of Senator Fulton, of Oregon. Through Francis Heney I was

30 prosecuting men who were implicated in a vast network of conspiracy against the law in connection with the theft of public land in Oregon. I had been acting on Senator Fulton's recommendations for office, in the usual manner. Heney had been insisting that Fulton was in league with the men we were prosecuting, and that he had recommended unfit men. Fulton had been protesting against my following Heney's advice, particularly as

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regards appointing Judge Wolverton as United States Judge. Finally Heney laid before me a report which convinced me of the truth of his statements. I then wrote to Fulton as follows, on November 20, 1905:

5 “My dear Senator Fulton: I inclose you herewith a copy of the report made to me by Mr. Heney. I have seen the originals of the letters from you and Senator Mitchell quoted therein. I do not at this time desire to discuss the report itself, which of course I must submit to the Attorney-General. But I have been obliged to reach the painful conclusion that your own letters as therein quoted tend to show that you recommended for the
10 position of District Attorney B when you had good reason to believe that he had himself been guilty of fraudulent conduct; that you recommended C for the same position simply because it was for B’s interest that he should be so recommended, and, as there is reason to believe, because he had agreed to divide the fees with B if he were appointed; and that you finally recommended the reappointment of H with the knowledge that if H were
15 appointed he would abstain from prosecuting B for criminal misconduct, this being why B advocated H’s claims for reappointment. If you care to make any statement in the matter, I shall of course be glad to hear it. As the District Judge of Oregon I shall appoint Judge Wolverton.”

20 In the letter I of course gave in full the names indicated above by initials. Senator Fulton gave no explanation. I therefore ceased to consult him about appointments under the Department of Justice and the Interior, the two departments in which the crookedness had occurred – there was no question of crookedness in the other offices in the State, and they could be handled in the ordinary manner. Legal proceedings were undertaken
25 against his colleague in the Senate, and one of his colleagues in the lower house, and the former was convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary.

In a number of instances the legality of executive acts of my Administration was brought before the courts. They were uniformly sustained. For example, prior to 1907 statutes
30 relating to the disposition of coal lands had been construed as fixing the flat price at \$10 to \$20 per acre. The result was that valuable coal lands were sold for wholly inadequate prices, chiefly to big corporations. By executive order the coal lands were withdrawn and not opened for entry until proper classification was placed thereon by Government agents. There was a great clamor that I was usurping legislative power; but the acts were
35 not assailed in court until we brought suits to set aside entries made by persons and associations to obtain larger areas than the statutes authorized. This position was opposed on the ground that the restrictions imposed were illegal; that the executive

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orders were illegal. The Supreme Court sustained the Government. In the same way our attitude in the water power question was sustained, the Supreme Court holding that the Federal Government had the rights we claimed over streams that are or may be declared navigable by Congress. Again, when Oklahoma became a State we were obliged to use
5 the executive power to protect Indian rights and property, for there had been an enormous amount of fraud in the obtaining of Indian lands by white men. Here we were denounced as usurping power over a State as well as usurping power that did not belong to the executive. The Supreme Court sustained our action.

10 In connection with the Indians, by the way, it was again and again necessary to assert the position of the President as steward of the whole people. I had a capital Indian Commissioner, Francis E. Leupp. I found that I could rely on his judgment not to get me into fights that were unnecessary, and therefore I always backed him to the limit when he told me that a fight was necessary. On one occasion, for example, Congress passed a
15 bill to sell to settlers about half a million acres of Indian land in Oklahoma at one and a half dollars an acre. I refused to sign it, and turned the matter over to Leupp. The bill was accordingly withdrawn, amended so as to safeguard the welfare of the Indians, and the minimum price raised to five dollars an acre. Then I signed the bill. We sold that land under sealed bids, and realized for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians more than
20 four million dollars – three millions and a quarter more than they would have obtained if I had signed the bill in its original form. In another case, where there had been a division among the Sac and Fox Indians, part of the tribe removing to Iowa, the Iowa delegation in Congress, backed by two Iowans who were members of my Cabinet, passed a bill awarding a sum of nearly a half million dollars to the Iowa seceders. They had not
25 consulted the Indian Bureau. Leupp protested against the bill, and I vetoed it. A subsequent bill was passed on the lines laid down by the Indian Bureau, referring the whole controversy to the courts, and the Supreme Court in the end justified our position by deciding against the Iowa seceders and awarding the money to the Oklahoma stay-at-homes.

30 As to all action of this kind there have long been two schools of political thought, upheld with equal sincerity. The division has not normally been along political, but

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temperamental, lines. The course I followed, of regarding the executive as subject only to the people, and, under the Constitution, bound to serve the people affirmatively in cases where the Constitution does not explicitly forbid him to render the service, was substantially the course followed by both Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. Other
5 honorable and well-meaning Presidents, such as James Buchanan, took the opposite and, as it seems to me, narrowly legalistic view that the President is the servant of Congress rather than of the people, and can do nothing, no matter how necessary it be to act, unless the Constitution explicitly commands the action. Most able lawyers who are past middle age take this view, and so do large numbers of well-meaning, respectable citizens. My
10 successor in office took this, the Buchanan, view of the President's powers and duties.

For example, under my Administration we found that one of the favorite methods adopted by the men desirous of stealing the public domain was to carry the decision of the Secretary of the Interior into court. By vigorously opposing such action, and only by
15 so doing, we were able to carry out the policy of properly protecting the public domain. My successor not only took the opposite view, but recommended to Congress the passage of a bill which would have given the courts direct appellate power over the Secretary of the Interior in these land matters. This bill was reported favorably by Mr. Mondell, Chairman of the House Committee on public lands, a Congressman who took the lead
20 in every measure to prevent the conservation of our natural resources and the preservation of the National domain for the use of home-seekers. Fortunately, Congress declined to pass the bill. Its passage would have been a veritable calamity.

I acted on the theory that the President could at any time in his discretion withdraw from
25 entry any of the public lands of the United States and reserve the same for forestry, for water-power sites, for irrigation, and other public purposes. Without such action it would have been impossible to stop the activity of the land thieves. No one ventured to test its legality by lawsuit. My successor, however, himself questioned it, and referred the matter to Congress. Again Congress showed its wisdom by passing a law which gave the
30 President the power which he had long exercised, and of which my successor had shorn himself.

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Perhaps the sharp difference between what may be called the Lincoln-Jackson and the Buchanan-Taft schools, in their views of the power and duties of the President, may be best illustrated by comparing the attitude of my successor toward his Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ballinger, when the latter was accused of gross misconduct in office, with
5 my attitude towards my chiefs of department and other subordinate officers. More than once while I was President my officials were attacked by Congress, generally because these officials did their duty well and fearlessly. In every such case I stood by the official and refused to recognize the right of Congress to interfere with me excepting by impeachment or in other Constitutional manner. On the other hand, wherever I found
10 the officer unfit for his position I promptly removed him, even although the most influential men in Congress fought for his retention. The Jackson-Lincoln view is that a President who is fit to do good work should be able to form his own judgment as to his own subordinates, and, above all, of the subordinates standing highest and in closest and most intimate touch with him. My secretaries and their subordinates were responsible to
15 me, and I accepted the responsibility for all their deeds. As long as they were satisfactory to me I stood by them against every critic or assailant, within or without Congress; and as for getting Congress to make up my mind for me about them, the thought would have been inconceivable to me. My successor took the opposite, or Buchanan, view when he permitted and requested Congress to pass judgment on the charges made against Mr.
20 Ballinger as an executive officer. These charges were made to the President; the President had the facts before him and could get at them at any time, and he alone had power to act if the charges were true. However, he permitted and requested Congress to investigate Mr. Ballinger. The party minority of the committee that investigated him, and one member of the majority, declared that the charges were well founded and that Mr.
25 Ballinger should be removed. The other members of the majority declared the charges ill founded. The President abode by the view of the majority. Of course believers in the Jackson-Lincoln theory of the Presidency would not be content with this town meeting majority and minority method of determining by another branch of the Government what it seems the especial duty of the President himself to determine for himself in
30 dealing with his own subordinate in his own department.

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There are many worthy people who reprobate the Buchanan method as a matter of history, but who in actual life reprobate still more strongly the Jackson-Lincoln method when it is put into practice. These persons conscientiously believe that the President should solve every doubt in favor of inaction as against action, that he should construe
5 strictly and narrowly the Constitutional grant of powers both to the National Government, and to the President within the National Government. In addition, however, to the men who conscientiously believe in this course from high, although as I hold misguided, motives, there are many men who affect to believe in it merely because it enables them to attack and to try to hamper, for partisan or personal reasons, an
10 executive whom they dislike. There are other men in whom, especially when they are themselves in office, practical adherence to the Buchanan principle represents not well-thought-out devotion to an unwise course, but simple weakness of character and desire to avoid trouble and responsibility. Unfortunately, in practice it makes little difference which class of ideas actuates the President, who by his action sets a cramping precedent.
15 Whether he is high minded and wrongheaded or merely infirm of purpose, whether he means well feebly or is bound by a mischievous misconception of the powers and duties of the National Government and of the President, the effect of his actions is the same. The President's duty is to act so that he himself and his subordinates shall be able to do efficient work for the people, and this efficient work he and they cannot do if Congress
20 is permitted to undertake the task of making up his mind for him as to how he shall [perform] what is clearly his sole duty[.]

WOODROW WILSON

The Study of Administration

JOURNAL ARTICLE EXCERPTS

Political Science Quarterly | June 1887

BACKGROUND

Prior to seeking elected office as governor of New Jersey and then president, Woodrow Wilson had a distinguished career in academia, culminating in his presidency of Princeton University from 1902-1910. In his academic career, Wilson espoused Progressive beliefs and frequently discussed them in his works. In this especially famous article, Wilson distinguishes between “politics” and “administration,” and discusses the implications for the American political system.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Wilson say is “the object of administrative study”?
2. How does Wilson tie the evolution of government to the development of administration?
3. How does he criticize Anglo-American political philosophy with regard to administration?
4. What is the relationship between administration and public opinion? Between administration and politics generally?
5. Does Wilson express concern over the expansion of a future American bureaucracy? Why or why not?
6. By what means does he suggest administration become successfully integrated into the American political system?

Woodrow Wilson. “The Study of Administration.” Journal article excerpts, *Political Science Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (June 1887): 197-222. From *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale College) via Constituting America. <https://constitutingamerica.org/the-study-of-administration-by-woodrow-wilson-reprinted-from-the-u-s-constitution-a-reader-published-by-hillsdale-college/>. See also: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2139277>.

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{...} It is the object of administrative study to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and, secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy. On both these points there is obviously much need of light among us; and only careful study
5 can supply that light.

Before entering on that study, however, it is needful:

1. To take some account of what others have done in the same line; that is to say, of the history of the study.
 2. To ascertain just what is its subject-matter.
 3. To determine just what are the best methods by which to develop it, and the most clarifying political conceptions to carry with us into it.
- 15 Unless we know and settle these things, we shall set out without chart or compass.

I

The science of administration is the latest fruit of that study of the science of politics which was begun some twenty-two hundred years ago. It is a birth of our own century,
20 almost of our own generation.

Why was it so late in coming? Why did it wait till this too busy century of ours to demand attention for itself? Administration is the most obvious part of government; it is government in action; it is the executive, the operative, the most visible side of
25 government, and is of course as old as government itself. It is government in action, and one might very naturally expect to find that government in action had arrested the attention and provoked the scrutiny of writers of politics very early in the history of systematic thought.

30 But such was not the case. No one wrote systematically of administration as a branch of the science of government until the present century had passed its first youth and had begun to put forth its characteristic flower of the systematic knowledge. Up to our own day all the political writers whom we now read had thought, argued, dogmatized only about the *constitution* of government; about the nature of the state, the essence and seat

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of sovereignty, popular power and kingly prerogative; about the greatest meanings lying at the heart of government, and the high ends set before the purpose of government by man's nature and man's aims. The central field of controversy was that great field of theory in which monarchy rode tilt against democracy, in which oligarchy would have
5 built for itself strongholds of privilege, and in which tyranny sought opportunity to make good its claim to receive submission from all competitors. Amidst this high warfare of principles, administration could command no pause for its own consideration. The question was always: Who shall make law, and what shall that law be? The other question, how law should be administered with enlightenment, with equity, with speed, and
10 without friction, was put aside as "practical detail" which clerks could arrange after doctors had agreed upon principles.

That political philosophy took this direction was of course no accident, no chance preference or perverse whim of political philosophers. The philosophy of any time is, as
15 Hegel says, "nothing but the spirit of that time expressed in abstract thought"; and political philosophy, like philosophy of every other kind, has only held up the mirror to contemporary affairs. The trouble in early times was almost altogether about the constitution of government; and consequently that was what engrossed men's thoughts. There was little or no trouble about administration,—at least little that was heeded by
20 administrators. The functions of government were simple, because life itself was simple. Government went about imperatively and compelled men, without thought of consulting their wishes. There was no complex system of public revenues and public debts to puzzle financiers; there were, consequently, no financiers to be puzzled. No one who possessed power was long at a loss how to use it. The great and only question was: Who shall possess
25 it? Populations were of manageable numbers; property was of simple sorts. There were plenty of farms, but no stocks and bonds: more cattle than vested interests. {...}
{...} The weightier debates of constitutional principle are even yet by no means concluded; but they are no longer of more immediate practical moment than questions of administration. It is getting to be harder to *run* a constitution than to frame one. {...}
30 There is scarcely a single duty of government which was once simple which is not now complex; government once had but a few masters; it now has scores of masters.

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Majorities formerly only underwent government; they now conduct government. Where government once might follow the whims of a court, it must now follow the views of a nation.

- 5 And those views are steadily widening to new conceptions of state duty; so that, at the same time that the functions of government are every day becoming more complex and difficult, they are also vastly multiplying in number. Administration is everywhere putting its hands to new undertakings. The utility, cheapness, and success of the government's postal service, for instance, point towards the early establishment of
- 10 governmental control of the telegraph system. Or, even if our government is not to follow the lead of the governments of Europe in buying or building both telegraph and railroad lines, no one can doubt that in some way it must make itself master of masterful corporations. The creation of national commissioners of railroads, in addition to the older state commissions, involves a very important and delicate extension of
- 15 administrative functions. Whatever hold of authority state or federal governments are to take upon corporations, there must follow cares and responsibilities which will require not a little wisdom, knowledge, and experience. Such things must be studied in order to be well done. And these, as I have said, are only a few of the doors which are being opened to offices of government. The idea of the state and the consequent ideal of its duty are
- 20 undergoing noteworthy change; and "the idea of the state is the conscience of administration." Seeing every day new things which the state ought to do, the next thing is to see clearly how it ought to do them.

- This is why there should be a science of administration which shall seek to straighten the
- 25 paths of government, to make its business less unbusinesslike, to strengthen and purify its organization, and to crown its duties with dutifulness. This is one reason why there is such a science.

- But where has this science grown up? Surely not on this side {of} the sea. Not much
- 30 impartial scientific method is to be discerned in our administrative practices. The poisonous atmosphere of city government, the crooked secrets of state administration, the confusion, sinecurism, and corruption ever and again discovered in the bureaux at

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Washington forbid us to believe that any clear conceptions of what constitutes good administration are as yet very widely current in the United States. No; American writers have hitherto taken no very important part in the advancement of this science. It has found its doctors in Europe. It is not of our making; it is a foreign science, speaking very
5 little of the language of English or American principle. It employs only foreign tongues; it utters none but what are to our minds alien ideas. Its aims, its examples, its conditions, are almost exclusively grounded in the histories of foreign races, in the precedents of foreign systems, in the lessons of foreign revolutions. It has been developed by French and German professors, and is consequently in all parts adapted to the needs of a
10 compact state, and made to fit highly centralized forms of government; whereas, to answer our purposes, it must be adapted, not to a simple and compact, but to a complex and multiform state, and made to fit highly decentralized forms of government. If we would employ it, we must Americanize it, and that not formally, in language merely, but radically, in thought, principle, and aim as well. It must learn our constitutions by heart;
15 must get the bureaucratic fever out of its veins; must inhale much free American air. {...}

{...} In speaking of European governments I do not, of course, include England. She has not refused to change with the times. She has simply tempered the severity of the transition from a polity of aristocratic privilege to a system of democratic power by slow
20 measures of constitutional reform which, without preventing revolution, has confined it to paths of peace. But the countries of the continent for a long time desperately struggled against all change, and would have diverted revolution by softening the asperities of absolute government. They sought so to perfect their machinery as to destroy all wearing friction, so to sweeten their methods with consideration for the interests of the governed
25 as to placate all hindering hatred, and so assiduously and opportunely to offer their aid to all classes of undertakings as to render themselves indispensable to the industrious. They did at last give the people constitutions and the franchise; but even after that they obtained leave to continue despotic by becoming paternal. They made themselves too efficient to be dispensed with, too smoothly operative to be noticed, too enlightened to
30 be inconsiderately questioned, too benevolent to be suspected, too powerful to be coped with. All this has required study; and they have closely studied it.

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On this side {of} the sea, we, the while, had known no great difficulties of government. With a new country, in which there was room and remunerative employment for everybody, with liberal principles of government and unlimited skill in practical politics, we were long exempted from the need of being anxiously careful about plans and methods of administration. We have naturally been slow to see the use or significance of those many volumes of learned research and painstaking examination into the ways and means of conducting government which the presses of Europe have been sending to our libraries. Like a lusty child, government with us has expanded in nature and grown great in stature, but has also become awkward in movement. The vigor and increase of its life has been altogether out of proportion to its skill in living. It has gained strength, but it has not acquired deportment. {...}

Judging by the constitutional histories of the chief nations of the modern world, there may be said to be three periods of growth through which government has passed in all the most highly developed of existing systems, and through which it promises to pass in all the rest. The first of these periods is that of absolute rulers, and of an administrative system adapted to absolute rule; the second is that in which constitutions are framed to do away with absolute rulers and substitute popular control, and in which administration is neglected for these higher concerns; and the third is that in which the sovereign people undertake to develop administration under this new constitution which has brought them into power.

Those governments are now in the lead in administrative practice which had rulers still absolute but also enlightened when those modern days of political illumination came in which it was made evident to all but the blind that governors are properly only the servants of the governed. In such governments administration has been organized to subserve the general weal with the simplicity and effectiveness vouchsafed only to the undertakings of a single will. {...}

{...} Almost the whole of the admirable system has {thus} been developed by kingly initiative. {...}

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The recasting of French administration by Napoleon is {... another} example of the perfecting of civil machinery by the single will of an absolute ruler before the dawn of a constitutional era. No corporate, popular will could ever have effected arrangements such as those which Napoleon commanded. Arrangements so simple at the expense of local
5 prejudice, so logical in their indifference to popular choice, might be decreed by a Constituent Assembly, but could be established only by the unlimited authority of a despot. {...}

The English race {...} has long and successfully studied the art of curbing executive power
10 to the constant neglect of the art of perfecting executive methods. It has exercised itself much more in controlling than in energizing government. It has been more concerned to render government just and moderate than to make it facile, well-ordered, and effective. English and American political history has been a history, not of administrative development, but of legislative oversight,—not of progress in governmental organization,
15 but of advance in law-making and political criticism.

Consequently, we have reached a time when administrative study and creation are imperatively necessary to the well-being of our governments saddled with the habits of a long period of constitution-making. That period has practically closed, so far as the
20 establishment of essential principles is concerned, but we cannot shake off its atmosphere. We go on criticizing when we ought to be creating. We have reached the third of the periods I have mentioned,—the period, namely, when the people have to develop administration in accordance with the constitutions they won for themselves in a previous period of struggle with absolute power; but we are not prepared for the tasks
25 of the new period.

Such an explanation seems to afford the only escape from blank astonishment at the fact that, in spite of our vast advantages in point of political liberty, and above all in point of practical political skill and sagacity, so many nations are ahead of us in administrative
30 organization and administrative skill. Why, for instance, have we but just begun purifying a civil service which was rotten full fifty years ago? To say that slavery diverted us is but to repeat what I have said—that flaws in our constitution delayed us.

Of course all reasonable preference would declare for this English and American course of politics rather than for that of any European country. We should not like to have had Prussia's history for the sake of having Prussia's administrative skill; and Prussia's particular system of administration would quite suffocate us. It is better to be untrained and free than to be servile and systematic. {...}

What, then, is there to prevent?

- 10 Well, principally, popular sovereignty. It is harder for democracy to organize administration than for monarchy. The very completeness of our most cherished political successes in the past embarrasses us. We have enthroned public opinion; and it is forbidden us to hope during its reign for any quick schooling of the sovereign in executive expertness or in the conditions of perfect functional balance in government.
- 15 The very fact that we have realized popular rule in its fulness has made the task of *organizing* that rule just so much the more difficult. In order to make any advance at all we must instruct and persuade a multitudinous monarch called public opinion,—a much less feasible undertaking than to influence a single monarch called a king. An individual sovereign will adopt a simple plan and carry it out directly: he will have but one opinion,
- 20 and he will embody that one opinion in one command. But this other sovereign, the people, will have a score of differing opinions. They can agree upon nothing simple: advance must be made through compromise, by a compounding of differences, by a trimming of plans and a suppression of too straightforward principles. There will be a succession of resolves running through a course of years, a dropping fire of commands
- 25 running through a whole gamut of modifications.

- In government, as in virtue, the hardest of hard things is to make progress. Formerly the reason for this was that the single person who was sovereign was generally either selfish, ignorant, timid, or a fool,—albeit there was now and again one who was wise. Nowadays
- 30 the reason is that the many, the people, who are sovereign have no single ear which one can approach, and are selfish, ignorant, timid, stubborn, or foolish with the selfishness, the ignorances, the stubbornnesses, the timidities, or the follies of several thousand

persons,—albeit there are hundreds who are wise. Once the advantage of the reformer was that the sovereign's mind had a definite locality, that it was contained in one man's head, and that consequently it could be gotten at; though it was his disadvantage that the mind learned only reluctantly or only in small quantities, or was under the influence of some one who let it learn only the wrong things. Now, on the contrary, the reformer is bewildered by the fact that the sovereign's mind has no definite locality, but is contained in a voting majority of several million heads; and embarrassed by the fact that the mind of this sovereign also is under the influence of favorites, who are none the less favorites in a good old-fashioned sense of the word because they are not persons by preconceived opinions; *i.e.*, prejudices which are not to be reasoned with because they are not the children of reason.

Wherever regard for public opinion is a first principle of government, practical reform must be slow and all reform must be full of compromises. For wherever public opinion exists it must rule. This is now an axiom half the world over, and will presently come to be believed even in Russia. Whoever would effect a change in a modern constitutional government must first educate his fellow-citizens to want *some* change. That done, he must persuade them to want the particular change he wants. He must first make public opinion willing to listen and then see to it that it listen to the right things. He must stir it up to search for an opinion, and then manage to put the right opinion in its way. {...}

Even if we had clear insight into all the political past, and could form out of perfectly instructed heads a few steady, infallible, placidly wise maxims of government into which all sound political doctrine would be ultimately resolvable, *would the country act on them?* That is the question. The bulk of mankind is rigidly unphilosophical, and nowadays the bulk of mankind votes. A truth must become not only plain but also commonplace before it will be seen by the people who go to their work very early in the morning; and not to act upon it must involve great and pinching inconveniences before these same people will make up their minds to act upon it.

And where is this unphilosophical bulk of mankind more multifarious in its composition than in the United States? To know the public mind of this country, one must know the

mind, not of Americans of the older stocks only, but also of Irishmen, of Germans, of negroes. In order to get a footing for new doctrine, one must influence minds cast in every mold of race, minds inheriting every bias of environment, warped by the histories of a score of different nations, warmed or chilled, closed or expanded by almost every climate of the globe. {...}

II

The field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics; it at most points stands apart even from the debatable ground of constitutional study. It is a part of political life only as the methods of the counting-house are a part of the life of society; only as machinery is part of the manufactured product. But it is, at the same time, raised very far above the dull level of mere technical detail by the fact that through its greater principles it is directly connected with the lasting maxims of political wisdom, the permanent truths of political progress.

The object of administrative study is to rescue executive methods from the confusion and costliness of empirical experiment and set them upon foundations laid deep in stable principle. {...}

Let me expand a little what I have said of the province of administration. Most important to be observed is the truth already so much and so fortunately insisted upon by our civil-service reformers; namely, that administration lies outside the proper sphere of *politics*. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices.

This is distinction of high authority; eminent German writers insist upon it as of course. Bluntschli, for instance, bids us separate administration alike from politics and from law. Politics, he says, is state activity “in things great and universal,” while “administration, on the other hand,” is “the activity of the state in individual and small things. Politics is thus the special province of the statesman, administration of the technical official.” “Policy does nothing without the aid of administration”; but administration is not therefore politics. {...}

There is another distinction which must be worked into all our conclusions, which, though but another side of that between administration and politics, is not quite so easy to keep sight of: I mean the distinction between *constitutional* and administrative questions, between those governmental adjustments which are essential to constitutional principle and those which are merely instrumental to the possibly changing purposes of a wisely adapting convenience.

One cannot easily make clear to every one just where administration resides in the various departments of any practicable government without entering upon particulars so numerous as to confuse and distinctions so minute as to distract. No lines of demarcation, setting apart administrative from non-administrative functions, can be run between this and that department of government without being run up hill and down dale, over dizzy heights of distinction and through dense jungles of statutory enactment, hither and thither around “ifs” and “buts,” “whens” and “however,” until they become altogether lost to the common eye not accustomed to this sort of surveying, and consequently not acquainted with the use of the theodolite of logical discernment. A great deal of administration goes about *incognito* to most of the world, being confounded now with political “management,” and again with constitutional principle. {...}

{...} Liberty no more consists in easy functional movement than intelligence consists in the ease and vigor with which the limbs of a strong man move. The principles that rule within the man, or the constitution, are the vital springs of liberty or servitude. Because dependence and subjection are without chains, are lightened by every easy-working device of considerate, paternal government, they are not thereby transformed into liberty. Liberty cannot live apart from constitutional principle; and no administration, however perfect and liberal its methods, can give men more than a poor counterfeit of liberty if it rest upon illiberal principles of government.

A clear view of the difference between the province of constitutional law and the province of administrative function ought to leave no room for misconception; and it is possible to name some roughly definite criteria upon which such a view can be built. Public

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administration is detailed and systematic execution of public law. Every particular application of general law is an act of administration. The assessment and raising of taxes, for instance, the hanging of a criminal, the transportation and delivery of the mails, the equipment and recruiting of the army and navy, *etc.*, are all obviously acts of administration; but the general laws which direct these things to be done are as obviously outside of and above administration. The broad plans of governmental action are not administrative; the detailed execution of such plans is administrative. {...}

{...} {T}he administrator should {thus} have and does have a will of his own in the choice of means for accomplishing his work. He is not and ought not to be a mere passive instrument. The distinction is between general plans and special means.

There is, indeed, one point at which administrative studies trench on constitutional ground—or at least upon what seems constitutional ground. The study of administration, philosophically viewed, is closely connected with the study of the proper distribution of constitutional authority. To be efficient it must discover the simplest arrangements by which responsibility can be unmistakably fixed upon officials; the best way of dividing authority without hampering it, and responsibility without obscuring it. And this question of the distribution of authority, when taken into the sphere of the higher, the originating functions of government, is obviously a central constitutional question. If administrative study can discover the best principles upon which to base such distribution, it will have done constitutional study an invaluable service. Montesquieu did not, I am convinced, say the last word on this head. {...}

And let me say that large powers and unhampered discretion seem to me the indispensable conditions of responsibility. Public attention must be easily directed, in each case of good or bad administration, to just the man deserving of praise or blame. There is no danger in power, if only it be not irresponsible. If it be divided, dealt out in shares to many, it is obscured; and if it be obscured, it is made irresponsible. But if it be centered in heads of the service and in heads of branches of the service, it is easily watched and brought to book. If to keep his office a man must achieve open and honest success, and if at the same time he feels himself intrusted with large freedom of discretion, the

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greater his power the less likely is he to abuse it, the more is he nerved and sobered and elevated by it. The less his power, the more safely obscure and unnoticed does he feel his position to be, and the more readily does he relapse into remissness.

- 5 Just here we manifestly emerge upon the field of that still larger question,—the proper relations between public opinion and administration. {...}

The right answer seems to be, that public opinion shall play the part of authoritative critic.

10

But the *method* by which its authority shall be made to tell? Our peculiar American difficulty in organizing administration is not the danger of losing liberty, but the danger of not being able or willing to separate its essentials from its accidents. Our success is made doubtful by that besetting error of ours, the error of trying to do too much by vote.

- 15 Self-government does not consist in having a hand in everything, any more than housekeeping consists necessarily in cooking dinner with one's own hands. The cook must be trusted with a large discretion as to the management of the fires and the ovens.

- 20 In those countries in which public opinion has yet to be instructed in its privileges, yet to be accustomed to having its own way, this question as to the province of public opinion is much more readily soluble than in this country, where public opinion is wide awake and quite intent upon having its own way anyhow. {...} It may be sluggish, but it will not be meddlesome. It will submit to be instructed before it tries to instruct. Its political education will come before its political activity. In trying to instruct our own public
25 opinion, we are dealing with a pupil apt to think itself quite sufficiently instructed beforehand.

- 30 The problem is to make public opinion efficient without suffering it to be meddlesome. Directly exercised, in the oversight of the daily details and in the choice of the daily means of government, public criticism is of course a clumsy nuisance, a rustic handling delicate machinery. But as superintending the greater forces of formative policy alike in politics and administration, public criticism is altogether safe and beneficent, altogether

indispensable. Let administrative study find the best means for giving public criticism this control and for shutting it out from all other interference. {...}

{...} If we are to improve public opinion, which is the motive power of government, we must prepare better officials as the apparatus of government. If we are to put in new boilers and to mend the fires which drive our governmental machinery, we must not leave the old wheels and joints and valves and bands to creak and buzz and clatter on as best they may at bidding of the new force. We must put in new running parts wherever there is the least lack of strength or adjustment. {...}

But to fear the creation of a domineering, illiberal officialism as a result of the studies I am here proposing is to miss altogether the principle upon which I wish most to insist. That principle is, that administration in the United States must be at all points sensitive to public opinion. A body of thoroughly trained officials serving during good behavior we must have in any case: that is a plain business necessity. But the apprehension that such a body will be anything un-American clears away the moment it is asked. What is to constitute good behavior? For that question obviously carries its own answer on its face. Steady, hearty allegiance to the policy of the government they serve will constitute good behavior. That *policy* will have no taint of officialism about it. It will not be the creation of permanent officials, but of statesmen whose responsibility to public opinion will be direct and inevitable. Bureaucracy can exist only where the whole service of the state is removed from the common political life of the people, its chiefs as well as its rank and file. Its motives, its objects, its policy, its standards, must be bureaucratic. It would be difficult to point out any examples of impudent exclusiveness and arbitrariness on the part of officials doing service under a chief of department who really served the people, as all our chiefs of departments must be made to do. {... }

The ideal for us is a civil service cultured and self-sufficient enough to act with sense and vigor, and yet so intimately connected with the popular thought, by means of elections and constant public counsel, as to find arbitrariness of class spirit quite out of the question.

III

Having thus viewed in some sort the subject-matter and the objects of this study of administration, what are we to conclude as to the methods best suited to it—the points of view most advantageous for it?

Government is so near us, so much a thing of our daily familiar handling, that we can with difficulty see the need of any philosophical study of it, or the exact point of such study, should it be undertaken. We have been on our feet too long to study now the art of walking. We are a practical people, made so apt, so adept in self-government by centuries of experimental drill, that we are scarcely any longer capable of perceiving the awkwardness of the particular system we may be using, just because it is so easy for us to use any system. We do not study the art of governing; we govern. But mere unschooled genius for affairs will not save us from sad blunders in administration. Though democrats by long inheritance and repeated choice, we are still rather crude democrats. Old as democracy is, its organization on a basis of modern ideas and conditions is still an unaccomplished work. The democratic state has yet to be equipped for carrying those enormous burdens of administration which the needs of this industrial and trading age are so fast accumulating. Without comparative studies in government we cannot rid ourselves of the misconception that administration stands upon an essentially different basis in a democratic state from that on which it stands in a non-democratic state.

After such study we could grant democracy the sufficient honor of ultimately determining by debate all essential questions affecting the public weal, of basing all structures of policy upon the major will; but we would have found but one rule of good administration for all governments alike. So far as administrative functions are concerned, all governments have a strong structural likeness; more than that, if they are to be uniformly useful and efficient, they must have a strong structural likeness. A free man has the same bodily organs, the same executive parts, as the slave, however different may be his motives, his services, his energies. Monarchies and democracies, radically different as they are in other respects, have in reality much the same business to look to.

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It is abundantly safe nowadays to insist upon this actual likeness of all governments, because these are days when abuses of power are easily exposed and arrested, in countries like our own, by a bold, alert, inquisitive, detective public thought and a sturdy popular self-dependence such as never existed before. We are slow to appreciate this; but it is easy
5 to appreciate it. {...}

But, besides being safe, it is necessary to see that for all governments alike the legitimate ends of administration are the same, in order not to be frightened at the idea of looking into foreign systems of administration for instruction and suggestion; in order to get rid
10 of the apprehension that we might perchance blindly borrow something incompatible with our principles. That man is blindly astray who denounces attempts to transplant foreign systems into this country. It is impossible: they simply would not grow here. But why should we not use such parts of foreign contrivances as we want, if they be in any way serviceable? We are in no danger of using them in a foreign way. We borrowed rice,
15 but we do not eat it with chopsticks. We borrowed our whole political language from England, but we leave the words "king" and "lords" out of it. What did we ever originate, except the action of the federal government upon individuals and some of the functions of the federal supreme court?

We can borrow the science of administration with safety and profit if only we read all fundamental differences of condition into its essential tenets. We have only to filter it through our constitutions, only to put it over a slow fire of criticism and distil away its foreign gases.

I know that there is a sneaking fear in some conscientiously patriotic minds that studies of European systems might signalize some foreign methods as better than some American methods; and the fear is easily to be understood. But it would scarcely be avowed in any just company.

It is the more necessary to insist upon thus putting away all prejudices against looking anywhere in the world but at home for suggestions in this study{.} {...} We can never learn either our own weaknesses or our own virtues by comparing ourselves with

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ourselves. We are too used to the appearance and procedure of our own system to see its true significance. Perhaps even the English system is too much like our own to be used to the most profit in illustration. It is best on the whole to get entirely away from our own atmosphere and to be most careful in examining such systems as those of France and
5 Germany. Seeing our own institutions through such *media*, we see ourselves as foreigners might see us were they to look at us without preconceptions. Of ourselves, so long as we know only ourselves, we know nothing.

Let it be noted that it is the distinction, already drawn, between administration and
10 politics which makes the comparative method so safe in the field of administration. When we study the administrative systems of France and Germany, knowing that we are not in search of *political* principles, we need not care a peppercorn for the constitutional or political reasons which Frenchmen or Germans give for their practices when explaining them to us. If I see a murderous fellow sharpening a knife cleverly, I can
15 borrow his way of sharpening the knife without borrowing his probable intention to commit murder with it; and so, if I see a monarchist dyed in the wool managing a public bureau well, I can learn his business methods without changing one of my republican spots. He may serve his king; I will continue to serve the people; but I should like to serve my sovereign as well as he serves his. By keeping this distinction in view, –that is, by
20 studying administration as a means of putting our own politics into convenient practice, as a means of making what is democratically politic towards all administratively possible towards each, –we are on perfectly safe ground, and can learn without error what foreign systems have to teach us. We thus devise an adjusting weight for our comparative method of study. We can thus scrutinize the anatomy of foreign governments without fear of
25 getting any of their diseases into our veins; dissect alien systems without apprehension of blood-poisoning.

Our own politics must be the touchstone for all theories. The principles on which to base a science of administration for America must be principles which have democratic policy
30 very much at heart. And, to suit American habit, all general theories must, as theories, keep modestly in the background, not in open argument only, but even in our own minds, –lest opinions satisfactory only to the standards of the library should be

dogmatically used, as if they must be quite as satisfactory to the standards of practical politics as well. Doctrinaire devices must be postponed to tested practices. Arrangements not only sanctioned by conclusive experience elsewhere but also congenial to American habit must be preferred without hesitation to theoretical perfection. In a word, steady, 5 practical statesmanship must come first, closet doctrine second. The cosmopolitan what-to-do must always be commanded by the American how-to-do-it.

Our duty is, to supply the best possible life to a *federal* organization, to systems within systems; to make town, city, county, state, and federal governments live with a like 10 strength and an equally assured healthfulness, keeping each unquestionably its own master and yet making all interdependent and cooperative, combining independence with mutual helpfulness. The task is great and important enough to attract the best minds. {...}

15 {...} The question for us is, how shall our series of governments within governments be so administered that it shall always be to the interest of the public officer to serve, not his superior alone but the community also, with the best efforts of his talents and the soberest service of his conscience? How shall such service be made to his commonest interest by contributing abundantly to his sustenance, to his dearest interest by furthering his 20 ambition, and to his highest interest by advancing his honor and establishing his character? And how shall this be done alike for the local part and for the national whole? {...}

W. E. B. DuBois

The Talented Tenth

ESSAY EXCERPTS

September 1903

BACKGROUND

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was an early civil rights activist and the first African American to earn a doctorate from Harvard University. He realized that, even decades after the Emancipation Proclamation and the end of the Civil War, the integration of black and white communities was still greatly lacking. This famous essay of DuBois' highlights his belief that African Americans' societal development lay not exclusively in work, but also in education—a means both to better themselves as human beings and to prepare more readily for their future roles in American society. (Note the contrasts with Booker T. Washington's speech.)

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What history does DuBois tell?
2. What is “the Talented Tenth?”
3. What is the importance of education, according to DuBois?
4. What is the importance of work, according to him?
5. How does DuBois understand the relationship between education and work?
6. What does he say are the effects of well-developed African-American leadership?

W. E. B. DuBois. “The Talented Tenth.” Essay excerpts, September 1903. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-talented-tenth/>.

- The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. Now the
- 5 training of men is a difficult and intricate task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers. If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence,
- 10 broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life. On this foundation we may build bread winning, skill of hand and quickness of brain, with never a fear lest the child and man mistake the means of living for the object of life.
- 15 If this be true—and who can deny it—three tasks lay before me; first to show from the past that the Talented Tenth as they have risen among American Negroes have been worthy of leadership; secondly to show how these men may be educated and developed; and thirdly to show their relation to the Negro problem.
- 20 You misjudge us because you do not know us. From the very first it has been the educated and intelligent of the Negro people that have led and elevated the mass, and the sole obstacles that nullified and retarded their efforts were slavery and race prejudice; for what is slavery but the legalized survival of the unfit and the nullification of the work of natural internal leadership? Negro leadership therefore sought from the
- 25 first to rid the race of this awful incubus that it might make way for natural selection and the survival of the fittest. In colonial days came Phillis Wheatley and Paul Cuffe striving against the bars of prejudice; and Benjamin Banneker, the almanac maker, voiced their longings when he said to Thomas Jefferson, “I freely and cheerfully acknowledge that I am of the African race and in colour which is natural to them, of
- 30 the deepest dye; and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, that I now confess to you that I am not under that state of tyrannical thralldom and inhuman captivity to which too many of my brethren are

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doomed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favored, and which I hope you will willingly allow, you have mercifully received from the immediate hand of that Being from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

5

“Suffer me to recall to your mind that time, in which the arms of the British crown were exerted with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a state of servitude; look back, I entreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on that period in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation, you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquility which you enjoy, you have mercifully received, and that a peculiar blessing of heaven.

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“This, sir, was a time when you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of Slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition. It was then that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all succeeding ages: “We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

20

Then came Dr. James Derham, who could tell even the learned Dr. Rush something of medicine, and Lemuel Haynes, to whom Middlebury College gave an honorary A. M. in 1804. These and others we may call the Revolutionary group of distinguished Negroes – they were persons of marked ability, leaders of a Talented Tenth, standing conspicuously among the best of their time. They strove by word and deed to save the color line from becoming the line between the bond and free, but all they could do was nullified by Eli Whitney and the Curse of Gold. So they passed into forgetfulness.

25

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But their spirit did not wholly die; here and there in the early part of the century came other exceptional men. Some were natural sons of unnatural fathers and were given

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often a liberal training and thus a race of educated mulattoes sprang up to plead for black men's rights. There was Ira Aldridge, whom all Europe loved to honor; there was that Voice crying in the Wilderness, David Walker, and saying:

5 "I declare it does appear to me as though some nations think God is asleep, or that he made the Africans for nothing else but to dig their mines and work their farms, or they cannot believe history sacred or profane. I ask every man who has a heart, and is blessed with the privilege of believing— Is not God a God of justice to all his creatures? Do you say he is? Then if he gives peace and tranquility to tyrants and permits them to keep
10 our fathers, our mothers, ourselves and our children in eternal ignorance and wretchedness to support them and their families, would he be to us a God of Justice? I ask, O, ye Christians, who hold us and our children in the most abject ignorance and degradation that ever a people were afflicted with since the world began—I say if God gives you peace and tranquility, and suffers you thus to go on afflicting us, and our
15 children, who have never given you the least provocation – would He be to us a God of Justice? If you will allow that we are men, who feel for each other, does not the blood of our fathers and of us, their children, cry aloud to the Lord of Sabaoth against you for the cruelties and murders with which you have and do continue to afflict us?"

20 This was the wild voice that first aroused Southern legislators in 1829 to the terrors of abolitionism.

In 1831 there met that first Negro convention in Philadelphia, at which the world gaped curiously but which bravely attacked the problems of race and slavery, crying out
25 against persecution and declaring that "Laws as cruel in themselves as they were unconstitutional and unjust, have in many places been enacted against our poor, unfriended and unoffending brethren (without a shadow of provocation on our part), at whose bare recital the very savage draws himself up for fear of contagion—looks noble and prides himself because he bears not the name of Christian." Side by side this free
30 Negro movement, and the movement for abolition, strove until they merged in to one strong stream. Too little notice has been taken of the work which the Talented Tenth among Negroes took in the great abolition crusade. From the very day that a Philadelphia colored man became the first subscriber to Garrison's "Liberator," to the day when Negro soldiers made the Emancipation Proclamation possible, black leaders
35 worked shoulder to shoulder with white men in a movement, the success of which would have been impossible without them. There was Purvis and Remond, Pennington and Highland Garnett, Sojourner Truth and Alexander Crummel, and above, Frederick

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Douglass—what would the abolition movement have been without them? They stood as living examples of the possibilities of the Negro race, their own hard experiences and well wrought culture said silently more than all the drawn periods of orators—they were the men who made American slavery impossible. As Maria Weston Chapman said, from the school of anti-slavery agitation, “a throng of authors, editors, lawyers, orators and accomplished gentlemen of color have taken their degree! It has equally implanted hopes and aspirations, noble thoughts, and sublime purposes, in the hearts of both races. It has prepared the white man for the freedom of the black man, and it has made the black man scorn the thought of enslavement, as does a white man, as far as its influence has extended. Strengthen that noble influence! Before its organization, the country only saw here and there in slavery some faithful Cudjoe or Dinah, whose strong natures blossomed even in bondage, like a fine plant beneath a heavy stone. Now, under the elevating and cherishing influence of the American Anti-slavery Society, the colored race, like the white, furnishes Corinthian capitals for the noblest temples.”

Where were these black abolitionists trained? Some, like Frederick Douglass, were self-trained, but yet trained liberally; others, like Alexander Crummell and McCune Smith, graduated from famous foreign universities. Most of them rose up through the colored schools of New York and Philadelphia and Boston, taught by college-bred men like Russworm, of Dartmouth, and college-bred white men like Neau and Benezet.

After emancipation came a new group of educated and gifted leaders: Langston, Bruce and Elliot, Greener, Williams and Payne. Through political organization, historical and polemic writing and moral regeneration, these men strove to uplift their people. It is the fashion of to-day to sneer at them and to say that with freedom Negro leadership should have begun at the plow and not in the Senate—a foolish and mischievous lie; two hundred and fifty years that black serf toiled at the plow and yet that toiling was in vain till the Senate passed the war amendments; and two hundred and fifty years more the half-free serf of to-day may toil at his plow, but unless he have political rights and righteously guarded civic status, he will still remain the poverty-stricken and ignorant plaything of rascals, that he now is. This all sane men know even if they dare not say it.

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And so we come to the present—a day of cowardice and vacillation, of strident wide-voiced wrong and faint hearted compromise; of double-faced dallying with Truth and Right. Who are to-day guiding the work of the Negro people? The “exceptions” of course. And yet so sure as this Talented Tenth is pointed out, the blind worshippers of
5 the Average cry out in alarm: “These are exceptions, look here at death, disease and crime—these are the happy rule.”

Of course they are the rule, because a silly nation made them the rule: Because for three long centuries this people lynched Negroes who dared to be brave, raped black women
10 who dared to be virtuous, crushed dark-hued youth who dared to be ambitious, and encouraged and made to flourish servility and lewdness and apathy. But not even this was able to crush all manhood and chastity and aspiration from black folk. A saving remnant continually survives and persists, continually aspires, continually shows itself in thrift and ability and character. Exceptional it is to be sure, but this is its chiefest
15 promise; it shows the capability of Negro blood, the promise of black men. Do Americans ever stop to reflect that there are in this land a million men of Negro blood, well-educated, owners of homes, against the honor of whose womanhood no breath was ever raised, whose men occupy positions of trust and usefulness, and who, judged by any standard, have reached the full measure of the best type of modern European
20 culture? Is it fair, is it decent, is it Christian to ignore these facts of the Negro problem, to belittle such aspiration, to nullify such leadership and seek to crush these people back into the mass out of which by toil and travail, they and their fathers have raised themselves?

25 Can the masses of the Negro people be in any possible way more quickly raised than by the effort and example of this aristocracy of talent and character? Was there ever a nation on God’s fair earth civilized from the bottom upward? Never; it is, ever was and ever will be from the top downward that culture filters. The Talented Tenth rises and pulls all that are worth the saving up to their vantage ground. This is the history of
30 human progress; and the two historic mistakes which have hindered that progress were the thinking first that no more could ever rise save the few already risen; or second, that it would better the uprisen to pull the risen down.

How then shall the leaders of a struggling people be trained and the hands of the risen few strengthened? There can be but one answer: The best and most capable of their youth must be schooled in the colleges and universities of the land. We will not quarrel
5 as to just what the university of the Negro should teach or how it should teach it—I willingly admit that each soul and each race-soul needs its own peculiar curriculum. But this is true: A university is a human invention for the transmission of knowledge and culture from generation to generation, through the training of quick minds and pure hearts, and for this work no other human invention will suffice, not even trade
10 and industrial schools.

All men cannot go to college but some men must; every isolated group or nation must have its yeast, must have for the talented few centers of training where men are not so mystified and befuddled by the hard and necessary toil of earning a living, as to have
15 no aims higher than their bellies, and no God greater than Gold. This is true training, and thus in the beginning were the favored sons of the freedmen trained. Out of the colleges of the North came, after the blood of war, Ware, Cravath, Chase, Andrews, Bumstead and Spence to build the foundations of knowledge and civilization in the black South. Where ought they to have begun to build? At the bottom, of course,
20 quibbles the mole with his eyes in the earth. Aye! truly at the bottom, at the very bottom; at the bottom of knowledge, down in the very depths of knowledge there where the roots of justice strike into the lowest soil of Truth. And so they did begin; they founded colleges, and up from the colleges shot normal schools, and out from the normal schools went teachers, and around the normal teachers clustered other teachers
25 to teach the public schools; the college trained in Greek and Latin and mathematics, 2,000 men; and these men trained full 50,000 others in morals and manners, and they in turn taught thrift and the alphabet to nine millions of men, who to-day hold \$300,000,000 of property. It was a miracle – the most wonderful peace-battle of the 19th century, and yet to-day men smile at it, and in fine superiority tell us that it was
30 all a strange mistake; that a proper way to found a system of education is first to gather the children and buy them spelling books and hoes; afterward men may look about for

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teachers, if haply they may find them; or again they would teach men Work, but as for Life—why, what has Work to do with Life, they ask vacantly.

Was the work of these college founders successful; did it stand the test of time? Did the college graduates, with all their fine theories of life, really live? Are they useful men helping to civilize and elevate their less fortunate fellows? Let us see. Omitting all institutions which have not actually graduated students from a college course, there are to-day in the United States thirty-four institutions giving something above high school training to Negroes and designed especially for this race. {...}

... [The college-bred Negro] is, as he ought to be, the group leader, the man who sets the ideals of the community where he lives, directs its thoughts and heads its social movements. It need hardly be argued that the Negro people need social leadership more than most groups; that they have no traditions to fall back upon, no long established customs, no strong family ties, no well defined social classes. All these things must be slowly and painfully evolved. The preacher was, even before the war, the group leader of the Negroes, and the church their greatest social institution. Naturally this preacher was ignorant and often immoral, and the problem of replacing the older type by better educated men has been a difficult one. Both by direct work and by direct influence on other preachers, and on congregations, the college-bred preacher has an opportunity for reformatory work and moral inspiration, the value of which cannot be overestimated.

It has, however, been in the furnishing of teachers that the Negro college has found its peculiar function. Few persons realize how vast a work, how mighty a revolution has been thus accomplished. To furnish five millions and more of ignorant people with teachers of their own race and blood, in one generation, was not only a very difficult undertaking, but very important one, in that, it placed before the eyes of almost every Negro child an attainable ideal. It brought the masses of the blacks in contact with modern civilization, made black men the leaders of their communities and trainers of the new generation. In this work college-bred Negroes were first teachers, and then teachers of teachers. And here it is that the broad culture of college work has been of

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peculiar value. Knowledge of life and its wider meaning, has been the point of the Negro's deepest ignorance, and the sending out of teachers whose training has not been simply for bread winning, but also for human culture, has been of inestimable value in the training of these men.

5

In earlier years the two occupations of preacher and teacher were practically the only ones open to the black college graduate. Of later years a larger diversity of life among his people, has opened new avenues of employment. Nor have these college men been paupers and spendthrifts; 557 college-bred Negroes owned in 1899, \$1,342,862.50 worth of real estate (assessed value), or \$2,411 per family. The real value of the total accumulations of the whole group is perhaps about \$10,000,000, or \$5,000 a piece. Pitiful is it not beside the fortunes of oil kings and steel trusts, but after all is the fortune of the millionaire the only stamp of true and successful living? Alas! it is, with many and there's the rub.

15

The problem of training the Negro is to-day immensely complicated by the fact that the whole question of the efficiency and appropriateness of our present systems of education, for any kind of child, is a matter of active debate, in which final settlement seems still afar off. Consequently it often happens that persons arguing for or against certain systems of education for Negroes, have these controversies in mind and miss the real question at issue. The main question, so far as the Southern Negro is concerned, is: What under the present circumstance, must a system of education do in order to raise the Negro as quickly as possible in the scale of civilization? The answer to this question seems to me clear: It must strengthen the Negro's character, increase his knowledge and teach him to earn a living. Now it goes without saying that it is hard to do all these things simultaneously or suddenly and that at the same time it will not do to give all the attention to one and neglect the others; we could give black boys trades, but that alone will not civilize a race of ex-slaves; we might simply increase their knowledge of the world, but this would not necessarily make them wish to use this knowledge honestly; we might seek to strengthen character and purpose, but to what end if this people have nothing to eat or to wear? A system of education is not one thing, nor does it have a single definite object, nor is it a mere matter of schools.

30

Education is that whole system of human training within and without the school house walls, which molds and develops men. If then we start out to train an ignorant and unskilled people with a heritage of bad habits, our system of training must set before itself two great aims—the one dealing with knowledge and character, the other part seeking to give the child the technical knowledge necessary for him to earn a living under the present circumstances. These objects are accomplished in part by the opening of the common schools on the one, and of the industrial schools on the other. But only in part, for there must also be trained those who are to teach these schools—men and women of knowledge and culture and technical skill who understand modern civilization, and have the training and aptitude to impart it to the children under them. There must be teachers, and teachers of teachers, and to attempt to establish any sort of a system of common and industrial school training, without *first* (and I say *first* advisedly) without *first* providing for the higher training of the very best teachers, is simply throwing your money to the winds. School houses do not teach themselves – piles of brick and mortar and machinery do not send out *men*. It is the trained, living human soul, cultivated and strengthened by long study and thought, that breathes the real breath of life into boys and girls and makes them human, whether they be black or white, Greek, Russian or American. Nothing, in these latter days, has so dampened the faith of thinking Negroes in recent educational movements, as the fact that such movements have been accompanied by ridicule and denouncement and decrying of those very institutions of higher training which made the Negro public school possible, and make Negro industrial schools thinkable. It was: Fisk, Atlanta, Howard and Straight, those colleges born of the faith and sacrifice of the abolitionists, that placed in the black schools of the South the 30,000 teachers and more, which some, who depreciate the work of these higher schools, are using to teach their own new experiments. If Hampton, Tuskegee and the hundred other industrial schools prove in the future to be as successful as they deserve to be, then their success in training black artisans for the South, will be due primarily to the white colleges of the North and the black colleges of the South, which trained the teachers who to-day conduct these institutions. There was a time when the American people believed pretty devoutly that a log of wood with a boy at one end and Mark Hopkins at the other, represented the highest ideal of human training. But in these eager days it would seem that we have

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changed all that and think it necessary to add a couple of saw-mills and a hammer to this outfit, and, at a pinch, to dispense with the services of Mark Hopkins.

5 I would not deny, or for a moment seem to deny, the paramount necessity of teaching the Negro to work, and to work steadily and skillfully; or seem to depreciate in the slightest degree the important part industrial schools must play in the accomplishment of these ends, but I *do* say, and insist upon it, that it is industrialism drunk with its vision of success, to imagine that its own work can be accomplished without providing for the training of broadly cultured men and women to teach its own teachers, and to
10 teach the teachers of the public schools.

But I have already said that human education is not simply a matter of schools; it is much more a matter of family and group life – the training of one’s home, of one’s daily companions, of one’s social class. Now the black boy of the South moves in a black
15 world – a world with its own leaders, its own thoughts, its own ideals. In this world he gets by far the larger part of his life training, and through the eyes of this dark world he peers into the veiled world beyond. Who guides and determines the education which he receives in his world? His teachers here are the group-leaders of the Negro people—the physicians and clergymen, the trained fathers and mothers, the influential and
20 forceful men about him of all kinds; here it is, if at all, that the culture of the surrounding world trickles through and is handed on by the graduates of the higher schools. Can such culture training of group leaders be neglected? Can we afford to ignore it? Do you think that if the leaders of thought among Negroes are not trained and educated thinkers, that they will have no leaders? On the contrary a hundred half-
25 trained demagogues will still hold the places they so largely occupy now, and hundreds of vociferous busy-bodies will multiply. You have no choice; either you must help furnish this race from within its own ranks with thoughtful men of trained leadership, or you must suffer the evil consequences of a headless misguided rabble.

30 I am an earnest advocate of manual training and trade teaching for black boys, and for white boys, too. I believe that next to the founding of Negro colleges the most valuable addition to Negro education since the war, has been industrial training for black boys.

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Nevertheless, I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man, each equally important: the first is to give the group and community in which he works, liberally trained teachers and leaders to teach him and his family what life means; the second is to give him sufficient intelligence and technical skill to make him an efficient workman; the first object demands the Negro college and college-bred men—not a quantity of such colleges, but a few of excellent quality; not too many college-bred men, but enough to leaven the lump, to inspire the masses, to raise the Talented Tenth to leadership; the second object demands a good system of common schools, well-taught, conveniently located and properly equipped.

The Sixth Atlanta Conference truly said in 1901:

“We call the attention of the Nation to the fact that less than one million of the three million Negro children of school age, are at present regularly attending school, and these attend a session which lasts only a few months.

“We are to-day deliberately rearing millions of our citizens in ignorance, and at the same time limiting the rights of citizenship by educational qualifications. This is unjust. Half the black youth of the land have no opportunities open to them for learning to read, write and cipher. In the discussion as to the proper training of Negro children after they leave the public schools, we have forgotten that they are not yet decently provided with public schools.

“Propositions are beginning to be made in the South to reduce the already meagre school facilities of Negroes. We congratulate the South on resisting, as much as it has, this pressure, and on the many millions it has spent on Negro education. But it is only fair to point out that Negro taxes and the Negroes’ share of the income from indirect taxes and endowments have fully repaid this expenditure, so that the Negro public school system has not in all probability cost the white taxpayers a single cent since the war.

“This is not fair. Negro schools should be a public burden, since they are a public benefit. The Negro has a right to demand good common school training at the hands of the States and the Nation since by their fault he is not in position to pay for this himself.”

What is the chief need for the building up of the Negro public school in the South? The Negro race in the South needs teachers to-day above all else. This is the concurrent testimony of all who know the situation. For the supply of this great demand two things

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are needed – institutions of higher education and money for school houses and salaries. It is usually assumed that a hundred or more institutions for Negro training are to-day turning out so many teachers and college-bred men that the race is threatened with an over-supply. This is sheer nonsense. There are to-day less than 3,000 living Negro

5 college graduates in the United States, and less than 1,000 Negroes in college. Moreover, in the 164 schools for Negroes, 95 percent. of their students are doing elementary and secondary work, work which should be done in the public schools. Over half the remaining 2,157 students are taking high school studies. The mass of so-

10 called “normal” schools for the Negro, are simply doing elementary common school work, or, at most, high school work, with a little instruction in methods. The Negro colleges and the post-graduate courses at other institutions are the only agencies for the broader and more careful training of teachers. The work of these institutions is hampered for lack of funds. It is getting increasingly difficult to get funds for training teachers in the best modern methods, and yet all over the South, from State

15 Superintendents, county officials, city boards and school principals comes the wail, “We need TEACHERS!” and teachers must be trained. As the fairest minded of all white Southerners, Atticus G. Haygood, once said: “The defects of colored teachers are so great as to create an urgent necessity for training better ones. Their excellencies and their successes are sufficient to justify the best hopes of success in the effort, and to

20 vindicate the judgment of those who make large investments of money and service, to give to colored students opportunity for thoroughly preparing themselves for the work of teaching children of their people.”

The truth of this has been strikingly shown in the marked improvement of white

25 teachers in the South. Twenty years ago the rank and file of white public school teachers were not as good as the Negro teachers. But they, by scholarships and good salaries, have been encouraged to thorough normal and collegiate preparation, while the Negro teachers have been discouraged by starvation wages and the idea that any training will do for a black teacher. If carpenters are needed it is well and good to train men as

30 carpenters. But to train men as carpenters, and then set them to teaching is wasteful and criminal; and to train men as teachers and then refuse them living wages, unless they become carpenters, is rank nonsense. {...}

{...} We need Negro teachers for the Negro common schools, and we need first-class normal schools and colleges to train them. This is the work of higher Negro education and it must be done.

5

Further than this, after being provided with group leaders of civilization, and a foundation of intelligence in the public schools, the carpenter, in order to be a man, needs technical skill. This calls for trade schools. Now trade schools are not nearly such simple things as people once thought. The original idea was that the “Industrial” school
10 was to furnish education, practically free, to those willing to work for it; it was to “do” things—i.e.: become a center of productive industry, it was to be partially, if not wholly, self-supporting, and it was to teach trades. Admirable as were some of the ideas underlying this scheme, the whole thing simply would not work in practice; it was found that if you were to use time and material to teach trades thoroughly, you could
15 not at the same time keep the industries on a commercial basis and make them pay. Many schools started out to do this on a large scale and went into virtual bankruptcy. Moreover, it was found also that it was possible to teach a boy a trade mechanically, without giving him the full educative benefit of the process, and, vice versa, that there was a distinctive educative value in teaching a boy to use his hands and eyes in carrying
20 out certain physical processes, even though he did not actually learn a trade. It has happened, therefore, in the last decade, that a noticeable change has come over the industrial schools. In the first place the idea of commercially remunerative industry in a school is being pushed rapidly to the background. There are still schools with shops and farms that bring an income, and schools that use student labor partially for the
25 erection of their buildings and the furnishing of equipment. It is coming to be seen, however, in the education of the Negro, as clearly as it has been seen in the education of the youths the world over, that it is the *boy* and not the material product, that is the true object of education. Consequently the object of the industrial school came to be the thorough training of boys regardless of the cost of the training, so long as it was
30 thoroughly well done.

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Even at this point, however, the difficulties were not surmounted. In the first place modern industry has taken great strides since the war, and the teaching of trades is no longer a simple matter. Machinery and long processes of work have greatly changed the work of the carpenter, the ironworker and the shoemaker. A really efficient

5 workman must be to-day an intelligent man who has had good technical training in addition to thorough common school, and perhaps even higher training. To meet this situation the industrial schools began a further development; they established distinct Trade Schools for the thorough training of better class artisans, and at the same time they sought to preserve for the purposes of general education, such of the simpler

10 processes of elementary trade learning as were best suited therefor. In this differentiation of the Trade School and manual training, the best of the industrial schools simply followed the plain trend of the present educational epoch. A prominent educator tells us that, in Sweden, "In the beginning the economic conception was generally adopted, and everywhere manual training was looked upon as a means of

15 preparing the children of the common people to earn their living. But gradually it came to be recognized that manual training has a more elevated purpose, and one, indeed, more useful in the deeper meaning of the term. It came to be considered as an educative process for the complete moral, physical and intellectual development of the child."

20 Thus, again, in the manning of trade schools and manual training schools we are thrown back upon the higher training as its source and chief support. There was a time when any aged and wornout carpenter could teach in a trade school. But not so to-day. Indeed the demand for college-bred men by a school like Tuskegee, ought to make Mr. Booker T. Washington the firmest friend of higher training. Here he has as helpers the

25 son of a Negro senator, trained in Greek and the humanities, and graduated at Harvard; the son of a Negro congressman and lawyer, trained in Latin and mathematics, and graduated at Oberlin; he has as his wife, a woman who read Virgil and Homer in the same class room with me; he has as college chaplain, a classical graduate of Atlanta University; as teacher of science, a graduate of Fisk; as teacher of history, a graduate of

30 Smith,—indeed some thirty of his chief teachers are college graduates, and instead of studying French grammars in the midst of weeds, or buying pianos for dirty cabins, they are at Mr. Washington's right hand helping him in a noble work. And yet one of

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the effects of Mr. Washington's propaganda has been to throw doubt upon the expediency of such training for Negroes, as these persons have had.

5 Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through the criminal foolishness of your fathers. Whether you like it or not the millions are here, and here they will remain. If you do not lift them up, they will pull you down. Education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work—it must teach Life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders
10 of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.

WOODROW WILSON**War Message to Congress**

SPEECH

April 2, 1917

United States Congress | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Although World War I began in mid-1914, the United States did not initially join the conflict, with President Woodrow Wilson opting instead to pursue neutrality. However, the 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania* and the 1917 resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare by Germany eventually drove the United States to side with the Allied Powers. Wilson gave this speech to a joint session of Congress in the latter year, advocating for a formal declaration of war against Germany and the Central Powers, but also explaining his radically different reasons for the United States' fighting in the war.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What policy is not “constitutionally permissible” for Wilson to enact alone?
2. What is his primary grievance against Germany?
3. Why does Wilson advocate for joining World War I?
4. How does he say America should materially fight the war?
5. What does Wilson say are America's objectives in fighting World War I?

Woodrow Wilson. “War Message to Congress.” Speech, April 2, 1917. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/war-message-to-congress/>.

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Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right
5 nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its
10 submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft
15 in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing
20 instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. 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
25 those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle. I was for a little while unable to believe that such things
30 would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had

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right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. ... This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all
5 scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been
10 deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. 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
15 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. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our
20 character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it
25 would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has
30 assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have

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shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the
5 armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness
10 of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our Nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

15 With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, 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; that it formally accept the status of
20 belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in
25 counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credit, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the Nation in the most abundant and
30 yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition

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to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled

5 in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation. I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which

10 will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should

15 keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

20 I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the

25 branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the Nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought

30 has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the Nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind

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when I addressed the Senate on the twenty—second of January last, the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up
5 amongst the really free and selfgoverned peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their
10 will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

15 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. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when
20 peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools.

Selfgoverned nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of
25 intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the
30 carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

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A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue
5 would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

10 Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual
15 attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for
20 a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian, autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set
25 criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace Within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries
30 of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate

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them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told
5 its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

10 We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if
15 necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense 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
20 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
25 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. Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio
30 the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

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I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare
5 adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the
10 present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right
15 and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of
20 intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, — however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, —exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude
25 and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and
30 restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at

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all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

- 5 It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.
- 10 But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last
- 15 free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, every thing that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

WOODROW WILSON

Fourteen Points

SPEECH

January 8, 1918

United States Congress | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

With the United States' entry into World War I in April 1917, the stalemate in Europe was finally broken, and the Allies at last defeated the Central Powers in November 1918. However, President Woodrow Wilson—motivated by his Progressive political philosophy—sought to make the subsequent peace lasting and beneficial for the world as a whole. This speech, delivered before a joint session of Congress prior to the war's end, saw Wilson outline his vision of the terms of peace, and how the world would be better for accepting them.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What event does Wilson cite as a key development in the war effort?
2. What was the purpose of the war, according to him?
3. Why does Wilson suggest his plan for peace should be followed by other nations above all others?
4. What are the titular “Fourteen Points” he gives?
5. How does Wilson view the defeated Germany?

Woodrow Wilson. “Fourteen Points’ Message.” Speech, January 8, 1918. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/fourteen-points/>.

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Gentlemen of the Congress, —

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace.

5 Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement.

10 The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of
15 practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied, — every province, every city, every point of vantage, — as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable
20 conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian
25 representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central
30 Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan

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states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed doors, and all the world has been
5 audience, as was desired.

To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the Resolutions of the German Reichstag on the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit
10 and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world. But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have
15 again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose
20 before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them.

Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in
25 admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman
30 who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of

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the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

5 There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either
10 in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

15 They call to us to say what it is that we desire, — in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened
20 whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret
25 understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are
30 consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

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We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to
5 live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.

10

The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

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6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.
7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.
8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interests of all.
9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along

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historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

5 In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

10 For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or
15 distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile

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arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world, — the new world in which we now live, — instead of a place of mastery.

5

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

10

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.

15

Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

20

HENRY CABOT LODGE

League of Nations Speech

SPEECH

August 12, 1919
Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

In President Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" (see previous selection), his last was the creation of a "League of Nations" that he believed would prevent another conflict like World War I from occurring in the future. Following the conclusion of the war and the signing of the Treaty of Versailles (which helped to formalize the League), Wilson returned to the United States to attract support for America's membership in the new organization. However, many members of Congress, including Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, strongly opposed the League because they feared increased American involvement in overseas affairs would ultimately be detrimental to the nation. This speech by Lodge echoes many sentiments of future Americans on foreign policy.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Lodge say is "more precious to ourselves ... [and] the world than any single possession"?
2. Why does he say the United States' international independence should be maintained?
3. To what does Lodge give his highest loyalty?
4. What does he compare "internationalism" to?
5. What does Lodge say is the primary result of the United States joining the League of Nations?
6. What ultimate consequences does he warn against?

Henry Cabot Lodge. "League of Nations Speech." Speech, August 12, 1919. From California State University, Northridge. <https://www.csun.edu/~twd61312/485/Lodge%20League%20Speeches.pdf>.

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Mr. President:

The independence of the United States is not only more precious to ourselves but to the world than any single possession. Look at the United States today. We have made
5 mistakes in the past. We have had shortcomings. We shall make mistakes in the future and fall short of our own best hopes. But none the less is there any country today on the face of the earth which can compare with this in ordered liberty, in peace, and in the largest freedom?

10 I feel that I can say this without being accused of undue boastfulness, for it is the simple fact, and in making this treaty and taking on these obligations{,} all that we do is in a spirit of unselfishness and in a desire for the good of mankind. But it is well to remember that we are dealing with nations{,} every one of which has a direct individual interest to serve, and there is grave danger in an unshared idealism.

15 Contrast the United States with any country on the face of the earth today and ask yourself whether the situation of the United States is not the best to be found. I will go as far as anyone in world service, but the first step to world service is the maintenance of the United States.

20 I have always loved one flag and I cannot share that devotion [with] a mongrel banner created for a League.

You may call me selfish if you will, conservative or reactionary, or use any other harsh
25 adjective you see fit to apply, but an American I was born, an American I have remained all my life. I can never be anything else but an American, and I must think of the United States first, and when I think of the United States first in an arrangement like this I am thinking of what is best for the world, for if the United States fails, the best hopes of mankind fail with it.

30 I have never had but one allegiance - I cannot divide it now. I have loved but one flag and I cannot share that devotion and give affection to the mongrel banner invented for a

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league. Internationalism, illustrated by the Bolshevik and by the men to whom all countries are alike provided they can make money out of them, is to me repulsive.

5 National I must remain, and in that way I like all other Americans can render the amplest service to the world. The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her power for good and endanger her very existence. Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come as in the years that have gone.

10 Strong, generous, and confident, she has nobly served mankind. Beware how you trifle with your marvellous inheritance, this great land of ordered liberty, for if we stumble and fall freedom and civilization everywhere will go down in ruin.

15 We are told that we shall 'break the heart of the world' if we do not take this league just as it stands. I fear that the hearts of the vast majority of mankind would beat on strongly and steadily and without any quickening if the league were to perish altogether. If it should be effectively and beneficently changed the people who would lie awake in sorrow for a single night could be easily gathered in one not very large room but those who would draw a long breath of relief would reach to millions.

20 We hear much of visions and I trust we shall continue to have visions and dream dreams of a fairer future for the race. But visions are one thing and visionaries are another, and the mechanical appliances of the rhetorician designed to give a picture of a present which does not exist and of a future which no man can predict are as unreal and short-lived as
25 the steam or canvas clouds, the angels suspended on wires{,} and the artificial lights of the stage.

They pass with the moment of effect and are shabby and tawdry in the daylight. Let us at least be real. Washington's entire honesty of mind and his fearless look into the face of
30 all facts are qualities which can never go out of fashion and which we should all do well to imitate.

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Ideals have been thrust upon us as an argument for the league until the healthy mind which rejects cant revolts from them. Are ideals confined to this deformed experiment upon a noble purpose, tainted, as it is, with bargains and tied to a peace treaty which might have been disposed of long ago to the great benefit of the world if it had not been
5 compelled to carry this rider on its back? 'Post equitem sedet atra cura {Behind the rider sits a black care},' Horace tells us, but no blacker care ever sat behind any rider than we shall find in this covenant of doubtful and disputed interpretation as it now perches upon the treaty of peace.

10 No doubt many excellent and patriotic people see a coming fulfillment of noble ideals in the words 'league for peace.' We all respect and share these aspirations and desires, but some of us see no hope, but rather defeat, for them in this murky covenant. For we, too, have our ideals, even if we differ from those who have tried to establish a monopoly of idealism.

15 Our first ideal is our country, and we see her in the future, as in the past, giving service to all her people and to the world. Our ideal of the future is that she should continue to render that service of her own free will. She has great problems of her own to solve, very grim and perilous problems, and a right solution, if we can attain to it, would largely
20 benefit mankind.

We would have our country strong to resist a peril from the West, as she has flung back the German menace from the East. We would not have our politics distracted and embittered by the dissensions of other lands. We would not have our country's vigour
25 exhausted or her moral force abated, by everlasting meddling and muddling in every quarrel, great and small, which afflicts the world.

Our ideal is to make her ever stronger and better and finer, because in that way alone, as we believe, can she be of the greatest service to the world's peace and to the welfare of
30 mankind.

UNIT 6

The Interwar Years and World War II

1919–1945

45-50-minute classes | 14-17 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

LESSON 1	1919–1929	The Roaring Twenties	2-3 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1929–1939	The Great Depression	4-5 classes	p. 15
LESSON 3	1939–1945	World War II	6-7 classes	p. 25
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment			p. 39
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 57

Why Teach the Interwar Years and World War II

The “war to end all wars” did not live up to its name. Although during the 1920s the United States enjoyed a decade of economic prosperity, the rest of the world endured an uneasy peace marked by portents of future tumult and anxiety. Then Americans would suffer their own crash and a Great Depression that changed American government and economics in ways that broke sharply with the American founding. In retrospect, the Second World War seemed inevitable. The world was hurled into the greatest age of bloodshed known to man, a brutal rebuke to those who imagined that the world was reaching its zenith of enlightenment. But it is miraculous that America, despite the many great upheavals and pressures she faced, largely stood firm in the face of a totalitarian conquest of the world. Students need to grasp what was at

stake in this great conflict and why the key role played by the United States should be a point of enduring pride for all Americans. The totalitarian regimes sought to annihilate the very principles on which human freedom and dignity were founded. It was for these principles, and the way of life to which they gave rise, that Americans sacrificed, and died, and saved the world.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. The 1920s were a decade not only of prosperity and of cultural change but also of a renewal of the principles and practice of limited government that had waned during the Progressive Era.
2. The stock market crash and the Great Depression were predictable economic consequences of normal economic forces exacerbated by government actions.
3. The Roosevelt administration and the New Deal brought much-needed encouragement to Americans living through hardship, while also transforming the size, scope, and power of government in unprecedented ways.
4. World War II was the bloodiest war in human history and demonstrated the potential of new philosophies and technologies to unleash untold horrors.
5. The United States took up the cause of the heroic British and saved civilization from a modern barbarism that trampled on the truth of each person's inherent dignity.

What Teachers Should Consider

While the Progressive Era had critiqued some of America's founding ideas—particularly about government, economics, and human nature—the underlying moral philosophy of the Progressives was largely the same as that held by the founders. The Harding and Coolidge administrations preserved that continuity while dialing back the expansion of government under the Progressives and reasserting principles of limited self-government and the free market. The Roaring Twenties witnessed exceptional prosperity for many, and with this affluence came novel cultural norms, at least for America's well-to-do. For most of the rest, the cultural changes were far less dramatic, and the difficult conditions of farmers and others dependent upon the agricultural economy during the twenties should not be forgotten. Overall, however, life was comfortable, and the standard of living continued to rise.

The second quarter of the twentieth century, however, saw America torn between her founding principles and new ideas that argued those principles were largely outdated. With the Great Depression, a combination of economic forces and unfortunate government actions sank the American and world economies into a decade-long quagmire.

The response in the United States was the New Deal. American society was buoyed by Franklin D. Roosevelt's personality and his unprecedented expansion of government, even though the actual economic effectiveness of these efforts would elicit questions over time. What *is* certain is this: expansion and its many programs would change American government and economics, marking a decisive contrast with America's founding ideas.

Elsewhere in the world, ideologies arose that concentrated on dividing people into groups based on class or race. In trampling on the natural rights of millions of individuals, these totalitarian ideologues rejected America's founding principles, especially the view of the dignity of the human person and the dangers of concentrated power. This assault on principle had its counterpart in the horrendous machines of war that swept through Europe, North Africa, and the Pacific. The world found itself on the cusp of global tyranny, with evil powers aligned against all that the American experiment in self-government had stood for. Americans rose to meet the challenge and to distinguish their country yet again by their commitment to enduring and timeless truths.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

New World Coming, Nathan Miller
The Forgotten Man, Amity Shlaes
Freedom from Fear, David Kennedy
Three New Deals, Wolfgang Schivelbusch
From Isolation to War: 1931–1941, Justus Doenecke
The Second World War, Martin Gilbert
The Second World Wars, Victor Davis Hanson
To Hell and Back, Ian Kershaw
American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | [Online.Hillsdale.edu](https://online.hillsdale.edu)

The Great American Story
American Heritage
Constitution 101
Constitution 201
The Second World Wars

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Short History of World War II, James Stokesbury

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

“The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence,” Calvin Coolidge
Commonwealth Club address, Franklin Roosevelt
First inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt
Democratic Convention address, 1936, Franklin Roosevelt
“The Conservative Manifesto,” Josiah Bailey
“The Dominant Dogma of the Age,” Walter Lippmann
Annual Message to Congress, 1944, Franklin Roosevelt
“Fifty Years Hence,” Winston Churchill
Fireside chat on National Security, Franklin Roosevelt
Annual Message to Congress, 1941, Franklin Roosevelt
Atlantic Charter, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND QUIZZES

Lesson 1 — The Roaring Twenties

1919–1929

2-3 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the prosperity that much of America produced and enjoyed during the 1920s, the presidency of Calvin Coolidge, and the cultural transformations that followed America's victory in the Great War.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 276–294

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 265–273

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 166–170

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 17

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 276–286, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 166–168) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 286–294, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 168–170) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate Calvin Coolidge's "The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence," and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

New York City

Harlem

Greenwich Village

Tulsa

Detroit

Greenwood district

Persons

Woodrow Wilson
Carrie Nation
Susan B. Anthony
Joseph Stalin
Warren G. Harding
Andrew Mellon
Calvin Coolidge
Henry Ford
Babe Ruth
Charlie Chaplin
Walt Disney
George Gershwin
Charles Lindbergh

F. Scott Fitzgerald
Al Capone
William Jennings Bryan
Norman Rockwell
Andrew Wyeth
Frank Lloyd Wright
Robert Frost
Irving Berlin
Louis Armstrong
Duke Ellington
James Weldon Johnson
Langston Hughes
Zora Neale Hurston

Terms and Topics

inflation
Spanish Flu
Red Summer
18th Amendment
Prohibition
19th Amendment
Russian Civil War
Red Terror
Red Scare
Mexican Revolution
immigration quota laws
free market
laissez-faire
Great Migration
Tulsa Massacre
Teapot Dome Scandal
electricity
automobile
General Motors

highways
refrigerator
long-term mortgage
radio
motion pictures
Hollywood
celebrities
advertising
organized crime
flappers
fundamentalism
Scopes Trial
art deco
Empire State Building
Rhapsody in Blue
jazz
Harlem Renaissance

Primary Sources

“The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence,” Calvin Coolidge

To Know by Heart

“Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of my administration has been minding my own business.” —Calvin Coolidge

Timeline

1918–1921	Russian Civil War
1923	Warren G. Harding dies; Calvin Coolidge becomes president
1928	Herbert Hoover elected

Images

Historical figures and events
 Cities affected by the Spanish Flu
 Women's suffrage movement
 Painting of Calvin Coolidge being sworn in by his father
 New inventions
 Automobiles
 Professional sporting events
 First motion pictures
 Bootleggers
 Flappers
 Upper class society
 Art deco architecture and art
 Cityscapes
 Map of the Great Migration
 Factories and workers
 Jazz halls and musicians
 Pictures from before and after the Tulsa Race Massacre

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Susan B. Anthony, Warren G. Harding, and Calvin Coolidge
- Edith Wilson effectively governing the country after Woodrow Wilson's stroke
- The *Topeka Daily Capital* on Carrie Nation in 1900
- The trial of Sacco and Vanzetti
- The death of Warren G. Harding in San Francisco
- Calvin Coolidge being sworn in by his father
- The *New York Times*' 1927 account of a television broadcast
- Edwin James's account of Charles Lindbergh's arriving in Paris
- Paul Morand's account of speakeasies in New York City
- The *New York Times*' 1931 description of the Empire State Building

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How did the Great War change America?
- What challenges did America face domestically following the Great War? Why?
- What were the arguments for Prohibition?
- What was the Russian Civil War about? Who won? Why?
- In the wake of the Great War, what was the main argument for why Congress ended limitless immigration to America?
- What did Warren G. Harding mean by a "return to normalcy"?

- How might Warren G. Harding's presidency be characterized?
- What economic policies did Warren G. Harding enact with respect to the economy? What was the result?
- Why did the Great Migration begin during the Great War and accelerate during the 1920s?
- What was life like in the Greenwood neighborhood of Tulsa, Oklahoma? What happened to it?
- How might Calvin Coolidge's presidency be characterized?
- In what ways did Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge offer an answer to the Progressives?
- What technological innovations were most responsible for transforming the pace and busyness of life for Americans during the 1920s?
- How was the 18th Amendment ineffective, and how did it undermine the rule of law?
- To what extent and in what ways did American culture change during the 1920s? Why?
- How universal were changes to American culture?
- What did Charles Lindbergh's celebrity status reveal about the power of new communication technology and journalism?
- To what was Christian fundamentalism responding in the interwar years?
- How did art and architecture change in America following the Great War? What inspirations and principles shaped the artists who introduced these styles?
- How did American music change?
- How did jazz develop, and what were its main characteristics?
- What was the Harlem Renaissance? What were its origins and main ideas?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 5: How are changes made to the US Constitution?
 - Question 13: What is the rule of law?
 - Question 48: What are two Cabinet-level positions?
 - Question 63: There are four amendments to the US Constitution about who can vote. Describe one of them.
 - Question 99: Name one leader of the women's rights movement in the 1800s.
 - Question 102: When did all women get the right to vote?
 - Question 118: Name one example of an American innovation.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The 1920s were another period of great change in American life. First, the transition from wartime to peacetime involved many challenges, including an influenza pandemic, an economic downturn, and fears of anarchist and communist attacks on the American way of life. It was argued that the return to a policy of limited government under the Harding and Coolidge administrations brought a renewed confidence in American entrepreneurship and innovation. The 1920s thus saw tremendous gains in the standard of living and prosperity. New technologies, especially the mass production of the automobile and new forms of mass communication, led to a life for the middle class that has much in common with life in America today. A different kind of culture and lifestyle began to emerge, however, in America's large cities and among its upper income earners, who enjoyed exceptional wealth and opulence. American cultural norms in these areas began to diverge from traditional morality, while the unenforceable ban on alcohol precipitated a general decline in respect for the rule of law, even outside of cities.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Roaring Twenties with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Discuss the two amendments to the Constitution that were ratified during and after the Great War. Teach about the work of Carrie Nation and Progressives to ratify the 18th Amendment (which prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages); the work of suffragists Susan B. Anthony, Alice Paul, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Ida B. Wells; and the 19th Amendment (which secured women's right to vote).
- Note the challenges that the end of the war brought to America: a recession coupled with inflation, housing and job shortages for returning soldiers, a summer of riots and violence against African Americans in dozens of cities, and the terrifying epidemic of Spanish Flu.
- Teach about the Russian Civil War, the involvement of Allied and American soldiers on the side of the Whites, and the Red Terror. Amid the chaos left in the wake of the Great War, communist groups attempted to seize power in European nations just as the Bolsheviks had done in Russia. With the upheavals that America was experiencing in the first year following the Armistice, communist and anarchist agitation was also present in the United States, a time that some have dubbed the "Red Scare."
- Introduce Warren G. Harding as a president who generally moved against the Progressive rhetoric and views on government power, of which many Americans had grown weary under Woodrow Wilson. His promise of a "return to normalcy" in America represented a restoration of limited constitutional government after Progressivism. The cutting of taxes and streamlining of regulations in particular unleashed the productive capacity of the American economy. Harding's administration was overshadowed, though, by a series of scandals among government officials, most notably the Teapot Dome scandal.
- Teach students about the condition of African Americans in various parts of the country, including the beginning of the Great Migration of African Americans from southern states to northern cities. Show the students why these cities became hotbeds of social tension. Highlight, for instance, the racial violence directed against African Americans in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Tulsa Massacre showed that the American principles of the rule of law and equal protection under the law could be fragile, and that it was the responsibility of the American constitutional order to prevent such events and to bring to justice those who committed such atrocities.
- Explore with students Warren G. Harding's policies regarding African Americans serving in federal positions and his statements on lynching, the introduction of federal anti-lynching bills in 1922, and a comparison of party platforms, especially regarding lynching and civil rights.
- Teach about Warren G. Harding's sudden death in 1923 and Calvin Coolidge's assuming the presidency. Coolidge continued many of Harding's limited government policies while openly defending the principles of the American founding against the Progressive view that they had been made obsolete by social changes. Read with students Coolidge's "The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence."
- Present a canvas of America during the 1920s. Begin with the transforming effects of mass automobile ownership, thanks to Henry Ford's assembly line system, and the proliferation of faster means of communication. The ability to watch motion pictures and to listen to recorded music and the radio complemented the changes to American life brought about by the car. Students should be asked to imagine life before these inventions and how these inventions changed the way Americans experienced life.

- Continue to teach about the efforts to circumvent Prohibition, the rise of organized crime, and the broader lifestyle of the well-to-do, particularly in America's cities. The emergence of the flapper culture, opulence, and open flouting of Prohibition by America's leading politicians and businessmen has come to characterize the America of the 1920s. But it is important for students to recognize that this view of America was based on a select elite on which the journalism of the day focused its writings. The vast majority of America underwent no such overwhelming cultural transformation, aside from what was wrought by the automobile, new forms of communication, larger markets, and mass advertisement. Moreover, most of America's farmers saw little of the prosperity that industry brought and that those in cities were experiencing.
- Spend some time on the art, architecture, music, and literature of the interwar years. Include art deco; writers F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and William Faulkner; the development of jazz, including the contributions of Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington; and the literature of the Harlem Renaissance, including the work of Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Zora Neale Hurston, Jacob Lawrence, and Faith Ringgold. Students should recognize and understand the ideas informing these changes and developments in art.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment: Explain the ways in which America changed during the 1920s, the reasons for these changes, and the extent to which these changes were universal (2–3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 6.1

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages 276-286

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Did John Maynard Keynes look hopefully or despondently upon the future after the Great War?
2. What illness killed over 600,000 Americans from 1918-1919?
3. Did Warren Harding eliminate Woodrow Wilson's regulatory agencies or appoint business-friendly people to lead and work in them?
4. Who transformed American transportation with the mass production of the Model T automobile?
5. What new genre and style of music became a nationwide phenomenon during the 1920s?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 6.2

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages 286-294

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What does the author say about advertising in the 1920s?
2. Does the author believe that the cultural changes of the 1920s were equally present in all economic classes?
3. What was outlawed during the 1920s due to a constitutional amendment?
4. Who became president upon the death of President Warren G. Harding?
5. What was one thing Herbert Hoover was known for prior to becoming president?

Lesson 2 — The Great Depression

1929–1939

4-5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression, including the actions of the federal government under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 294–315

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 273–274, 286–293

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 170–171, 182–186

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 18

Constitution 101

Lecture 9

Constitution 201

Lecture 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 294–302, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 170–171 and 182–183) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 302–315, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 183–186) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate excerpts from Franklin Roosevelt’s Commonwealth Club address, first inaugural address, and 1936 Democratic Convention speech, and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 4: Students read and annotate Josiah Bailey’s “The Conservative Manifesto,” Walter Lippmann’s “The Dominant Dogma of the Age,” and Franklin Roosevelt’s 1944 Annual Message to Congress, and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON**Geography and Places**

Hoover Dam
Tennessee Valley Authority

Mount Rushmore

Persons

Herbert Hoover
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Jesse Owens

Ernest Hemingway
Aaron Copland

Terms and Topics

stock market
Federal Reserve System
Federal Reserve rate
speculation
marginal trading
overvaluation
bubble
Black Tuesday
bank run
fractional reserve banking
purchasing power
investment
recession
Smoot-Hawley Tariff
retaliatory tariffs
depression
Great Depression
Hoovervilles
Reconstruction Finance
Corporation
Emergency Relief Act
Bonus Army
21st Amendment
New Deal

brain trust
fireside chats
Banking Act
regulation
bureaucracy
public works programs
Civilian Conservation Corps
Works Progress
Administration
National Recovery
Administration
Agricultural Adjustment
Administration
Dust Bowl
Securities and Exchange
Commission
Social Security Act
welfare
Tuskegee Experiment
Wagner Act
income tax
Berlin Olympics
court packing
“Roosevelt recession”

Primary Sources

Commonwealth Club address, Franklin Roosevelt
First inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt
Democratic Convention address, 1936, Franklin Roosevelt
“The Conservative Manifesto,” Josiah Bailey
“The Dominant Dogma of the Age,” Walter Lippmann
Annual Message to Congress, 1944, Franklin Roosevelt

To Know by Heart

“God Bless America” —Irving Berlin

Timeline

Oct. 29, 1929	Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
1930	Smoot-Hawley Tariff
1932	Franklin Roosevelt elected
1937	“Roosevelt recession”

Images

Historical figures and events
 Wall Street on Black Tuesday
 Hoovervilles
 Poverty in cities
 The Bonus Army and its dispersion
 Fireside chat
 The buildings that housed the new federal bureaucracies
 Workers in public works programs
 Hoover Dam
 Mount Rushmore
 Tennessee Valley Authority projects
 The National Recovery Administration’s “Blue Eagle”
 The Dust Bowl
 Jesse Owens on the podium at the Berlin Olympics

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biography and presidential actions of Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- Elliott Bell’s account of the stock market crash of 1929
- Lee McCardell’s account of the US Army dispersing the Bonus Army
- Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes’s diary entries on the Roosevelt administration’s implementation of the New Deal
- Jesse Owens’s gold medal at the 1936 Berlin Olympics in Nazi Germany

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How does the Federal Reserve System work? What is its purpose?
- What is the purpose of buying and selling stocks, both for corporations and investors?
- How does stock trading work? What ultimately determines a stock’s price?
- For what reasons was stock speculation less than careful by the late 1920s?
- For what reasons were many stocks grossly overvalued by the late 1920s?
- What role did the Federal Reserve System play in encouraging speculation and overvaluation? How so?
- What first caused a sell-off in stocks in October 1929?
- How did the sell-off influence other investors?
- What is a bank run? What is its connection to fractional reserve banking?

- To what extent did Herbert Hoover depart from Calvin Coolidge's policy of limited government and laissez-faire economics?
- What actions by the Hoover administration and Congress may have caused a temporary recession to become the Great Depression? How so?
- What was life like for many Americans during the Great Depression?
- How might one describe Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Why did he appeal to so many Americans, and why did his foes dislike him?
- What were the main ideas behind Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal? How did the New Deal compare to the American founding and the initial Progressive Era?
- What were the main types of government action taken as part of the New Deal?
- What language and images did Franklin Roosevelt use to gain public support for his actions?
- How did the New Deal transform the role and functioning of the federal government?
- How did Franklin Roosevelt conduct politics during his several terms as president?
- How was the National Recovery Administration both unconstitutional, per the Supreme Court, and practically difficult to manage?
- How did the Dust Bowl come about?
- To what extent was the New Deal successful? How so?
- In what ways were people critical of the New Deal, particularly of its public works programs, farming policies, and involvement in the flow of market information?
- What were the similarities and differences between the New Deal and the economic programs of European countries in the 1930s?
- What caused the recession of 1937, which some called the "Roosevelt recession"?
- Why do some scholars claim that the New Deal may have unintentionally prolonged the Great Depression?
- What was Franklin Roosevelt's court-packing plan, and why did that plan backfire in public opinion?
- How did the programs enacted through the New Deal change the approach the Democratic Party would take toward assembling democratic majorities?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 53: How many seats are on the Supreme Court?
 - Question 103: What was the Great Depression?
 - Question 104: When did the Great Depression start?
 - Question 105: Who was president during the Great Depression and World War II?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Rarely in American history can two adjoining time periods be juxtaposed so sharply as the 1920s and the 1930s, as the boom of the Roaring Twenties gave way abruptly to the bust of the Great Depression. Fluctuations in the economic decisions of millions of people are natural, relatively brief, and often clarifying for producers and consumers alike, but the economic abyss into which Americans descended was unlike anything else. Likewise, the response of the federal government was unmatched to any other time in its history. In the presidencies of Herbert Hoover and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a second run of Progressivism rose in response to the laissez-faire approach of the previous decade. Roosevelt's policies often went far beyond the traditional constitutional limits on government authority in order to win (as he framed it) the war against the Depression. Students should understand the debates over the causes, the

deepening, and the perpetuation of the Great Depression, as well as the types and effectiveness of various government actions in response.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Great Depression with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Review with students the role and functioning of the Federal Reserve System, which Progressives had created via constitutional amendment during the Wilson administration.
- While students should have encountered the workings of the stock market in previous units, spend some time at the outset of this lesson to help them understand how the stock market works. Of particular importance is that they understand the normal function of buying and selling stocks, both for corporations and for investors. Admittedly, many achievements in American life would have been nearly impossible without the raising of capital through the sale of stocks. But students should also learn how the price of a stock can become detached from the hard realities and purposes behind a corporation's offering of stocks. In short, buying and selling stocks can easily become a form of straightforward gambling.
- With this backdrop, help students understand what makes a person less careful in the stock market. Students should be aware of the perception that the gains of the 1920s economy were unstoppable, but they should also learn about the practice of marginal trading and the effects of the rather novel Federal Reserve System's practice of keeping interest rates exceptionally low. This meant an inordinately low cost of borrowing money. By 1929, almost every bet in the stock market seemed sure to gain in value, and the money to borrow to place such bets seemed unending. It was human nature to respond in this way—both for investors and government experts at the Federal Reserve. Nobody thought it would stop, and in the case of the Federal Reserve members, nobody wanted to slow it down.
- Clarify for students what this meant: In the broader economy, much of Americans' savings had been loaned out, with complete confidence that they would be repaid with a sure profit. The capital raised from these savings was readily available and readily spent to expand the production of businesses. This production was responding more to the available capital rather than to the actual quantity of goods and services that Americans wanted. Almost everything was overvalued: the price a person saw a stock or company to be worth was far higher than its actual business success would yield. All it took was somebody to realize this, to attempt to sell their stocks at this higher price before they fell back to their real value, and then for others to notice what this person just did, recognize the underlying discrepancy, and do the same. Then the valuations would crash.
- While it is difficult to pinpoint what caused investors in late 1929 to look into the real value of the companies in which they had invested, a possible alarm might have been the sudden closing of a major investment firm in London that had been charged with fraud. While it did not have a direct impact on the American stock market, the sudden closure may have alerted enough American investors to take a closer look at the companies in which they had invested. What they found was that their stocks were indeed overvalued, and they began to sell.
- Be sure to note for students that a stock market crash and, in this case, the onset of a recession, is made up of the reactions of millions of individuals. In October 1929, that meant that a growing number of investors were frightened by the first sell-offs and began to presume that every stock—even those that were sound—were overvalued or would be affected by other overvalued stocks. It became a race to save something of their original investments.
- Next, begin to explain the various effects of this stock market crash in other areas of the economy, noting how the consequences were something like a trip wire that would then double back and

trigger itself again. As a company's stocks were deflated, the business model and outlook of a company dimmed, production and services halted, and employees were furloughed and then laid off. Now in need of money, the unemployed went to withdraw some of their personal savings from their banks. Here, introduce students to fractional reserve banking. With only a fraction of deposits on hand and the rest loaned out—in many cases, in overvalued stocks and companies—the deposits for all who had savings at a bank were not readily available for everyone all at once, should a bank run occur. As events unfolded, these savings were dissipated with the collapse of each additional business, and news of a limited supply of savings led to further panicked bank runs. With their savings gone, the unemployed and employed alike further lost the means to spend money at businesses and repay loans when businesses and banks were already short on revenue. More businesses closed, more stocks lost value, more people were unemployed, and the pattern repeated, continuing its downward spiral.

- Consider with students how the initial stock market crash did not make the Great Depression inevitable. The crash was harder than most sell-offs and recessions owing to a combination of the Federal Reserve System's monetary policy, overvaluation, and overproduction, but a relatively quick (albeit longer) correction was generally anticipated. Focus, then, on the important actions of the Hoover administration that arguably turned a bad recession into a depression. This series of events runs counter to the perception of Herbert Hoover as a dedicated champion of the free market and limited government. In contrast with Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover believed the American government and large American businesses were capable of using their authority, often in concert, to solve economic problems. But the passage of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff and the consequent retaliatory tariffs by other nations raised prices for the unemployed and underemployed while stifling international trade when the economy was already faltering. The Federal Reserve's belated raising of interest rates further restricted the flow of increasingly scarce dollars and dampened new investments and spending when that is just what businesses needed. Aid to key industries for mortgages and in the form of public works seemed to do little to help. Some argue that it was these events that actually caused the recession to turn into a historic depression.
- Take time to teach about the experiences of those who were suffering during the early days of the Great Depression, comparing it to the great prosperity they had experienced during the 1920s. Help students to see the desperation and disillusionment that so many families endured and the growing demand for some sort of radical solution. With the situation ripe for anarchist, socialist, and communist agitators to gain a sizeable following, things were volatile, to say the least.
- Explain the changes in party constituencies—particularly the Democratic alliance of southerners, western farmers, immigrants, workers in northern urban centers, and some African Americans—and the reasons for these shifts.
- Help students to understand the appeal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his ideas, his words, and his personality, particularly as they fit the situation America was in by 1932. The fact that he spoke well and affably—combined with his penchant to have the government take action as though it were fighting a war—made him highly successful in garnering support from a downtrodden populace. Consider reading with students Roosevelt's Commonwealth Club address and his First inaugural address.
- Explain the ideas, nature, and products of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The New Deal had many strands and, considered in its totality, can seem to be a collection of competing policies. But a common principle was that the federal government would not abide by the principles of limited government set forth in the American founding and reasserted during the 1920s but rather would

adopt the Progressive belief in government action to solve problems, confident in the power of bureaucratic expertise. The chief difference between the original Progressives and the Progressives of the New Deal was the dramatic scope of and almost exclusive economic focus of the New Deal. Consider reading Roosevelt's 1936 Democratic Convention address and his 1944 Annual Message to Congress to see his justifications for the New Deal and his efforts to expand the progressive view of rights and associated government powers.

- Lead students through a consideration of the New Deal's various approaches and programs to address the economic struggles America faced. Key areas to focus on include efforts to make banking less volatile and restore investor confidence; the myriad of public works programs; the close cooperation of the federal government and large businesses to fix the prices, wages, and other standards within various industries; the creation of certain limited welfare programs such as Social Security; and the record increase in income tax rates. Be sure to consider with students whether these actions worked as intended, followed the Constitution, and helped or hurt the economy. Chapter 17 of *Land of Hope* may be of help in navigating these questions, as well as for tracking the ebb and flow of Franklin Roosevelt's popularity. Reading Josiah Bailey's "The Conservative Manifesto" and Walter Lippmann's "The Dominant Dogma of the Day" are two sources that demonstrate contemporary critiques of Roosevelt and the New Deal.
- Discuss Franklin Roosevelt's reelection campaigns and the eventual decline in Democratic electoral victories as the Depression dragged on. Roosevelt's plan to pack the Supreme Court hurt him at the polls while many argued that his New Deal policies led to a recession in 1937. A debate has arisen, therefore, over whether Roosevelt's New Deal, if not worsening the Depression, at least inhibited a recovery that was already in the making, as had usually been the case in past economic downturns.
- Be sure students understand and reflect on the tremendous transformations that Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal wrought in the size, purpose, and functioning of the federal government and the place of the presidency. Never had the federal government been so large. The bureaucratic ideals first envisioned by the Progressives expanded greatly. Roosevelt's use of the presidency's bully pulpit surpassed perhaps even that of his cousin Theodore Roosevelt, while his use of government spending and power within political electoral matters marked a new era in national political operations. Students should explore what advantages and risks are inherent in such changes in government power, particularly in light of the principles of the American founding and traditional manner of governance that had formerly defined the United States. They should also consider the fact that Roosevelt and his New Deal provided a psychological boost to millions of suffering Americans.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how the stock market came about and how the initial recession was turned into the Great Depression (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the various ways the New Deal sought to improve the American economy and the effects of these actions, both on the economy and on the government itself (3–4 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 6.3

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 294-302

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What happened on “Black Tuesday”?
2. Where did the Great Depression start? Where did it spread?
3. Describe briefly one of the two main schools of thought about the causes of the Great Depression.
4. What did other countries do in response to the Smoot-Hawley Tariff?
5. What happened to the group of Great War veterans called the “Bonus Army”?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 6.4

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 2

Land of Hope, Pages 302-315

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Why was Franklin Roosevelt's public personality and temperament helpful during the Great Depression?
2. What did Franklin Roosevelt promise to use to stop and reverse the Great Depression?
3. Name one of the actions Franklin Roosevelt took with his New Deal programs.
4. What did the U.S. Supreme Court rule about the National Recovery Administration (NRA)?
5. What caused the "Roosevelt recession"?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 6 | Formative Quiz

Covering Lessons 1-2
10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What was the Russian Civil War about? Who won? Why?
2. What did Warren G. Harding mean by a “return to normalcy”?
3. What was life like in the Greenwood neighborhood of Tulsa, Oklahoma? What happened to it?
4. What did Charles Lindbergh’s celebrity status reveal about the power of new communication technology and journalism?
5. How does stock trading work? What ultimately determines a stock’s price?
6. To what extent did Herbert Hoover depart from Calvin Coolidge’s policy of limited government and laissez-faire economics?
7. How did the programs enacted through the New Deal change the approach the Democratic Party would take toward assembling democratic majorities?

Lesson 3 — World War II

1939–1945

6-7 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the rise of totalitarianism during the interwar years, the outbreak of war in Europe and Asia, and the role of the United States in moving from a position of neutrality to its own entrance into the war and ultimate victory.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 316–340

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 305–317

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 198–205

A Short History of World War II

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 19

The Second World Wars

Lectures 1–7

American Heritage

Lecture 9

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 316–327, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (198–201) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 327–340, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (202–205) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate excerpts from Winston Churchill's "Fifty Years Hence," and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON**Geography and Places**

Latin America
 Ukraine
 Imperial Japan
 China
 Ethiopia
 Rhineland
 Sudetenland
 Ardennes Forest
 Dunkirk
 Vichy France
 Free France
 English Channel

Yugoslavia
 Caucuses
 Pacific Ocean
 Detroit
 Seattle
 Tunisia
 Sicily
 Normandy
 Bastogne
 Dresden
 Tokyo
 Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Persons

Franklin D. Roosevelt
 Joseph Stalin
 Benito Mussolini
 Adolf Hitler
 Hirohito
 Hideki Tojo
 Francisco Franco
 Neville Chamberlain
 Winston Churchill
 Philippe Pétain
 Charles de Gaulle
 Heinrich Himmler
 Hermann Göring

Reinhard Heydrich
 Adolf Eichmann
 Erwin Rommel
 Bernard Montgomery
 A. Philip Randolph
 George Patton
 Dwight Eisenhower
 Douglas MacArthur
 Chester Nimitz
 Harry Truman
 Albert Einstein
 J. Robert Oppenheimer

Terms and Topics

Treaty of Versailles
 League of Nations
 totalitarianism
 communism
 nationalism
 Cheka
 gulag archipelago
 Great Purge
 Holodomor
 Meiji Restoration
 Weimar Republic
 fascism
 Nazi Party
 Brownshirts

SS
 Reichstag fire
 Gestapo
 Nuremberg Laws
 Kristallnacht
 Neutrality Acts
 Spanish Civil War
 Japanese Invasion of China
 Rape of Nanking
 rearmament
 Luftwaffe
 Austrian Anschluss
 Munich Crisis
 appeasement

Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact	Battle of Guadalcanal
Invasion of Poland	Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam
Allied Powers	resistance/partisan groups
Blitzkrieg	Operation Torch
paratroopers	Operation Husky
Katyn Forest	Italian Campaign
“sitzkrieg”	Gustav Line
Scandinavian Campaigns	strategic bombing
Maginot Line	thousand-bomber raids
Miracle of Dunkirk	US Marines
Axis Powers	island hopping
Royal Air Force (RAF)	amphibious assault
Battle of Britain	Atlantic Wall
The Blitz	Operation Overlord
Ultra decrypting	D-Day
Cash and carry	Battle of Normandy
Destroyers for Bases	Falaise pocket
Atlantic Charter	Operation Market Garden
Lend-Lease	Battle of Leyte Gulf
Hemispheric Defense Zone	Warsaw Uprising
Operation Barbarossa	Battle of the Bulge
Battle of Moscow	Bombing of Dresden
Siege of Leningrad	Battle of Iwo Jima
Attack on Pearl Harbor	Battle of Okinawa
Bataan Death March	concentration/death camps
Big Three	Auschwitz
“Arsenal of Democracy”	The Holocaust
code talkers	genocide
Bracero Program	Battle of Berlin
Japanese Internment	VE Day
<i>Korematsu v. United States</i>	Firebombing of Tokyo
Tuskegee Airmen	Operation Downfall
Battle of the Coral Sea	Manhattan Project
Battle of Midway	atomic bomb
Battle of the Atlantic	<i>Enola Gay</i>
<i>Fanfare for the Common Man</i>	VJ Day
Battle of Stalingrad	

Primary Sources

“Fifty Years Hence,” Winston Churchill
 Fireside chat on National Security, Franklin Roosevelt
 Annual Message to Congress, 1941, Franklin Roosevelt
 Atlantic Charter, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill

To Know by Heart

“December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy.” —Franklin Roosevelt, War Message to Congress

“I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.” —Winston Churchill to Parliament, May 13, 1940

“We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God’s good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.” —Winston Churchill to Parliament, June 4, 1940

“[T]he Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, ‘This was their finest hour.’” —Winston Churchill to Parliament, June 18, 1940

“Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.”
—Winston Churchill on the Royal Air Force pilots who fought in the Battle of Britain, August 20, 1940

Timeline

1929	Stock market crash; Great Depression begins
1933	Hitler appointed chancellor, named dictator
1938	Austrian Anschluss and Munich Crisis
1939	Germany seizes all of Czechoslovakia
1939–1945	World War II
1939	Sept. 1 Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland
1940	Fall of France Battle of Britain and the Blitz
1941	Germany invades the Soviet Union
	Dec. 7 Japanese attack Pearl Harbor
1942	Battle of Midway

		Battle of Stalingrad
1943		Battle of Guadalcanal
		Invasions of North Africa and Italy
1944	June 6	Normandy Invasion (D-Day)
		Battle of the Bulge
1945	May 8	VE Day
	Aug. 15	VJ Day

Images

Historical figures and events
 Photographs from the Soviet gulags
 Images and uniforms of Allied and Axis officers and soldiers
 Depictions and photographs of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
 Video footage of soldiers and fighting
 Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles
 Military equipment and weaponry
 War propaganda
 Medical equipment
 Reenactment photos
 Facsimiles of documents and letters
 Home front and factory production
 Japanese internment notices
 Prisoner-of-war and death camps
 Destruction from the war
 Postwar maps

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Life in a Soviet gulag
- Nadezhda Mandelstam's account of a Soviet arrest
- Life during the Holodomor
- Life in Weimar, Germany
- Sefton Delmer's account of the Reichstag fire
- Noel Monks's account of the bombing of Guernica
- The attack by German soldiers dressed as Poles on a German radio station, which Adolf Hitler used to justify invading Poland
- The bombing of Rotterdam
- Erwin Rommel's account of blitzkrieg in France
- The evacuation of the British Army from Dunkirk, mainly using British civilian boats; John Austin's account
- Winston Churchill and the Royal Air Force in the Battle of Britain; Richard Hillary's account
- Frances Faviell's account of the Blitz
- The Russian winter setting in as the Germans were on the outskirts of Moscow
- The mass murders committed by the Soviet Union, Imperial Japan, and Nazi Germany
- Resistance fighting
- Ultra deciphering of the German Enigma Code
- John Garcia's and Daniel Inouye's accounts of the attack on Pearl Harbor

- Bataan Death March
- Doolittle Raid
- Attempted assassinations of Adolf Hitler
- Mitsuo Fuchida's account of the Battle of Midway
- Fighting in the various theaters of war, especially those involving American soldiers
- Stories of American soldiers in various major battles
- Forrest Vosler in a B-17
- John Basilone fighting in the Pacific
- Robert Sherrod's account of the Marines landing at Tarawa
- James Rudder and the Army Rangers attacking Pointe du Hoc
- Robert Edlin's account of fighting at Omaha Beach on D-Day
- Fighting of John Pruitt in Europe
- Dietrich von Choltitz's refusal to destroy Paris
- First reports to the Allies of the "Final Solution," by Gerhart Riegner
- Life in Nazi concentration camps and stories of resistance and survival
- Hermann Graebe's account of a mass execution of Jews
- Sophia Litwinka's account of the gas chambers
- Deaths of Maximilian Kolbe, Edith Stein, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, among others
- Warsaw uprising
- Accounts by Eugene Sledge of fighting in the Pacific
- Jack Lucas fighting at Iwo Jima
- Deaths of Franklin Roosevelt, Benito Mussolini, and Adolf Hitler in April 1945
- The *Enola Gay* dropping the first atomic bomb
- Survivors of strategic bombing and atomic bombing campaigns

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- To what extent did the Soviet Union fulfill its goals of material equality and democratic liberty?
- What forms of political persecution and extermination did the communist Soviet Union inflict on its people?
- What groups of people in Europe especially feared communism during the 1920s and 1930s?
- What is economic fascism?
- How did Imperial Japan become so powerful?
- How did Benito Mussolini come to power in Italy? What did he promise?
- What problems did Weimar, Germany, face? What caused these problems?
- Why were Germans attracted to the ideas of the Nazi Party in the 1930s?
- Why was Adolf Hitler obsessed with a person's race?
- What were Adolf Hitler's goals for those he considered "Aryans"?
- What was the Reichstag fire? How did it come about, and why was it important for Adolf Hitler's dictatorship?
- What are the ways in which communism, socialism, and fascism are similar and different? What roles did nationalism and militarism play in each?
- What military actions did Japan, Italy, Germany, and Spain each take during the 1930s? Why?
- What were Adolf Hitler's foreign policy goals, and how did he try to justify them to the other countries of Europe?
- How did World War II begin in September 1939?

- What were the main components to blitzkrieg?
- What was the situation the world faced at Dunkirk and in the Battle of Britain?
- How significant were the persona and the actions of Winston Churchill, especially during the early years of World War II?
- Why was the Battle of Britain fought?
- What were the ways the United States indirectly but intentionally helped the British in their war with Germany and in their deterrence of Japan in the Pacific?
- Why was Operation Barbarossa so significant?
- Why did Japan attack the United States? What was the strategic goal of the attack on Pearl Harbor? Why was the attack not completely successful?
- How did Nazi Germany, communist Soviet Union, and Imperial Japan treat their own people, the people they conquered, and soldiers they captured? Why?
- How did resistance groups fight the tyrannies under which they lived?
- After Pearl Harbor, what nation did the Allies agree to focus on defeating first? Why?
- How did the Allies gradually win the Battle of the Atlantic? Why was this victory so vital?
- What was strategic bombing? What were the problems with it, both practical and moral?
- How were American industrial might and American generals important to the Allied cause?
- What was fighting like in the Pacific, in North Africa, and in Italy? How were the Allies eventually successful in each theater?
- How did Operation Overlord work?
- What did Nazi Germany do in the Holocaust?
- In addition to the Nazis' primary target, the Jews, who else was targeted and killed in German executions and concentration camps?
- To what extent did average Germans and the outside world know what was happening? Explain.
- As the war drew to a close in Europe, why did territorial gains by each Allied power become an issue among the Allies?
- What happened to Poland and all of Eastern Europe in the final year of the war? How can this development be said to be both tragic and ironic?
- How was the atomic bomb developed?
- What moral quandaries did the Allies face at numerous points in the war?
- Question from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 105: Who was president during the Great Depression and World War II?
 - Question 106: Why did the United States enter World War II?
 - Question 107: Dwight Eisenhower is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

World War II was one of the monumental events in world history, an epic struggle between good and evil. This is not to say that the Allied war effort was morally perfect. But if there ever was a moment when we can say that an evil regime was set to conquer the world and heroes rose to meet it, World War II was such a moment. The efforts of Americans of the time—from business leaders and workers to generals and citizen soldiers—saved the world. In recognizing these facts, students should be able to acknowledge the gratitude and honor they owe to this “greatest generation” and should rise to conserve what those soldiers sacrificed and died to defend.

Teachers might best plan and teach World War II with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Begin the lesson with a retracing of events in Europe and Asia during the 1920s and 1930s. In addition to the tumult of the global Depression, Europe was slow to recover from the Great War, particularly with respect to the shakiness of its political and traditional institutions and beliefs.
- Spend time with Soviet Russia as the experiment in communism played out. Under both Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union was the world's first totalitarian state, combining an atheistic philosophy with modern scientific technology and thus controlling its people and seeking to spread its revolutionary power worldwide. Talk specifically about the gulag death camps, the Holodomor in the Ukraine, the secret police, and the torture of political and philosophical opponents.
- Pivot to discussing the other branch of totalitarianism: fascism. Imperial Japan, Benito Mussolini's Italy, Nazi Germany, and Francisco Franco's Spain were distinct from communism mainly in economic policy. Whereas communism in the Soviet Union owned all business and property, economic fascism sought more to direct or force private businesses and property toward certain state-sanctioned goals. Communism, socialism, and fascism thus are all distinct from the American economic principle of free markets that come with limited constitutional government and capitalism.
- Consider with students that, with the exception of economic policy, the communist and fascist regimes of the interwar years were similar to each other. Discuss with students how this was the case, for even though the specific goals were different, the means were the same. Students may consider, for example, how all three regimes:
 - opposed the free market
 - divided people into superior and inferior groups
 - sought conquest
 - involved enormous centralized government action without enforced constitutions
 - appealed to the common man even as their leaders sacrificed the common man to preserve themselves
 - harnessed both traditional culture and cultural change to mobilize and unite their people
 - held no objective moral principles besides the will to power
 - employed propaganda and restricted free speech
 - appealed to passion instead of reason
 - indoctrinated the youth by dividing them from their parents
 - used science and technology for mass control
 - worked in close concert with military leaders and industries
 - coalesced around a single individual leader
 - took advantage of economic and political crises to gain power
 - employed secret police
 - endorsed gang violence and thuggery
 - persecuted political opponents
- Students should understand the way of life in these regimes, contrasting it with such American principles as freedom of speech, freedom of religion, private property, protection against unreasonable search and seizure, limited government, representative democracy, and the dignity of the human person and natural rights. Exploring the relationship between these ideologies and the new technologies arrived at through science is an important part of this conversation, as captured in Winston Churchill's "Fifty Years Hence," which may be read with students.

- Discuss how Adolf Hitler's Nazi party gained power, at first legally, and the circumstances—for example, inflation from reparations, the humiliations from the Treaty of Versailles, the Great Depression, and fears of a communist revolution—that had made the Nazi platform initially appealing to Germans. Then walk through the various steps Hitler took to gain dictatorial power, including the Nazi-organized Reichstag fire that was used to justify this power grab, the suspension of the constitution, and the violation of rights. At this point in the lesson, students should learn about the Nazis' treatment of Jews and others up through Kristallnacht, waiting to teach about the Holocaust itself until the final years of the war, when the ordinary people of the rest of the world first learned of it (see guidance below).
- Begin the prelude to war with Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, Italy and Germany's involvement in the Spanish Civil War, and Japan's complete invasion of China. Turn to Hitler's violations of the Treaty of Versailles as he rearmed Germany and imposed territorial claims. Students should understand the sources of the European policy of appeasement, even while asking whether the policy was misguided, as Winston Churchill warned. Consider especially how each of Hitler's moves was an admitted gamble in his eyes, as well as the clear actions European powers could have taken to rebut Germany successfully. Be sure to track Churchill's warnings during these years, even as he was not yet prime minister. By the time Hitler invaded Poland, Germany had grown too powerful to be easily checked. Still, a French offensive in the west may have done some good instead of forces waiting behind the Maginot Line.
- Amid the growing belligerence of these powers, note America's general return to the foreign policy of George Washington and subsequent policies that had preceded its involvement in the Great War. A series of Neutrality Acts sought to keep America in this position, one of avoiding any war that was not in the national interest of America, here meaning the preservation of the constitutional government that preserved the natural rights of Americans.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had at the outset of the war and how these shifted during the war. Have students take simple notes, as a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Build students' familiarity with the style of warfare in 1939, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides. Explain in particular the great changes in technology and tactics.
- Present to students explanations of each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Have students track strategy changes on a map of Europe and the Pacific during World War II.
- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war, especially Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, Erwin Rommel, George Patton, Dwight Eisenhower, and Douglas MacArthur. The Second World War was an exceptionally well-documented conflict, and every battle has plenty of firsthand accounts and stories of individual soldiers that students deserve to learn.
- Teach the war in some detail, especially the major battles and military campaigns. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often and have students track battles and campaigns on maps of Europe, North Africa, and the Pacific. There are many well-documented and engaging battles to teach, so prudence and time will determine which to treat in depth and which to summarize in a lively and telling manner. A

Short History of World War II is a great aid for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of battles from this work.

- Teach the beginning of the war through 1941 with all the speed and drama that defined the time. Matters reached a crisis point at Dunkirk, where the British army was facing almost certain annihilation but executed a miracle evacuation. But the British had appeared merely to forestall the inevitable, as the German army prepared for the invasion of the British Isles and the end to free government on the frontier of Western civilization. Here teachers must help students imagine what they and the world would have been facing. It is not an overstatement to say this: the fate of the world lay in the hands of the British, particularly in their leader, Winston Churchill, their ordinary citizens, and the young men of the Royal Air Force. Their sacrifice in the Battle of Britain and then the Blitz staved off a German victory. Likewise, students should be aware of the crucial folly of Hitler's invasion of Russia.
- Note for students how the rapid German conquest of Europe and the heroism of the British moved the American people, not to outright support for war, but to support material aid to the British. Discuss Roosevelt's unprecedented third term and the various ways he and Congress aided the British and checked the Japanese in the Pacific. With this background and especially the American policy toward Japan, teach the attack on the US Pacific Fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Students may read Roosevelt's Fireside Chat on National Security, his 1941 Annual Message to Congress, and the Atlantic Charter to gain insights into U.S. policy prior to Pearl Harbor.
- Briefly walk through the main ways that America mobilized for war, which had the side effect of lifting America out of the Great Depression, with millions of soldiers leaving the workforce or unemployment rolls to fight, just as demand for workers for the war effort soared.
- Teachers will need to decide whether to teach the war from Pearl Harbor onward in one of two ways. The first way is to teach the European theater and then the Pacific. The other way is to teach the war year-by-year, oscillating between theaters and touching on the other ongoing war efforts, both domestically and in combat, in the process. This latter effort can be more challenging but also presents a fuller and more realistic experience of the course of events.
- Of special import, highlight for students the moments and factors that led to an Allied victory once America entered the war. These factors may include the sheer manpower and industrial might of America, the failure of the Japanese to destroy America's aircraft carriers and oil reserves at Pearl Harbor, the ingenuity that closed the Atlantic Gap, the work of codebreakers, the enterprise and daring of American soldiers and generals in innumerable situations, the hubris of Axis leaders, and the key battles of Midway, Stalingrad, Guadalcanal, small islands in the vast Pacific, Leyte Gulf, D-Day, the Battle of the Bulge, and the resistance efforts of many brave people.
- As the lesson proceeds toward the end of the war, discuss the various conferences and conversations among the "Big Three" concerning the postwar world. As their common enemy was nearing defeat, the awkward alliance was sure to pit a totalitarian regime against those of representative self-government. Students should understand the ideas and maneuverings (or lack thereof) by the Americans and the British, especially Winston Churchill's salient predictions about Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union.
- Teach students about the Holocaust, beginning with the moment that the Allies began to enter Poland and Germany in 1944 and 1945 and discovered the concentration and death camps. Students should learn about the Nazis' purposes for this genocide—the murder of Jews and others they considered inferior or who stood up to them. Students may be asked to make these reflections in consideration of the moral and political philosophy on which the American

founders established the United States. The Holocaust entailed the total annihilation of natural rights, of freedom, of the dignity of the human person, and of human life itself.

- Likewise, teach about the mass murders of other people by the Soviet Union and Japan.
- Outline the basic terms of the treaties ending the war and the state of affairs among the British and the Americans and the Soviets.
- Discuss with students the moral quandaries of waging a just war, such as the internment of Japanese American citizens, the general foreknowledge by the Roosevelt administration of the Holocaust, and arguments that some have made about strategic bombing and the use of atomic weapons. Students should appreciate the complexities of war, even of just war, and the great questions facing human beings, who—even amid the most just of causes—are nevertheless still fallible.
- Recap the war by considering major statistics, including the number of casualties and deaths on each side, and its effects on America and the world. Considering the civilian death toll and murder of so many noncombatant men, women, and children is also appropriate and sobering. In many ways, the jubilation that America experienced at the end of the war was a rarity in the world.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the rise of totalitarian regimes and the ways that communism and fascism were both similar and different (3–4 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the history of World War II, with particular focus on America's involvement (4–5 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 6.5

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 3

Land of Hope, Pages 316-327

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one way Germany struggled after the Great War?

2. What almost happened to the British Army in Europe in 1940?

3. Name one way in which Franklin Delano Roosevelt's policies helped the British and hurt the Germans and Japanese prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

4. What from America did Japan rely on in order to project power militarily?

5. Name one failure of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz 6.6

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 3

Land of Hope, Pages 327-340**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. List three things that happened domestically once America declared war.
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.
2. Name two major battles or fields of combat in Europe and North Africa in which Americans fought during World War II.
 - i.
 - ii.
3. Name two major battles or fields of combat in the Pacific theater in which Americans fought during World War II.
 - i.
 - ii.

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Unit 6 Test — Study Guide

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

Oct. 29, 1929	Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
1932	Franklin Roosevelt elected president
1933	Adolf Hitler appointed chancellor, named dictator
1939–1945	World War II
1939	Sept. 1 Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland
1940	Fall of France
	Battle of Britain and the Blitz
1941	Germany invades the Soviet Union
	Dec. 7 Japanese attack Pearl Harbor
1942	Battle of Midway
	Battle of Stalingrad
1943	Battle of Guadalcanal
	Invasions of North Africa and Italy
1944	June 6 Normandy Invasion (D-Day)
	Battle of the Bulge
1945	May 8 VE Day
	Aug. 15 VJ Day

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify the approximate location or field of battle for each on a map.

Battle of Moscow	Operation Torch	Battle of Iwo Jima
Attack on Pearl Harbor	Operation Husky	Battle of Okinawa
Battle of Midway	Operation Overlord	
Battle of Stalingrad	Operation Market Garden	
Battle of Guadalcanal	Battle of the Bulge	

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

Woodrow Wilson	Calvin Coolidge	William Jennings Bryan
Susan B. Anthony	Henry Ford	Robert Frost
Joseph Stalin	Walt Disney	Louis Armstrong
Warren G. Harding	Charles Lindbergh	Duke Ellington
Andrew Mellon	Al Capone	Langston Hughes

Herbert Hoover
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Aaron Copland
Benito Mussolini
Adolf Hitler
Hirohito
Hideki Tojo
Neville Chamberlain

Winston Churchill
Charles de Gaulle
Heinrich Himmler
Erwin Rommel
Bernard Montgomery
A. Philip Randolph
George Patton
Dwight Eisenhower

Douglas MacArthur
Chester Nimitz
Harry Truman
Albert Einstein
J. Robert Oppenheimer

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

Spanish Flu
18th Amendment
Prohibition
19th Amendment
Russian Civil War
Red Scare
Great Migration
Tulsa Massacre
Teapot Dome Scandal
long-term mortgage
organized crime
Scopes Trial
art deco
jazz
Harlem Renaissance
stock market
Federal Reserve System
Federal Reserve rate
speculation
marginal trading
overvaluation
bubble
Black Tuesday
fractional reserve banking
Smoot-Hawley Tariff
Great Depression
Bonus Army
21st Amendment
New Deal
brain trust
fireside chats
regulation
bureaucracy

public works programs
National Recovery
Administration
Dust Bowl
Social Security Act
Tuskegee Experiment
Wagner Act
court packing
“Roosevelt recession”
Treaty of Versailles
totalitarianism
communism
nationalism
gulag archipelago
Great Purge
Holodomor
Meiji Restoration
Weimar Republic
fascism
Nazi Party
Reichstag fire
Gestapo
Nuremberg Laws
Kristallnacht
Neutrality Acts
Rape of Nanking
Austrian Anschluss
Munich Crisis
Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression
Pact
Allied Powers
Blitzkrieg
“sitzkrieg”

Axis Powers
Royal Air Force (RAF)
Ultra decrypting
Cash and carry
Destroyers for Bases
Atlantic Charter
Lend-Lease
Hemispheric Defense Zone
Bataan Death March
“Arsenal of Democracy”
code talkers
Bracero Program
Japanese Internment
Korematsu v. United States
Tuskegee Airmen
Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam
Conferences
Gustav Line
thousand-bomber raids
US Marines
island hopping
Atlantic Wall
concentration/death camps
Auschwitz
The Holocaust
genocide
VE Day
Manhattan Project
atomic bomb
VJ Day

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

Invasion of Poland	Battle of Midway	D-Day
Miracle of Dunkirk	Battle of the Atlantic	Battle of Normandy
Battle of Britain	Battle of Stalingrad	Operation Market Garden
The Blitz	Battle of Guadalcanal	Battle of the Bulge
Operation Barbarossa	Operation Torch	Battle of Iwo Jima
Battle of Moscow	Operation Husky	Battle of Okinawa
Attack on Pearl Harbor	Italian Campaign	Operation Downfall
Battle of the Coral Sea	Operation Overlord	

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well-prepared.

“The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence,” Calvin Coolidge
Commonwealth Club address, Franklin Roosevelt
Democratic Convention address, 1936, Franklin Roosevelt
“The Dominant Dogma of the Age,” Walter Lippmann
Annual Message to Congress, 1944, Franklin Roosevelt
Annual Message to Congress, 1941, Franklin Roosevelt
Atlantic Charter, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill

TO KNOW BY HEART

Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of my administration has been minding my own business.” —Calvin Coolidge

“December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy.” —Franklin Roosevelt, War Message to Congress

“[T]he Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the

British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, “This was their finest hour.” —Winston Churchill to Parliament, June 18, 1940

“Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.” —Winston Churchill on the Royal Air Force pilots who fought in the Battle of Britain, August 20, 1940

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biographies and the roles of Susan B. Anthony, Calvin Coolidge, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- Life in a Soviet gulag
- Life during the Holodomor
- The evacuation of the British Army from Dunkirk, mainly using British civilian boats
- Winston Churchill and the Royal Air Force in the Battle of Britain
- The mass murders committed by the Soviet Union, Imperial Japan, and Nazi Germany
- Resistance fighting
- Bataan Death March
- Doolittle Raid
- The Army Rangers attacking Pointe du Hoc
- Life in Nazi concentration camps and stories of resistance and survival
- The *Enola Gay* dropping the first atomic bomb

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The Roaring Twenties

- ☐ How did the Great War change America?
- ☐ What challenges did America face domestically following the Great War? Why?
- ☐ What were the arguments for Prohibition?
- ☐ What did Warren G. Harding mean by a “return to normalcy”?
- ☐ What economic policies did Warren G. Harding enact with respect to the economy? What was the result?
- ☐ Why did the Great Migration begin during the Great War and accelerate during the 1920s?
- ☐ What was life like in the Greenwood neighborhood of Tulsa, Oklahoma? What happened to it?
- ☐ How might Calvin Coolidge’s presidency be characterized?
- ☐ In what ways did Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge offer an answer to the Progressives?
- ☐ What technological innovations were most responsible for transforming the pace and busyness of life for Americans during the 1920s?
- ☐ How was the 18th Amendment ineffective, and how did it undermine the rule of law?
- ☐ To what extent and in what ways did American culture change during the 1920s? Why?
- ☐ How did art and architecture change in America following the Great War? What inspirations and principles shaped the artists who introduced these styles?
- ☐ How did jazz develop, and what were its main characteristics?

- ☐ What was the Harlem Renaissance? What were its origins and main ideas?

Lesson 2 | The Great Depression

- ☐ How does the Federal Reserve System work? What is its purpose?
- ☐ How does stock trading work? What ultimately determines a stock's price?
- ☐ For what reasons was stock speculation less than careful by the late 1920s?
- ☐ For what reasons were many stocks grossly overvalued by the late 1920s?
- ☐ What role did the Federal Reserve System play in encouraging speculation and overvaluation? How so?
- ☐ What is a bank run? What is its connection to fractional reserve banking?
- ☐ What actions by the Hoover administration and Congress may have caused a temporary recession to become the Great Depression? How so?
- ☐ What was life like for many Americans during the Great Depression?
- ☐ How might one describe Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Why did he appeal to so many Americans, and why did his foes dislike him?
- ☐ What were the main ideas behind Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal? How did the New Deal compare to the American founding and the initial Progressive Era?
- ☐ What were the main types of government action taken as part of the New Deal?
- ☐ How did the New Deal transform the role and functioning of the federal government?
- ☐ How was the National Recovery Administration both unconstitutional, per the Supreme Court, and practically difficult to manage?
- ☐ To what extent was the New Deal successful? How so?
- ☐ What was Franklin Roosevelt's court-packing plan, and why did that plan backfire in public opinion?
- ☐ How did the programs enacted through the New Deal change the approach the Democratic Party would take toward assembling democratic majorities?

Lesson 3 | World War II

- ☐ What groups of people in Europe especially feared communism during the 1920s and 1930s?
- ☐ What is economic fascism?
- ☐ What problems did Weimar, Germany, face? What caused these problems?
- ☐ What was the Reichstag fire? How did it come about, and why was it important for Adolf Hitler's dictatorship?
- ☐ What are the ways in which communism, socialism, and fascism are similar and different? What roles did nationalism and militarism play in each?
- ☐ How did World War II begin in September 1939?
- ☐ What was the situation the world faced at Dunkirk and in the Battle of Britain?
- ☐ How significant were the persona and the actions of Winston Churchill, especially during the early years of World War II?
- ☐ What were the ways the United States indirectly but intentionally helped the British in their war with Germany and in their deterrence of Japan in the Pacific?
- ☐ Why did Japan attack the United States? What was the strategic goal of the attack on Pearl Harbor? Why was the attack not completely successful?
- ☐ How did Nazi Germany, communist Soviet Union, and Imperial Japan treat their own people, the people they conquered, and soldiers they captured? Why?

- ☐ After Pearl Harbor, what nation did the Allies agree to focus on defeating first? Why?
- ☐ How did the Allies gradually win the Battle of the Atlantic? Why was this victory so vital?
- ☐ How were American industrial might and American generals important to the Allied cause?
- ☐ What was fighting like in the Pacific, in North Africa, and in Italy? How were the Allies eventually successful in each theater?
- ☐ How did Operation Overlord work?
- ☐ What did Nazi Germany do in the Holocaust?
- ☐ As the war drew to a close in Europe, why did territorial gains by each Allied power become an issue among the Allies?
- ☐ What happened to Poland and all of Eastern Europe in the final year of the war? How can this development be said to be both tragic and ironic?
- ☐ How was the atomic bomb developed?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 6 | Test — The Interwar Years and World War II

TIMELINE

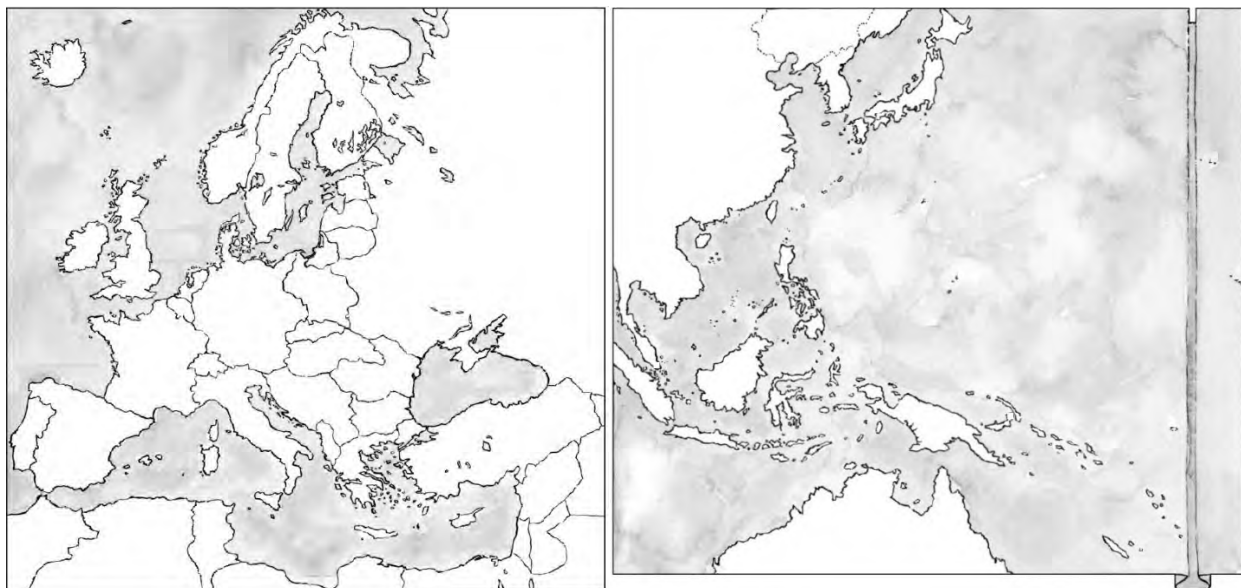
Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

Oct. 29, 1929	_____	
1932	_____	A. Battle of Britain and the Blitz
1933	_____	B. Battle of Guadalcanal
1939–1945	_____	C. Battle of Midway
1939	Sept. 1 _____	D. Battle of Stalingrad
1940	_____	E. Battle of the Bulge
	_____	F. Fall of France
1941	_____	G. Franklin Roosevelt elected president
	Dec. 7 _____	H. Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland
1942	_____	I. Germany invades the Soviet Union
	_____	J. Hitler appointed chancellor, named dictator
1943	_____	K. Invasions of North Africa and Italy
	_____	L. Japanese attack Pearl Harbor
1944	June 6 _____	M. Normandy Invasion (D-Day)
	_____	N. Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
1945	May 8 _____	O. VE Day
	Aug. 15 _____	P. VJ Day
		Q. World War II

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Mark the approximate location or field of battle for each on the following maps using the corresponding letters.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| A. Battle of Moscow | G. Operation Husky |
| B. Attack on Pearl Harbor | H. Operation Overlord |
| C. Battle of Midway | I. Operation Market Garden |
| D. Battle of Stalingrad | J. Battle of the Bulge |
| E. Battle of Guadalcanal | K. Battle of Iwo Jima |
| F. Operation Torch | L. Battle of Okinawa |



Maps courtesy of *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank.

2. While women had the right to vote in some states, it was not until the passage of the _____ in 1920 that women's right to vote was guaranteed in the US Constitution.
3. The cultural revival among African Americans known as the Harlem Renaissance also helped give rise to a new, distinctly American genre of music based on rhythm and improvisation known as _____.
4. Beginning in the 1920s, millions of African Americans began moving to northern cities, seeking new opportunities in burgeoning industrial centers in what is known as the _____.
5. In addition to helping to pass the 21st Amendment ending Prohibition and arguing that Americans had "nothing to fear but fear itself," _____ gave further hope to Americans in exchange for greater trust with his weekly radio broadcasts known as _____.
6. Having won a power battle after the death of Vladimir Lenin, _____ became Secretary General of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where he eliminated political opponents with political purges carried out by his secret police, starved seven million Ukrainians to death when they revolted, and hid the truth of his actions behind endless propaganda.
7. By the time Japan invaded China in 1931, she had undergone the Meiji Restoration, which made her into an industrial and military powerhouse led by the military under the command of prime minister _____.

8. In the 1920s and '30s, Italy and Germany began a new political system which depended on a government-business partnership, a strong sense of race-based nationalism, a conviction that “right makes might,” and a tendency to see other people as scapegoats for their yet unachieved power. These are some of the characteristics of the ideology known as _____.
9. Against the backdrop of the economic troubles of the Weimar Republic, the Treaty of Versailles, and the threat of a communist revolution, Adolf Hitler and the _____ Party gained power in the 1932 elections, with Adolf Hitler appointed chancellor in 1933.
10. Had it not been for the actions of a thousand British private boat-owners who ferried trapped British soldiers from France across the English Channel and to Great Britain during what became known as the _____, the British Army would have been destroyed and the last hope in Europe for a free world left without an army.
11. In June 1941, in pursuance of his plans for Eastern Europe and his hatred of communism, Adolf Hitler launched Operation _____, the largest land invasion in history, in which the German Army invaded the Soviet Union.
12. When America began antagonizing Imperial Japan by taking measures to protect British colonies in the Pacific Ocean, Japan sought to cripple America’s Pacific Fleet by attacking it at the Hawaiian naval base called _____. While the attack killed 2,403 American sailors, sank eight battleships, and destroyed hundreds of warplanes, it did not sink any of America’s aircraft carriers—which had been out to sea. As one Japanese admiral hence feared, “All we have done is to awaken a sleeping giant and fill him with a terrible resolve.”
13. After attacking the US Pacific Fleet, Japan then sent its navy and air force to conquer British and American possessions throughout the Pacific Ocean. When American soldiers were overrun in the Philippines, their Japanese conquerors forced the prisoners to march one hundred miles for seven days without food or water in the scorching South Pacific sun. Those who fell were shot, and thousands of American soldiers died on the _____.
14. Angered at Japan and fearing spies or sabotage, the American government forced thousands of Americans of Japanese descent from their homes and into internment camps, a policy which the Supreme Court ruled was constitutional in the case _____.
15. The Battle of _____ was the largest naval battle of the war. Although the United States lost the aircraft carrier USS *Yorktown*, American planes were able to sink four Japanese carriers and gain naval control of the Pacific Ocean.
16. In 1942, the US Marines conducted an amphibious invasion of the island of _____ in the Solomon Islands. These soldiers’ jungle-fighting against the Japanese resulted in thousands of Marines killed, but also in victory, stopping the Japanese advance and placing the United States on a slow but steady offensive in the Pacific.

17. As the Soviets stopped Hitler's advance into the USSR at the Battle of Stalingrad, by late 1943 the Allies had destroyed the German and Italian armies in North Africa, had invaded Sicily, and were now in bitter mountain warfare in the _____ Campaign. Rome fell to the Allies on June 4, 1944.
18. Allied forces were steadily advancing on the Western Front until the failure of Operation Market Garden, the attempt to finish the war by Christmas 1944 by invading the Netherlands. Then, in December of 1944, Adolf Hitler launched a surprise attack through the Ardennes Forest, driving American soldiers into retreat, and surrounding the 101st Airborne in the city of Bastogne, Belgium, for a month in what was known as the Battle of the _____. The German offensive's eventual failure was the last chance for Hitler to force a peace favorable to Germany.
19. The Pacific theater was a series of deadly, brutal island battles, where invading American soldiers were met by an enemy determined to die rather than surrender. One of the deadliest battles was for the volcanic island of _____, where Americans had to rout tens of thousands of Japanese soldiers from caves in hand-to-hand fighting and by using flamethrowers. Such warfare, in which only two hundred Japanese surrendered, led the new US president, Harry Truman, to consider alternative ways to force Japan to surrender.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

20. Battle of Britain

21. Battle of Moscow

22. Operation Overlord

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and identify the source.

23. “Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of my administration has been _____.”

Speaker: _____

24. “Never in the field of human _____ was so much owed by so _____ to so _____.”

Speaker: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

25. Life in a Soviet gulag

26. The Enola Gay dropping the first atomic bomb

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and good writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

27. What economic policies did Warren G. Harding enact with respect to the economy? What was the result?
28. In what ways did Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge offer an answer to the Progressives?
29. How was the 18th Amendment ineffective, and how did it undermine the rule of law?
30. What was the Harlem Renaissance? What were its origins and main ideas?
31. For what reasons was stock speculation less than careful by the late 1920s?
32. What role did the Federal Reserve System play in encouraging speculation and overvaluation in the stock market? How so?
33. What actions by the Hoover administration and Congress may have caused a temporary recession to become the Great Depression? How so?
34. How might one describe Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Why did he appeal to so many Americans, and why did his foes dislike him?
35. What were the main ideas behind Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal? How did the New Deal compare to the American founding and the initial Progressive Era?

36. To what extent was the New Deal successful? How so?
37. What groups of people in Europe especially feared communism during the 1920s and 1930s?
38. What was the Reichstag fire? How did it come about, and why was it important for Adolf Hitler's dictatorship?
39. What are the ways in which communism, socialism, and fascism are similar and different? What roles did nationalism and militarism play in each?
40. How significant were the persona and the actions of Winston Churchill, especially during the early years of World War II?
41. What were the ways the United States indirectly but intentionally helped the British in their war with Germany and in their deterrence of Japan in the Pacific?
42. What was fighting like in the Pacific, in North Africa, and in Italy? How were the Allies eventually successful in each theater?
43. What did Nazi Germany do in the Holocaust?

Unit 6 | Writing Assignment — The Interwar Years and World War II

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 500–800-word essay answering this question:

How did the events of the 1920s, 1930s, and World War II reshape America in terms of its economy, government, and power in the world?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Calvin Coolidge

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Josiah Bailey

Walter Lippmann

Winston Churchill

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE (R)

The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence

SPEECH

July 5, 1926
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

President Calvin Coolidge delivered this speech at Philadelphia to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the United States.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What theories and principles does Coolidge say need to be reaffirmed and reestablished?
2. What kind of people were the American revolutionaries, according to Coolidge?
3. Who was the great apostle of the sovereignty of the people in the colonial clergy?
4. What is the relationship between government and ideals according to Coolidge?
5. According to Coolidge, why are Progressives not truly proponents of progress when they reject the principles of the American founding?

Calvin Coolidge, "The Inspiration of the Declaration," in *Foundations of the Republic: Speeches and Addresses* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1926), 441–54.

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We meet to celebrate the birthday of America. The coming of a new life always excites our interest. Although we know in the case of the individual that it has been an infinite repetition reaching back beyond our vision, that only makes it the more wonderful. But how our interest and wonder increase when we behold the miracle of the birth of a new nation. It is to pay our tribute of reverence and respect to those who participated in such a mighty event that we annually observe the fourth day of July. Whatever may have been the impression created by the news which went out from this city on that summer day in 1776, there can be no doubt as to the estimate which is now placed upon it. At the end of 150 years the four corners of the earth unite in coming to Philadelphia as to a holy shrine in grateful acknowledgement of a service so great, which a few inspired men here rendered to humanity, that it is still the preeminent support of free government throughout the world.

Although a century and a half measured in comparison with the length of human experience is but a short time, yet measured in the life of governments and nations it ranks as a very respectable period. Certainly enough time has elapsed to demonstrate with a great deal of thoroughness the value of our institutions and their dependability as rules for the regulation of human conduct and the advancement of civilization. They have been in existence long enough to become very well seasoned. They have met, and met successfully, the test of experience.

It is not so much then for the purpose of undertaking to proclaim new theories and principles that this annual celebration is maintained, but rather to reaffirm and reestablish those old theories and principles which time and the unerring logic of events have demonstrated to be sound. Amid all the clash of conflicting interests, amid all the welter of partisan politics, every American can turn for solace and consolation to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States with the assurance and confidence that those two great charters of freedom and justice remain firm and unshaken. Whatever perils appear, whatever dangers threaten, the Nation remains secure in the knowledge that the ultimate application of the law of the land will provide an adequate defense and protection.

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It is little wonder that people at home and abroad consider Independence Hall as hallowed ground and revere the Liberty Bell as a sacred relic. That pile of bricks and mortar, that mass of metal, might appear to the uninstructed as only the outgrown meeting place and the shattered bell of a former time, useless now because of more modern conveniences, but to those who know they have become consecrated by the use which men have made of them. They have long been identified with a great cause. They are the framework of a spiritual event. The world looks upon them, because of their associations of one hundred and fifty years ago, as it looks upon the Holy Land because of what took place there nineteen hundred years ago. Through use for a righteous purpose they have become sanctified.

- 10 It is not here necessary to examine in detail the causes which led to the American Revolution. In their immediate occasion they were largely economic. The colonists objected to the navigation laws which interfered with their trade, they denied the power of Parliament to impose taxes which they were obliged to pay, and they therefore resisted the royal governors and the royal forces which were sent to secure obedience to these laws. But the conviction is inescapable that a new civilization had come, a new spirit had arisen on this side of the Atlantic more advanced and more developed in its regard for the rights of the individual than that which characterized the Old World. Life in a new and open country had aspirations which could not be realized in any subordinate position. A separate establishment was ultimately inevitable. It had been decreed by the very laws of human nature. Man everywhere has an unconquerable desire to be the master of his own destiny.

- 25 We are obliged to conclude that the Declaration of Independence represented the movement of a people. It was not, of course, a movement from the top. Revolutions do not come from that direction. It was not without the support of many of the most respectable people in the Colonies, who were entitled to all the consideration that is given to breeding, education, and possessions. It had the support of another element of great significance and importance to which I shall later refer. But the preponderance of all those who occupied a position which took on the aspect of aristocracy did not approve of the Revolution and held toward it an attitude either of neutrality or open hostility. It was in no sense a rising of the oppressed and downtrodden. It brought no scum to the surface, for the reason that colonial

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society had developed no scum. The great body of the people were accustomed to privations, but they were free from depravity. If they had poverty, it was not of the hopeless kind that afflicts great cities, but the inspiring kind that marks the spirit of the pioneer. The American Revolution represented the informed and mature convictions of a great mass of independent, liberty-loving, God-fearing people who knew their rights, and possessed the courage to dare to maintain them.

The Continental Congress was not only composed of great men, but it represented a great people. While its members did not fail to exercise a remarkable leadership, they were equally observant of their representative capacity. They were industrious in encouraging their constituents to instruct them to support independence. But until such instructions were given they were inclined to withhold action.

While North Carolina has the honor of first authorizing its delegates to concur with other Colonies in declaring independence, it was quickly followed by South Carolina and Georgia, which also gave general instructions broad enough to include such action. But the first instructions which unconditionally directed its delegates to declare for independence came from the great Commonwealth of Virginia. These were immediately followed by Rhode Island and Massachusetts, while the other Colonies, with the exception of New York, soon adopted a like course.

This obedience of the delegates to the wishes of their constituents, which in some cases caused them to modify their previous positions, is a matter of great significance. It reveals an orderly process of government in the first place; but more than that, it demonstrates that the Declaration of Independence was the result of the seasoned and deliberate thought of the dominant portion of the people of the Colonies. Adopted after long discussion and as the result of the duly authorized expression of the preponderance of public opinion, it did not partake of dark intrigue or hidden conspiracy. It was well advised. It had about it nothing of the lawless and disordered nature of a riotous insurrection. It was maintained on a plane which rises above the ordinary conception of rebellion. It was in no sense a radical movement but took on the dignity of a resistance to illegal usurpations. It was conservative

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and represented the action of the colonists to maintain their constitutional rights which from time immemorial had been guaranteed to them under the law of the land.

When we come to examine the action of the Continental Congress in adopting the Declaration of Independence in the light of what was set out in that great document and in the
5 light of succeeding events, we can not escape the conclusion that it had a much broader and deeper significance than a mere secession of territory and the establishment of a new nation. Events of that nature have been taking place since the dawn of history. One empire after another has arisen, only to crumble away as its constituent parts separated from each other and set up independent governments of their own. Such actions long ago became
10 commonplace. They have occurred too often to hold the attention of the world and command the admiration and reverence of humanity. There is something beyond the establishment of a new nation, great as that event would be, in the Declaration of Independence which has ever since caused it to be regarded as one of the great charters that not only was to liberate America but was everywhere to ennoble humanity.

15 It was not because it was proposed to establish a new nation, but because it was proposed to establish a nation on new principles, that July 4, 1776, has come to be regarded as one of the greatest days in history. Great ideas do not burst upon the world unannounced. They are reached by a gradual development over a length of time usually proportionate to their importance. This is especially true of the principles laid down in the Declaration of Inde-
20 pendence. Three very definite propositions were set out in its preamble regarding the nature of mankind and therefore of government. These were the doctrine that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that therefore the source of the just powers of government must be derived from the consent of the governed.

If no one is to be accounted as born into a superior station, if there is to be no ruling class,
25 and if all possess rights which can neither be bartered away nor taken from them by any earthly power, it follows as a matter of course that the practical authority of the Government has to rest on the consent of the governed. While these principles were not altogether new in political action, and were very far from new in political speculation, they had never

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been assembled before and declared in such a combination. But remarkable as this may be, it is not the chief distinction of the Declaration of Independence. The importance of political speculation is not to be underestimated, as I shall presently disclose. Until the idea is developed and the plan made there can be no action.

- 5 It was the fact that our Declaration of Independence containing these immortal truths was the political action of a duly authorized and constituted representative public body in its sovereign capacity, supported by the force of general opinion and by the armies of Washington already in the field, which makes it the most important civil document in the world. It was not only the principles declared, but the fact that therewith a new nation was born
- 10 which was to be founded upon those principles and which from that time forth in its development has actually maintained those principles, that makes this pronouncement an incomparable event in the history of government. It was an assertion that a people had arisen determined to make every necessary sacrifice for the support of these truths and by their practical application bring the War of Independence to a successful conclusion and
- 15 adopt the Constitution of the United States with all that it has meant to civilization.

- The idea that the people have a right to choose their own rulers was not new in political history. It was the foundation of every popular attempt to depose an undesirable king. This right was set out with a good deal of detail by the Dutch when as early as July 26, 1581, they declared their independence of Philip of Spain. In their long struggle with the Stuarts the
- 20 British people asserted the same principles, which finally culminated in the Bill of Rights deposing the last of that house and placing William and Mary on the throne. In each of these cases sovereignty through divine right was displaced by sovereignty through the consent of the people. Running through the same documents, though expressed in different terms, is the clear inference of inalienable rights. But we should search these charters in
- 25 vain for an assertion of the doctrine of equality. This principle had not before appeared as an official political declaration of any nation. It was profoundly revolutionary. It is one of the corner stones of American institutions.

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But if these truths to which the declaration refers have not before been adopted in their combined entirety by national authority, it is a fact that they had been long pondered and often expressed in political speculation. It is generally assumed that French thought had some effect upon our public mind during Revolutionary days. This may have been true.

5 But the principles of our declaration had been under discussion in the Colonies for nearly two generations before the advent of the French political philosophy that characterized the middle of the eighteenth century. In fact, they come from an earlier date. A very positive echo of what the Dutch had done in 1581, and what the English were preparing to do, appears in the assertion of the Reverend Thomas Hooker of Connecticut as early as 1638,
10 when he said in a sermon before the General Court that—

“The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people.

“The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God’s own allowance.”

This doctrine found wide acceptance among the nonconformist clergy who later made up the Congregational Church. The great apostle of this movement was the Reverend John

15 Wise, of Massachusetts. He was one of the leaders of the revolt against the royal governor Andros in 1687, for which he suffered imprisonment. He was a liberal in ecclesiastical controversies. He appears to have been familiar with the writings of the political scientist, Samuel Pufendorf, who was born in Saxony in 1632. Wise published a treatise, entitled “The Church’s Quarrel Espoused,” in 1710, which was amplified in another publication in 1717.
20 In it he dealt with the principles of civil government. His works were reprinted in 1772 and have been declared to have been nothing less than a textbook of liberty for our Revolutionary fathers.

While the written word was the foundation, it is apparent that the spoken word was the vehicle for convincing the people. This came with great force and wide range from the successors of Hooker and Wise. It was carried on with a missionary spirit which did not fail to
25 reach the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina, showing its influence by significantly making that

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Colony the first to give instructions to its delegates looking to independence. This preaching reached the neighborhood of Thomas Jefferson, who acknowledged that his “best ideas of democracy” had been secured at church meetings.

5 That these ideas were prevalent in Virginia is further revealed by the Declaration of Rights, which was prepared by George Mason and presented to the general assembly on May 27, 1776. This document asserted popular sovereignty and inherent natural rights, but confined the doctrine of equality to the assertion that “All men are created equally free and independent.” It can scarcely be imagined that Jefferson was unacquainted with what had been done in his own Commonwealth of Virginia when he took up the task of drafting the
10 Declaration of Independence. But these thoughts can very largely be traced back to what John Wise was writing in 1710. He said, “Every man must be acknowledged equal to every man.” Again, “The end of all good government is to cultivate humanity and promote the happiness of all and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor, and so forth....”

15 And again, “For as they have a power every man in his natural state, so upon combination they can and do bequeath this power to others and settle it according as their united discretion shall determine.” And still again, “Democracy is Christ’s government in church and state.” Here was the doctrine of equality, popular sovereignty, and the substance of the theory of inalienable rights clearly asserted by Wise at the opening of the eighteenth century, just as we have the principle of the consent of the governed stated by Hooker as early
20 as 1638.

When we take all these circumstances into consideration, it is but natural that the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence should open with a reference to Nature’s God and should close in the final paragraphs with an appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world
25 and an assertion of a firm reliance on Divine Providence. Coming from these sources, having as it did this background, it is no wonder that Samuel Adams could say “The people seem to recognize this resolution as though it were a decree promulgated from heaven.”

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No one can examine this record and escape the conclusion that in the great outline of its principles the Declaration was the result of the religious teachings of the preceding period. The profound philosophy which Jonathan Edwards applied to theology, the popular preaching of George Whitefield, had aroused the thought and stirred the people of the Colonies in preparation for this great event. No doubt the speculations which had been going on in England, and especially on the Continent, lent their influence to the general sentiment of the times. Of course, the world is always influenced by all the experience and all the thought of the past. But when we come to a contemplation of the immediate conception of the principles of human relationship which went into the Declaration of Independence we are not required to extend our search beyond our own shores. They are found in the texts, the sermons, and the writings of the early colonial clergy who were earnestly undertaking to instruct their congregations in the great mystery of how to live. They preached equality because they believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They justified freedom by the text that we are all created in the divine image, all partakers of the divine spirit.

Placing every man on a plane where he acknowledged no superiors, where no one possessed any right to rule over him, he must inevitably choose his own rulers through a system of self-government. This was their theory of democracy. In those days such doctrines would scarcely have been permitted to flourish and spread in any other country. This was the purpose which the fathers cherished. In order that they might have freedom to express these thoughts and opportunity to put them into action, whole congregations with their pastors had migrated to the colonies. These great truths were in the air that our people breathed. Whatever else we may say of it, the Declaration of Independence was profoundly American.

If this apprehension of the facts be correct, and the documentary evidence would appear to verify it, then certain conclusions are bound to follow. A spring will cease to flow if its source be dried up; a tree will wither if its roots be destroyed. In its main features the Declaration of Independence is a great spiritual document. It is a declaration not of material but of spiritual conceptions. Equality, liberty, popular sovereignty, the rights of man—these

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are not elements which we can see and touch. They are ideals. They have their source and their roots in the religious convictions. They belong to the unseen world. Unless the faith of the American people in these religious convictions is to endure, the principles of our Declaration will perish. We can not continue to enjoy the result if we neglect and abandon
5 the cause.

We are too prone to overlook another conclusion. Governments do not make ideals, but ideals make governments. This is both historically and logically true. Of course the government can help to sustain ideals and can create institutions through which they can be the better observed, but their source by their very nature is in the people. The people have to
10 bear their own responsibilities. There is no method by which that burden can be shifted to the government. It is not the enactment, but the observance of laws, that creates the character of a nation.

About the Declaration there is a finality that is exceedingly restful. It is often asserted that the world has made a great deal of progress since 1776, that we have had new thoughts and
15 new experiences which have given us a great advance over the people of that day, and that we may therefore very well discard their conclusions for something more modern. But that reasoning can not be applied to this great charter. If all men are created equal, that is final. If they are endowed with inalienable rights, that is final. If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is final. No advance, no progress can be
20 made beyond these propositions. If anyone wishes to deny their truth or their soundness, the only direction in which he can proceed historically is not forward, but backward toward the time when there was no equality, no rights of the individual, no rule of the people. Those who wish to proceed in that direction can not lay claim to progress. They are reactionary. Their ideas are not more modern, but more ancient, than those of the Revolution-
25 ary fathers.

In the development of its institutions America can fairly claim that it has remained true to the principles which were declared 150 years ago. In all the essentials we have achieved an equality which was never possessed by any other people. Even in the less important matter

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of material possessions we have secured a wider and wider distribution of wealth. The rights of the individual are held sacred and protected by constitutional guarantees, which even the Government itself is bound not to violate. If there is any one thing among us that is established beyond question, it is self-government—the right of the people to rule. If
5 there is any failure in respect to any of these principles, it is because there is a failure on the part of individuals to observe them. We hold that the duly authorized expression of the will of the people has a divine sanction. But even in that we come back to the theory of John Wise that “Democracy is Christ’s government....” The ultimate sanction of law rests on the righteous authority of the Almighty.

10 On an occasion like this a great temptation exists to present evidence of the practical success of our form of democratic republic at home and the ever-broadening acceptance it is securing abroad. Although these things are well known, their frequent consideration is an encouragement and an inspiration. But it is not results and effects so much as sources and causes that I believe it is even more necessary constantly to contemplate. Ours is a govern-
15 ment of the people. It represents their will. Its officers may sometimes go astray, but that is not a reason for criticizing the principles of our institutions. The real heart of the American Government depends upon the heart of the people. It is from that source that we must look for all genuine reform. It is to that cause that we must ascribe all our results.

It was in the contemplation of these truths that the fathers made their declaration and
20 adopted their Constitution. It was to establish a free government, which must not be permitted to degenerate into the unrestrained authority of a mere majority or the unbridled weight of a mere influential few. They undertook the balance these interests against each other and provide the three separate independent branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial departments of the Government, with checks against each other in order
25 that neither one might encroach upon the other. These are our guarantees of liberty. As a result of these methods enterprise has been duly protected from confiscation, the people have been free from oppression, and there has been an ever-broadening and deepening of the humanities of life.

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Under a system of popular government there will always be those who will seek for political preferment by clamoring for reform. While there is very little of this which is not sincere, there is a large portion that is not well informed. In my opinion very little of just criticism can attach to the theories and principles of our institutions. There is far more danger of
5 harm than there is hope of good in any radical changes. We do need a better understanding and comprehension of them and a better knowledge of the foundations of government in general. Our forefathers came to certain conclusions and decided upon certain courses of action which have been a great blessing to the world. Before we can understand their conclusions we must go back and review the course which they followed. We must think the
10 thoughts which they thought. Their intellectual life centered around the meeting-house. They were intent upon religious worship. While there were always among them men of deep learning, and later those who had comparatively large possessions, the mind of the people was not so much engrossed in how much they knew, or how much they had, as in how they were going to live. While scantily provided with other literature, there was a wide
15 acquaintance with the Scriptures. Over a period as great as that which measures the existence of our independence they were subject to this discipline not only in their religious life and educational training, but also in their political thought. They were a people who came under the influence of a great spiritual development and acquired a great moral power.

No other theory is adequate to explain or comprehend the Declaration of Independence. It
20 is the product of the spiritual insight of the people. We live in an age of science and of abounding accumulation of material things. These did not create our Declaration. Our Declaration created them. The things of the spirit come first. Unless we cling to that, all our material prosperity, overwhelming though it may appear, will turn to a barren scepter in our grasp. If we are to maintain the great heritage which has been bequeathed to us, we
25 must be like-minded as the fathers who created it. We must not sink into a pagan materialism. We must cultivate the reverence which they had for the things that are holy. We must follow the spiritual and moral leadership which they showed. We must keep replenished, that they may glow with a more compelling flame, the altar fires before which they worshipped.

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

Commonwealth Club Address

SPEECH EXCERPTS

September 23, 1932

Commonwealth Club of California | San Francisco, California

BACKGROUND

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, won the Democratic nomination for President in 1932 and delivered this campaign speech a month and a half before the election.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What happened to the “equality of opportunity?”
2. What does the situation in America call for?
3. What is the “task of government,” according to Roosevelt?
4. What does Roosevelt say about America’s contract?
5. What does Roosevelt say about property?

Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Commonwealth Club Address,” September 23, 1932. From Teaching American History.
<https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/commonwealth-club-address-2/>.

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... A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates that equality of opportunity as we have known it no longer exists. Our industrial plant is built; the problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. More than half of our people
5 do not live on the farms or on lands and cannot derive a living by cultivating their own property. There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie to which those thrown out of work by the Eastern economic machines can go for a new start. We are not able to invite the immigration from Europe to share our endless plenty. We are now providing a drab living for our own people.

10 Our system of constantly rising tariffs has at last reacted against us to the point of closing our Canadian frontier on the north, our European markets on the east, many of our Latin-American markets to the south, and a goodly proportion of our Pacific markets on the west, through the retaliatory tariffs of those countries. It has forced many of our great industrial institutions which exported their surplus production to
15 such countries, to establish plants in such countries, within the tariff walls. This has resulted in the reduction of the operation of their American plants, and opportunity for employment.

Just as freedom to farm has ceased, so also the opportunity in business has narrowed. It still is true that men can start small enterprises, trusting to native shrewdness and
20 ability to keep abreast of competitors; but area after area has been pre-empted altogether by the great corporations, and even in the fields which still have no great concerns, the small man starts under a handicap. The unfeeling statistics of the past three decades show that the independent business man is running a losing race. . . .

Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial
25 plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help. The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over. Our task now is

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not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of
5 distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come. . . . can we fix this hanging line?

As I see it, the task of Government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order.
10 This is the common task of statesman and business man. It is the minimum requirement of a more permanently safe order of things. . . .

The Declaration of Independence discusses the problem of Government in terms of a contract. Government is a relation of give and take, a contract, perforce, if we would follow the thinking out of which it grew. Under such a contract, rulers were accorded
15 power, and the people consented to that power on consideration that they be accorded certain rights. The task of statesmanship has always been the re-definition of these rights in terms of a changing and growing social order. New conditions impose new requirements upon Government and those who conduct Government. . . .

The terms of that contract are as old as the Republic, and as new as the new economic
20 order.

Every man has a right to life; and this means that he has also a right to make a comfortable living. He may by sloth or crime decline to exercise that right; but it may not be denied him. We have no actual famine or dearth; our industrial and agricultural mechanism can produce enough and to spare. Our Government formal and informal,
25 political and economic, owes to everyone an avenue to possess himself of a portion of that plenty sufficient for his needs, through his own work.

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Every man has a right to his own property; which means a right to be assured, to the fullest extent attainable, in the safety of his savings. By no other means can men carry the burdens of those parts of life which, in the nature of things, afford no chance of labor: childhood, sickness, old age. In all thought of property, this right is paramount; all other property rights must yield to it. If, in accord with this principle, we must restrict the operations of the speculator, the manipulator, even the financier, I believe we must accept the restriction as needful, not to hamper individualism but to protect it.

. . . The Government should assume the function of economic regulation only as a last resort, to be tried only when private initiative, inspired by high responsibility, with such assistance and balance as Government can give, has finally failed. As yet there has been no final failure, because there has been no attempt; and I decline to assume that this Nation is unable to meet the situation. . . .

Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demand that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. We shall fulfill them, as we fulfilled the obligation of the apparent Utopia which Jefferson imagined for us in 1776, and which Jefferson, Roosevelt and Wilson sought to bring to realization. We must do so, lest a rising tide of misery, engendered by our common failure, engulf us all. But failure is not an American habit; and in the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

First Inaugural Address

SPEECH

March 4, 1933
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Franklin Delano Roosevelt delivered this address upon his inauguration in 1933.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What ought to be feared, according to Roosevelt?
2. How does Roosevelt describe American's situation?
3. How can America be restored?
4. What is happiness?
5. What is the "greatest primary task"?
6. Can the Constitution be changed?

Franklin D. Roosevelt, "First Inaugural Address (1933)," Presidential Message, March 04, 1933. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/first-inaugural-address-fdr>.

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I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today.

- 5 This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself – nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which
- 10 is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

- In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious
- 15 curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

- More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the
- 20 dark realities of the moment.

- Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a
- 25 generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated.

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Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

5 True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

10 The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

15 Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

20 Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot
25 live.

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Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by
5 the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to
10 provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the
15 demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about
20 it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

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There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in all parts of the United States – a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor – the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others – the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we can not merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that

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the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

- 5 Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has
- 10 met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

- It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary
- 15 departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

- 20 But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis – broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded
- 25 by a foreign foe.

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For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

5 We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of the national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

10 We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

On Accepting the Presidential Nomination

SPEECH EXCERPTS

June 27, 1936

Democratic National Convention

Franklin Field | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered this address to commence his reelection campaign following his selection as the 1936 Democratic candidate for the presidency.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. To what struggle in American history does Roosevelt compare his struggle against big businesses and the wealthy?
2. Why does Roosevelt argue that most Americans are not really free?
3. What kind of language does Roosevelt adopt in explaining this struggle?
4. Which Christian virtues does Roosevelt redefine for his argument?
5. Is Roosevelt worried about the government making mistakes? Why or why not?

Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Acceptance Speech at the Democratic National Convention (1936)". Speech, June 27, 1936. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/acceptance-speech-at-the-democratic-national-convention-1936/>.

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... [F]reedom, in itself and of necessity, suggests freedom from some restraining power. In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy—from the eighteenth century royalists who held special privileges from the crown. It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that
5 they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship of God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power; that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of
10 the average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

Since that struggle, however, man's inventive genius released new forces in our land which reordered the lives of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads; of steam
15 and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution—all of these combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a new problem for those who sought to remain free.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new
20 uses of corporations, banks and securities, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital—all undreamed of by the fathers—the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

There was no place among this royalty for our many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative
25 and profit. They were no more free than the worker or the farmer. Even honest and

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progressive-minded men of wealth, aware of their obligation to their generation, could never know just where they fitted into this dynastic scheme of things.

It was natural and perhaps human that the privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, thirsting for power, reached out for control over Government itself. They
5 created a new despotism and wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction. In its service new mercenaries sought to regiment the people, their labor, and their property. And as a result the average man once more confronts the problem that faced the Minute Man.

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor—these had passed beyond the control of the people, and were imposed by this
10 new industrial dictatorship. The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age—other people's money—these were tools which the new economic royalty used to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards which were their right. The small measure of their gains was decreed by men in distant cities.

15 Throughout the Nation, opportunity was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. The field open for free business was more and more restricted. Private enterprise, indeed, became too private. It became privileged enterprise, not free enterprise.

An old English judge once said: "Necessitous men are not free men." Liberty requires
20 opportunity to make a living—a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by, but something to live for.

For too many of us the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. A small group had concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other

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people's labor – other people's lives. For too many of us life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

Against economic tyranny such as this, the American citizen could appeal only to the organized power of Government. The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended.

The royalists of the economic order have conceded that political freedom was the business of the Government, but they have maintained that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the Government could protect the citizen in his right to vote, but they denied that the Government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to work and his right to live.

Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half-and-half affair. If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place.

These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of this kind of power. In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the Constitution. In their blindness they forget what the Flag and the Constitution stand for. Now, as always, they stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, not subjection; and against a dictatorship by mob rule and the over-privileged alike.

The brave and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that Government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

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But the resolute enemy within our gates is ever ready to beat down our words unless in greater courage we will fight for them.

For more than three years we have fought for them. This Convention, in every word and deed, has pledged that that fight will go on.

5 The defeats and victories of these years have given to us as a people a new understanding of our Government and of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England town meeting have the affairs of Government been so widely discussed and so clearly appreciated. It has been brought home to us that the only effective guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds, the greatest guide of all, is moral principle.

10 We do not see faith, hope and charity as unattainable ideals, but we use them as stout supports of a Nation fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

Faith—in the soundness of democracy in the midst of dictatorships.

Hope—renewed because we know so well the progress we have made.

15 Charity—in the true spirit of that grand old word. For charity literally translated from the original means love, the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves.

We seek not merely to make Government a mechanical implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the very embodiment of human charity. . . .

20 In the place of the palace of privilege we seek to build a temple out of faith and hope and charity. . . .

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Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in different scales.

5 Better the occasional faults of a Government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a Government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny.

10 In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people, who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

15 I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great and successful war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is more than that; it is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

I accept the commission you have tendered me. I join with you. I am enlisted for the duration of the war.

REP. JOSIAH BAILEY (R-NC)

An Address to the People of the United States

NEWSPAPER TRANSCRIPT ON AN UNDELIVERED SPEECH

December 16, 1937
The New York Times

The Conservative Manifesto

BACKGROUND

More conservative members of both the Republican and Democratic parties, including former allies of Franklin Roosevelt, were represented by Representative Josiah Bailey in this undelivered speech drafted by Bailey and leaked to *The New York Times* before it was delivered.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Bailey fear is happening to the American economy?
2. What are the “paramount principles” that ought to govern public policy?
3. What is the proper function of government as it relates to economic activity?
4. What is the “tradition” that Bailey hopes to protect?

Josiah Bailey, “10 Points Drafted,” Article by Turner Catledge, December 16, 1937. From The New York Times.
https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1937/12/16/96765994.pdf?pdf_redirect=true&ip=0.

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A sudden and extensive recession in business, industry, employment, prices and values demands instant attention of all in positions of responsibility. To arrest it, to reverse it and to avert its consequences is the common task. In this as Senators we have a duty, and in partial discharge of it we have determined upon this statement.

- 5 We have now not only the problem of caring for the unemployed pending opportunity for their employment, but also the task of preventing many now employed from losing their jobs.

We believe that a policy of cooperation by all concerned upon sound lines will suffice to set the country as a whole on its accustomed way toward higher ground. This cooperation is the objective of this address to the American people. This is no time for alarm or pessimism. We have come to the inevitable period of transition, and fortunately the underlying conditions are favorable.

We are concerned now only with our duty in view of the conditions that confront us, in order that full activity of employment and commerce may be had. To avoid controversy and make for unity, we may dispense with appraisals of policies or arguments. The past is experience, and is of value only for its lessons. We propose no criticism, no politics.

Private Investment the Key

We consider that the time has come when liberal investment of private savings in enterprise as a means of employment must be depended upon and, without delay, heartily encouraged by the public policy and all Americans.

Public spending, invoked in the recent emergency, was recognized as a cushion rather than as a substitute for the investment of savings by the people. To this latter all have looked at length. We believe that an encouraging public policy will ensue quickly in expanding enterprise, in active business, in widespread employment and in abundant demand for farm products.

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Without criticism of the public spending policy attendant upon the former emergency, we recognize that a repetition of that policy would not serve again and moreover is out of the question. It ought to be borne in mind that private enterprise, properly fostered, carries the indispensable element of vigor.

- 5 The present unemployed and employed, and the young men and women about to enter upon careers, rightly desire and must have the opportunity which is afforded only by private enterprise. The President recently informed the Congress of the instant and obvious task of inducing the investment of private funds. We perceive, as does he, the necessity for the transition, gradual, to be sure, but distinct. And we propose to do our part to
- 10 accomplish this objective in full cooperation.

Submits List of Essentials

In order to do this, we recognize that the public policy must conform to certain paramount principles, and without undertaking to specify all, we submit the following as essential at this time:

- 15 1. The capital gains tax and undistributed profits tax ought thoroughly to be revised at once without reducing revenue so as to free funds for investment and promote the normal flow of savings into profitable and productive use, not for the sake of capital, but for the consequences in expanding business, larger employment and a more active consumer demand for goods.
- 20 2. Steady approach must be made toward a balance of the public revenue with the public expenditure, a balanced national budget, and an end of those fears which deter investment.

The public credit must be preserved or nothing else matters. To undermine it is to defeat recovery; to destroy the people upon inflationary high living costs, and particularly to ruin

25 those of our people who are on relief. There is nothing but a sound public credit between them and disaster, because they have no other reliance for their subsistence.

This means reduced public expenditure at every point practicable. We must have certainty of taxation and stability of the currency and credit. Before increasing taxes or broadening the base, we would exhaust the resources of an intelligent application of economy. We intend that a consistent progress toward a balanced budget shall be made—so consistent
5 that none may question the consummation in due season. It must be a paramount objective, since it underlies certainty, stability and confidence.

As to Labor Relations

3. We propose just relations between capital and labor, and we seek an end at once of a friction engendered by more favorable conditions, that now serves none but
10 injures all. We advise that government take a hand only as a last resort, and if it must, that it shall be impartial. We insist upon the constitutional guarantees of the rights of person and of property—the right of the worker to work, of the owner to possession, and of every man to enjoy in peace the fruits of his labor.

The maintenance of law and order is fundamental. It does labor no good to obtain
15 new benefits if an orderly society in which to enjoy them is destroyed. Coercion and violence in labor relationships must stop, no matter by whom employed. Enlightened capital must deal with labor in the light of a new conception of legitimate collective bargaining and the right to organize. Enlightened labor must deal with capital in a due appreciation of mutual responsibilities for the success of
20 enterprise indispensable to both.

Against Government Competition

4. Relying upon the profitable investment of private savings in enterprise, we oppose every government policy tending unnecessarily to compete with and so to discourage such investment. If the government proposes to compete in any field,
25 due notice ought to be given in order that private investment may avoid it. For the government and private investment cannot occupy the same field.

We favor the principle recently suggested for the White House to the end that private funds on the basis of fair return upon prudent investment may be made available without delay.

5

We urge that the railroads shall enjoy an income appropriate to prudent investment value.

We favor also a constructive and encouraging attitude toward all legitimate institutions operating to assist the flow of funds into investment—with the view to a broad credit at low rates.

10

We favor the encouragement of housing construction, recognizing that this is also one of the larger fields for investment of private funds in durable goods—precisely the instant need.

Reasonable Profit Essential

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5. We recognize that the value of investment, and the circulation of money, depends upon reasonable profit, not only to protect the investment and assure confidence, but also to provide increasing employment, and consumption of goods from farm to factory. We favor the competitive system as against either private or government monopoly, as preventing unreasonable profit and demanding vigor of enterprise. Our American competitive system is superior to any form of the collectivist program. We intend to preserve and foster it as the means of employment, of livelihood, and of maintaining our standard of living.

20

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6. The sources of credit are abundant, but credit depends upon security—the soundness and stability of values; and these are governed by the profitable operation of the concerns in which stocks are certificates of interest or in which bonds are evidences of debt. If, therefore, the reservoirs of credit are to be tapped, we must assure a policy making for the sense of the safety of the collateral which is the basis of credit.

Taxes Blamed for Farm Plight

7. The spread between the prices of paid farmers and the prices paid by consumers for their products is notorious. One explanation of the difference is the fact that the amount of annual taxes, Federal, State and local, comes to at least one-fourth of the national income. It is the price to the consumer, with the burden of taxes therein, which accounts for consumer resistance, depresses demand for goods, and tends to pile up unmarketable surpluses. There ought to be reduction in the tax burden, and if this is impossible at the moment, firm assurance of no further increase ought to be given.

8. In a country so large and so complex as ours it is always difficult to fix uniform national standards for universal application in respect to the lives and livelihoods of our people. Except where State and local control are proven definitely inadequate, we favor the vigorous maintenance of States rights, home rule and local self-government. Otherwise we shall create more problems than we solve.

Would Give Work to Needy

9. We propose that there shall be no suffering for food, fuel, clothing and shelter; and that pending the contemplated revival of industry useful work shall be provided to an extent consistent with the principles of this address. The deserving must be provided for when and if their resources of energy, skill, or funds cease to avail. To be done well, this must be done economically with the view to encouraging individual self-reliance, the return to self-dependence at the first opportunity, the natural impulses of kinship and benevolence, local responsibility in county, city and State, and without the slightest catering to political favor. The administration of relief ought to be non-political and non-partisan, and temporary.

We hold to the conviction that private investment and personal initiative properly encouraged will provide opportunity for all who are capable, and we propose employment for all who are capable as the goal of our efforts to justify the investment of savings in productive enterprise.

Rely on the American System

10. We propose to preserve and rely upon the American system of private enterprise and initiative, and our American form of government. It is not necessary to claim perfection for them. On the record they are far superior to and infinitely to be preferred to any other so far devised. They carry the priceless content of liberty and the dignity of man. They carry spiritual values of infinite import, and which constitute the source of the American spirit. We call upon all Americans to renew their faith in them and press an invincible demand in their behalf.

We can and will erect appropriate safeguards under the common law principles of free men without surrendering in any degree the vital principles and self-reliant spirit on which we must depend.

Our economic system must be such as to stimulate ambition, afford opportunity, and excite in each boy and girl a sense of responsibility to produce to his capacity.

Through individual self-reliance and service only can abundance, security, and happiness be attained.

Pledging ourselves to uphold these principles, we summon our fellow citizens, without regard to party, to join with us in advancing them as the only hope of permanent recovery and further progress. They will serve to take us safely through the period of transition now suddenly thrust upon us as they have taken us through every emergency. They will not fail us, if we adhere to them. But if we shall abandon them, the consequences will outweigh in penalty the sacrifices we may make to our faith in them.

The heart of the American people is sound. They have met every emergency and demand. We will meet those of today and so hand down to our children our most precious heritage enhanced by a new and major trophy of free institutions. Let us not be dismayed but press on in the great liberal tradition and in its spirit of courageous self-reliance which has won through all the vicissitudes of a great

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period, and has made our country the strongest, the most progressive and the best of nations.

WALTER LIPPMANN

“The Dominant Dogma of the Age”

CHAPTER 1 FROM *THE GOOD SOCIETY*

September 1937

Little, Brown and Company | Boston, Massachusetts

BACKGROUND

American writer and reporter Walter Lippmann publish his book *The Good Society* in 1937 amidst the Great Depression, Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal, and the rise of and military actions by totalitarian regimes in Europe and the Pacific.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Does Lippmann think people and countries will only fight over important and significant differences?
2. What is the “dogma” that other dogmas presuppose?
3. According to Lippmann, who do totalitarians and progressives alike presume must have an increase in power in order to improve the condition of men?
4. Lippmann argues that western man has sought for two thousand years to find a law superior to arbitrary power. What does he say this law is?

Walter Lippmann, "The Dominant Dogma of the Age," in *The Good Society* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938), 3–6.

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“There will be some fundamental assumptions which adherents of all the various systems within the epoch unconsciously presuppose. With these assumptions a certain limited number of types of philosophic systems are possible, and this group of systems constitutes the philosophy of the epoch.”

5 — Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, page 69

In the violent conflicts which now trouble the earth the active contenders believe that since the struggle is so deadly it must be that the issues which divide them are deep. I think they are mistaken. Because parties are bitterly opposed, it does not necessarily follow that they have radically different purposes. The intensity of their antagonism is no measure of the
10 divergence of their views. There has been many a ferocious quarrel among sectarians who worship the same god.

Although the partisans who are now fighting for the mastery of the modern world wear shirts of different colors, their weapons are drawn from the same armory, their doctrines are variations of the same theme, and they go forth to battle singing the same tune with
15 slightly different words. Their weapons are the coercive direction of the life and labor of mankind. Their doctrine is that disorder and misery can be overcome only by more and more compulsory organization. Their promise is that through the power of the state men can be made happy.

Throughout the world, in the name of progress, men who call themselves communists,
20 socialists, fascists, nationalists, progressives, and even liberals, are unanimous in holding that government with its instruments of coercion must, by commanding the people how they shall live, direct the course of civilization and fix the shape of things to come. They believe in what Mr. Stuart Chase accurately describes as "the overhead planning and control of economic activity." This is the dogma which all the prevailing dogmas presuppose. This
25 is the mold in which are cast the thought and action of the epoch. No other approach to the regulation of human affairs is seriously considered, or is even conceived as possible. The recently enfranchised masses and the leaders of thought who supply their ideas are almost completely under the spell of this dogma. Only a handful here and there, groups

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without influence, isolated and disregarded thinkers, continue to challenge it. For the premises of authoritarian collectivism have become the working beliefs, the self-evident assumptions, the unquestioned axioms, not only of all the revolutionary regimes, but of nearly every effort which lays claim to being enlightened, humane, and progressive.

- 5 So universal is the dominion of this dogma over the minds of contemporary men that no one is taken seriously as a statesman or a theorist who does not come forward with proposals to magnify the power of public officials and to extend and multiply their intervention in human affairs. Unless he is authoritarian and collectivist, he is a mossback, a reactionary, at best an amiable eccentric swimming hopelessly against the tide. It is a strong
- 10 tide. Though despotism is no novelty in human affairs, it is probably true that at no time in twenty-five hundred years has any western government claimed for itself a jurisdiction over men's lives comparable with that which is officially attempted in the totalitarian states. No doubt there have been despotisms which were more cruel than those of Russia, Italy, and Germany. There has been none which was more inclusive. In these ancient centres of
- 15 civilization, several hundred millions of persons live under what is theoretically the absolute dominion of the dogma that public officials are their masters and that only under official orders may they live, work, and seek their salvation.

- But it is even more significant that in other lands where men shrink from the ruthless policy of these regimes, it is commonly assumed that the movement of events must be in the same
- 20 general direction. Nearly everywhere the mark of a progressive is that he relies at last upon the increased power of officials to improve the condition of men. Though the progressives prefer to move gradually and with consideration, by persuading majorities to consent, the only instrument of progress in which they have faith is the coercive agency of government. They can, it would seem, imagine no alternative, nor can they remember how much of what
- 25 they cherish as progressive has come by emancipation from political dominion, by the limitation of power, by the release of personal energy from authority and collective coercion. For virtually all that now passes for progressivism in countries like England and the United States calls for the increasing ascendancy of the state: always the cry is for more officials with more power over more and more of the activities of men.

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- Yet the assumptions of this whole movement are not so self-evident as they seem. They are, in fact, contrary to the assumptions bred in men by the whole long struggle to extricate conscience, intellect, labor, and personality from the bondage of prerogative, privilege, monopoly, authority. For more than two thousand years, since western men first began to
- 5 think about the social order, the main preoccupation of political thinking has been to find a law which would be superior to arbitrary power. Men have sought it in custom, in the dictates of reason, in religious revelation, endeavoring always to set up some check upon the exercise of force. This is the meaning of the long debate about Natural Law. This is the meaning of a thousand years of struggle to bring the sovereign under a constitution, to
- 10 establish for the individual and for voluntary associations of men rights which they can enforce against kings, barons, magnates, majorities, and mobs. This is the meaning of the struggle to separate the church from the state, to emancipate conscience, learning, the arts, education, and commerce from the inquisitor, the censor, the monopolist, the policeman, and the hangman.
- 15 Conceivably the lessons of this history no longer have a meaning for us. Conceivably there has come into the world during this generation some new element which makes it necessary for us to undo the work of emancipation, to retrace the steps men have taken to limit the power of rulers, which compels us to believe that the way of enlightenment in affairs is now to be found by intensifying authority and enlarging its scope. But the burden of proof
- 20 is upon those who reject the ecumenical tradition of the western world. It is for them to show that their cult of the Providential State is in truth the new revelation they think it is, and that it is not, as a few still believe, the gigantic heresy of an apostate generation.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

Annual Message to Congress

SPEECH

January 11, 1944
U.S. Congress | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President Franklin Roosevelt outlined his second or “economic Bill of Rights” while delivering his state of the union address to Congress looking forward to post-war policies.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Roosevelt consider our "political rights"?
2. Why are those political rights no longer adequate, according to Roosevelt?
3. How would the government go about securing things such as a right to a decent living or recreation?
4. What or who in America does Roosevelt label as Fascistic?
5. Who is the source for all these rights?

Franklin Roosevelt, “Message on the State of the Union,” 11 January 1944, in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 13, ed. Samuel Irving Rosenman (New York: Harper, 1950), 40-42.

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It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that general standard of living may be, if some fraction of our people—whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth—
5 is ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights—among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

10 As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however—as our industrial economy expanded—these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People
15 who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

20 The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

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The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

- 5 The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

- 10 All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

- 15 One of the great American industrialists of our day—a man who has rendered yeoman service to his country in this crisis—recently emphasized the grave dangers of "rightist reaction" in this Nation. All clear-thinking businessmen share his concern. Indeed, if such reaction should develop—if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called "normalcy" of the 1920's—then it is certain that even though we shall have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of Fascism here
20 at home.

I ask the Congress to explore the means for implementing this economic bill of rights—for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do. Many of these problems are already before committees of the Congress in the form of proposed legislation. I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals.

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In the event that no adequate program of progress is evolved, I am certain that the Nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad—and their families at home—expect such a program and have the right to insist upon it. It is to their demands that this Government should pay heed
5 rather than the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.

The foreign policy that we have been following—the policy that guided us at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran—is based on the common sense principle which was best expressed by Benjamin Franklin on July 4, 1776: "We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all
10 hang separately."

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity which extends from the hearts of the people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort, we speak of the factory and the field, and the mine as well as of the battleground—we speak of
15 the soldier and the civilian, the citizen and his Government.

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour—to keep this Nation great—to make this Nation greater in a better world.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (CONSERVATIVE PARTY)

Fifty Years Hence

ARTICLE

Mclean's | November 15, 1931

BACKGROUND

Winston Churchill, after leaving leadership positions in Parliament, wrote this article in 1931, first published in a Canadian magazine of current affairs.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Does Churchill believe human nature progresses?
2. What is the cause of the last century's progress? Does Churchill think such progress is a good thing?
3. In what ways does Churchill think science could be dangerous to free government?
4. What questions are beyond science's reach, according to Churchill? What is needed to go beyond science?
5. What are difficulties with democracy that Churchill sees when faced with the problem of managing science and progress?

Winston Churchill. "Fifty Years Hence". Essay, December, 1931. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/fifty-years-hence/>.

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- The great mass of human beings, absorbed in the toils, cares and activities of life, are only dimly conscious of the pace at which mankind has begun to travel. We look back a hundred years and see that great changes have taken place. We look back fifty years and see that the speed is constantly quickening. This present century has witnessed an enormous revolution in material things, in scientific appliances, in political institutions, in manners and customs. The greatest change of all is the least perceptible by individuals: it is the far greater numbers which in every civilized country participate in the fuller life of man. 'In those days,' said Disraeli, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'England was for the few and for the very few.' 'The twice two thousand for whom,' wrote Byron, 'the world is made' have given place to many millions for whom existence has become larger, safer, more varied, more full of hope and choice. In the United States scores of millions have lifted themselves above primary necessities and comforts, and aspire to culture – at least for their children. Europe, though stunned and lacerated by Armageddon, presents a similar if less general advance. We all take the modern conveniences and facilities as they are offered to us without being grateful or consciously happier. But we simply could not live if they were taken away. We assume that progress will be constant. 'This 'ere progress,' Mr Wells makes one of his characters remark, 'keeps going on. It's wonderful 'ow it keeps going on.' It is also very fortunate, for if it stopped or were reversed, there would be the catastrophe of unimaginable horror. Mankind has gone too far to go back, and is moving too fast to stop. There are too many people maintained, not merely in comfort but in existence, by processes unknown a century ago, for us to afford even a temporary check, still less a general setback, without experiencing calamity in its most frightful form.
- When we look back beyond a hundred years over the long trails of history, we see immediately why the age we live in differs from all other ages in human annals. Mankind has sometimes travelled forwards and sometimes backwards, or has stood still even for hundreds of years. It remained stationary in India and in China for thousands of years. What is it that has produced this new prodigious speed of man? Science is the

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cause. Her once feeble vanguards, often trampled down, often perishing in isolation, have now become a vast organized united class-conscious army marching forward upon all the fronts towards objectives none may measure or define. It is a proud, ambitious army which cares nothing for all the laws that men have made; nothing for their most
5 timehonoured customs, or most dearly cherished beliefs, or deepest instincts. It is this power called Science which has laid hold of us, conscripted us into its regiments and batteries, set us to work upon its highways and in its arsenals; rewarded us for our services, healed us when we were wounded, trained us when we were young, pensioned us when we were worn out. None of the generations of men before the last two or three
10 were ever gripped for good or ill and handled like this.

Man in the earliest stages lived alone and avoided his neighbours with as much anxiety and probably as much reason as he avoided the fierce flesh-eating beasts that shared his forests. With the introduction of domestic animals the advantages of co-operation and the division of labour became manifest. In the neolithic times when cereals were
15 produced and agriculture developed, the bleak hungry period whilst the seeds were germinating beneath the soil involved some form of capitalism and the recognition of those special rights of landed proprietors the traces of which are still visible in our legislation. Each stage involved new problems legal, sociological and moral. But progress only crawled, and often rested for a thousand years or so.

20 The two ribbon States in the valley of the Nile and the Euphrates produced civilizations as full of pomp and circumstance and more stable than any the world has ever known. Their autocracies and hierarchies were founded upon the control and distribution of water and corn. The rulers held the people in an efficiency of despotism never equalled till Soviet Russia was born. They had only to cut off or stint the water in the canals to
25 starve or subjugate rebellious provinces. This, apart from their granaries, gave them powers at once as irresistible and as capable of intimate regulation as the control of all food supplies gives to the Bolshevik commissars. Safe from internal trouble, they were vulnerable only to external attack. But in these states man had not learnt to catalyse the

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forces of nature. The maximum power available was the sum of the muscular efforts of all the inhabitants. Later empires, scarcely less imposing but far less stable, rose and fell. In the methods of production and communication, in the modes of getting food and exchanging goods, there was less change between the time of Sargon and the time of Louis XIV than there has been between the accession of Queen Victoria and the present day. Darius could probably send a message from Susa to Sardis faster than Philip II could transmit an order from Madrid to Brussels. Sir Robert Peel, summoned in 1841 from Rome to form a government in London, took the same time as the Emperor Vespasian when he had to hasten to his province of Britain. The bathrooms of the palaces of Minos were superior to those of Versailles. A priest from Thebes would probably have felt more at home at the Council of Trent two thousand years after Thebes had vanished than Sir Isaac Newton at a modern undergraduate physical society, or George Stephenson in the Institute of Electrical Engineers. The changes have been so sudden and so gigantic that no period in history can be compared with the last century. The past no longer enables us even dimly to measure the future.

The most wonderful of all modern prophecies is found in Tennyson's 'Locksley Hall':
For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see, Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be; Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails, Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales; Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue; Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm; Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world. Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion creeping nigher, Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly-dying fire.

These six couplets of prediction, written eighty years ago, have already been fulfilled. The conquest of the air for commerce and war, the League of Nations, the Communist movement—all divined in their true sequence by the great Victorian—all now already

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in the history books and stirring the world around us today! We may search the Scriptures in vain for such precise and swiftly vindicated forecasts of the future. Jeremiah and Isaiah dealt in dark and cryptic parables pointing to remote events and capable of many varied interpretations from time to time. A Judge, a Prophet, a
5 Redeemer would arise to save His Chosen People; and from age to age the Jews asked, disputing, 'Art thou he that should come or do we look for another?' But 'Locksley Hall' contains an exact foretelling of stupendous events, which many of those who knew the writer lived to see and endure! The dawn of the Victorian era opened the new period of man; and the genius of the poet pierced the veil of the future.

- 10 There are two processes which we adopt consciously or unconsciously when we try to prophesy. We can seek a period in the past whose conditions resemble as closely as possible those of our day, and presume that the sequel to that period will, save for some minor alterations, be repeated. Secondly, we can survey the general course of development in our immediate past, and endeavour to prolong it into the near future.
- 15 The first is the method of the historian; the second that of the scientist. Only the second is open to us now, and this only in a partial sphere. By observing all that Science has achieved in modern times, and the knowledge and power now in her possession, we can predict with some assurance the inventions and discoveries which will govern our future. We can but guess, peering through a glass darkly, what reactions these
20 discoveries and their applications will produce upon the habits, the outlook and the spirit of men.

- Whereas formerly the utmost power that man could guide and control was a team of horses or a galleyful of slaves, or possibly, if they could be sufficiently drilled and harnessed, a gang of labourers like the Israelites in Egypt; it is today already possible to
25 control accurately from the bridge of a battle cruiser all the power of hundreds of thousands of men, or to set off with one finger a mine capable in an instant of destroying the work of thousands of man-years. These changes are due to the substitution of molecular energy for muscular energy, and its direction and control by

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an elaborate, beautifully perfected apparatus. These immense new sources of power, and the fact that they can be wielded by a single individual, have made possible novel methods of mining and metallurgy, new modes of transport and undreamed-of machinery. These in their turn enable the molecular sources of power to be extended
5 and used more efficiently. They facilitate also the improvement of ancient methods. They substitute the hundred-thousand kilowatt turbo-generators at Niagara for the mill-wheel of our forefathers. Each invention acted and reacted on other inventions, and with ever-growing rapidity that vast structure of technical achievement was raised which separates the civilization of today from all that the past has known.

10 There is no doubt that this evolution will continue at an increasing rate. We know enough to be sure that the scientific achievements of the next fifty years will be far greater, more rapid and more surprising, than those we have already experienced. The slide-lathe enabled machines of precision to be made, and the power of steam rushed
15 out upon the world. And through the steam-clouds flashed the dazzling lightning of electricity. But this is only a beginning. High authorities tell us that new sources of power, vastly more important than any we yet know, will surely be discovered. Nuclear energy is incomparably greater than the molecular energy which we use today. The coal a man can get in a day can easily do five hundred times as much work as the man himself. Nuclear energy is at least one million times more powerful still. If the hydrogen
20 atoms in a pound of water could be prevailed upon to combine together and form helium, they would suffice to drive a thousand horsepower engine for a whole year. If the electrons, those tiny planets of the atomic systems, were induced to combine with the nuclei in the hydrogen the horsepower liberated would be 120 times greater still. There is no question among scientists that this gigantic source of energy exists. What is
25 lacking is the match to set the bonfire alight, or it may be the detonator to cause the dynamite to explode. The Scientists are looking for this.

The discovery and control of such sources of power would cause changes in human affairs incomparably greater than those produced by the steam-engine four generations

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ago. Schemes of cosmic magnitude would become feasible. Geography and climate would obey our orders. Fifty thousand tons of water, the amount displaced by the Berengaria, would, if exploited as described, suffice to shift Ireland to the middle of the Atlantic. The amount of rain falling yearly upon the Epsom racecourse would be

5 enough to thaw all the ice at the Arctic and Antarctic poles. The changing of one element into another by means of temperatures and pressures would be far beyond our present reach, would transform beyond all description our standards of values. Materials thirty times stronger than the best steel would create engines fit to bridle the new forms of power. Communications and transport by land, water and air would take

10 unimaginable forms, if, as is in principle possible, we could make an engine of 600 horsepower, weighing 20 lb and carrying fuel for a thousand hours in a tank the size of a fountain-pen. Wireless telephones and television, following naturally upon their present path of development, would enable their owner to connect up with any room similarly installed, and hear and take part in the conversation as well as if he put his

15 head in through the window. The congregation of men in cities would become superfluous. It would rarely be necessary to call in person on any but the most intimate friends, but if so, excessively rapid means of communication would be at hand. There would be no more object in living in the same city with one's neighbour than there is today in living with him in the same house. The cities and the countryside would

20 become indistinguishable. Every home would have its garden and its glade.

Up till recent times the production of food has been the prime struggle of man. That war is won. There is no doubt that the civilized races can produce or procure all the food they require. Indeed some of the problems which vex us today are due to the production of wheat by white men having exceeded their own needs, before yellow

25 men, brown men and black men have learnt to demand and become able to purchase a diet superior to rice. But food is at present obtained almost entirely from the energy of the sunlight. The radiation from the sun produces from the carbonic acid in the air more or less complicated carbon compounds which give us our plants and vegetables. We use the latent chemical energy of these to keep our bodies warm; we convert it into

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muscular effort. We employ it in the complicated processes of digestion to repair and replace the wasted cells of our bodies. Many people, of course, prefer food in what the vegetarians call 'the secondhand form', i.e. after it has been digested and converted into meat for us by domestic animals kept for this purpose. In all these processes, however,
5 ninety-nine parts of the solar energy are wasted for every part used.

Even without the new sources of power great improvements are probable here. Microbes, which at present convert the nitrogen of the air into the proteins by which animals live, will be fostered and made to work under controlled conditions, just as yeast is now. New strains of microbes will be developed and made to do a great deal of
10 our chemistry for us. With a greater knowledge of what are called hormones, i.e. the chemical messengers in our blood, it will be possible to control growth. We shall escape the absurdity of growing a whole chicken in order to eat the breast or wing, by growing these parts separately under a suitable medium. Synthetic food will, of course, also be used in the future. Nor need the pleasures of the table be banished. That gloomy Utopia
15 of tabloid meals need never be invaded. The new foods will from the outset be practically indistinguishable from the natural products, and any changes will be so gradual as to escape observation.

If the gigantic new sources of power become available, food will be produced without recourse to sunlight. Vast cellars in which artificial radiation is generated may replace
20 the cornfields or potato-patches of the world. Parks and gardens will cover our pastures and ploughed fields. When the time comes there will be plenty of room for the cities to spread themselves again.

But equally startling developments lie already just beyond our finger-tips in the breeding of human beings and the shaping of human nature. It used to be said, 'Though
25 you have taught the dog more tricks, you cannot alter the breed of the dog.' But that is no longer true. A few years ago London was surprised by a play called Rossum's Universal Robots. The production of such beings may well be possible within fifty

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years. They will not be made, but grown under glass. There seems little doubt that it will be possible to carry out in artificial surroundings the entire cycle which now leads to the birth of a child. Interference with the mental development of such beings, expert suggestion and treatment in the earlier years, would produce beings specialized to thought or toil. The production of creatures, for instance, which have admirable physical development, with their mental endowment stunted in particular directions, is almost within the range of human power. A being might be produced capable of tending a machine but without other ambitions. Our minds recoil from such fearful eventualities, and the laws of a Christian civilization will prevent them. But might not lop-sided creatures of this type fit in well with the Communist doctrines of Russia? Might not the Union of Soviet Republics armed with all the power of science find it in harmony with all their aims to produce a race adapted to mechanical tasks and with no other ideas but to obey the Communist State? The present nature of man is tough and resilient. It casts up its sparks of genius in the darkest and most unexpected places. But Robots could be made to fit the grisly theories of Communism. There is nothing in the philosophy of Communists to prevent their creation.

I have touched upon this sphere only lightly, but with the purpose of pointing out that, in a future which our children may live to see, powers will be in the hands of men altogether different from any by which human nature has been moulded. Explosive forces, energy, materials, machinery will be available upon a scale which can annihilate whole nations. Despotisms and tyrannies will be able to prescribe the lives and even the wishes of their subjects in a manner never known since time began. If to these tremendous and awful powers is added the pitiless sub-human wickedness which we now see embodied in one of the most powerful reigning governments, who shall say that the world itself will not be wrecked, or indeed that it ought not to be wrecked? There are nightmares of the future from which a fortunate collision with some wandering star, reducing the earth to incandescent gas, might be a merciful deliverance.

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It is indeed a descent almost to the ridiculous to contemplate the impact of the tremendous and terrifying discoveries which are approaching upon the structure of Parliamentary institutions. How can we imagine the whole mass of the people being capable of deciding by votes at From the Report of the Committee With Studies of
5 Administrative Management in the Federal Government lections upon the right course to adopt amid these cataclysmic changes? Even now the Parliaments of every country have shown themselves quite inadequate to deal with the economic problems which dominate the affairs of every nation and of the world. Before these problems the claptrap of the hustings and the stunts of the newspapers wither and vanish away.
10 Democracy as a guide or motive to progress has long been known to be incompetent. None of the legislative assemblies of the great modern states represents in universal suffrage even a fraction of the strength or wisdom of the community. Great nations are no longer led by their ablest men, or by those who know most about their immediate affairs, or even by those who have a coherent doctrine. Democratic governments drift
15 along the line of least resistance, taking short views, paying their way with sops and doles, and smoothing their path with pleasant-sounding platitudes. Never was there less continuity or design in their affairs, and yet towards them are coming swiftly changes which will revolutionize for good or ill not only the whole economic structure of the world but the social habits and moral outlook of every family. Only the Communists
20 have a plan and a gospel. It is a plan fatal to personal freedom and a gospel founded upon Hate.

Certain it is that while men are gathering knowledge and power with ever-increasing and measureless speed, their virtues and their wisdom have not shown any notable improvement as the centuries have rolled. The brain of a modern man does not differ in
25 essentials from that of the human beings who fought and loved here millions of years ago. The nature of man has remained hitherto practically unchanged. Under sufficient stress—starvation, terror, warlike passion, or even cold intellectual frenzy—the modern man we know so well will do the most terrible deeds, and his modern woman will back him up. At the present moment the civilizations of many different ages co-exist

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together in the world, and their representatives meet and converse. Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Americans with ideas abreast of the twentieth century do business with Indians or Chinese whose civilizations were crystallized several thousands of years ago. We have the spectacle of the powers and weapons of man far outstripping the march of his intelligence; we have the march of his intelligence proceeding far more rapidly than the development of his nobility. We may well find ourselves in the presence of 'the strength of civilization without its mercy'.

It is therefore above all things important that the moral philosophy and spiritual conceptions of men and nations should hold their own amid these formidable scientific evolutions. It would be much better to call a halt in material progress and discovery rather than to be mastered by our own apparatus and the forces which it directs. There are secrets too mysterious for man in his present state to know, secrets which, once penetrated, may be fatal to human happiness and glory. But the busy hands of the scientists are already fumbling with the keys of all the chambers hitherto forbidden to mankind. Without an equal growth of Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love, Science herself may destroy all that makes human life majestic and tolerable. There never was a time when the inherent virtue of human beings required more strong and confident expression in daily life; there never was a time when the hope of immortality and the disdain of earthly power and achievement were more necessary for the safety of the children of men.

After all, this material progress, in itself so splendid, does not meet any of the real needs of the human race. I read a book the other day which traced the history of mankind from the birth of the solar system to its extinction. There were fifteen or sixteen races of men which in succession rose and fell over periods measured by tens of millions of years. In the end a race of beings was evolved which had mastered nature. A state was created whose citizens lived as long as they chose, enjoyed pleasures and sympathies incomparably wider than our own, navigated the interplanetary spaces, could recall the panorama of the past and foresee the future. But what was the good of all that to them?

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What did they know more than we know about the answers to the simple questions which man has asked since the earliest dawn of reason—'Why are we here? What is the purpose of life? Whither are we going?' No material progress, even though it takes shapes we cannot now conceive, or however it may expand the faculties of man, can
5 bring comfort to his soul. It is this fact, more wonderful than any that Science can reveal, which gives the best hope that all will be well. Projects undreamed-of by past generations will absorb our immediate descendants; forces terrific and devastating will be in their hands; comforts, activities, amenities, pleasures will crowd upon them, but their hearts will ache, their lives will be barren, if they have not a vision above material
10 things. And with the hopes and powers will come dangers out of all proportion to the growth of man's intellect, to the strength of his character or to the efficacy of his institutions. Once more the choice is offered between Blessing and Cursing. Never was the answer that will be given harder to foretell.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)**Fireside Chat on National Security**

RADIO BROADCAST EXCERPTS

December 29, 1940

The White House | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the nation during one of his “fireside chats” radio broadcasts six months after Nazi Germany conquered France and amidst the Battle of Britain.

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This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now; and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to

Franklin Roosevelt. “Arsenal of Democracy” Speech, December, 1940. From Mount Holyoke College. <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/WorldWar2/arsenal.htm>.

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them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism.

- 5 We face this new crisis—this new threat to the security of our Nation—with the same courage and realism.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

- 10 For, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations—a program aimed at world control—they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

- 15 The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

- 20 Three weeks ago their leader stated, "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other." Then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say: 'With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves.' . . . I can beat any other power in the world." So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace until

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the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the forces of the states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being
5 blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

10 Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our Government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the
15 British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no "unwritten agreement".

Yet, there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

20 Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? Does any one seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbor there?

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all

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of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.

We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we would
5 have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

Some of us like to believe that, even if Great Britain falls, we are still safe, because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But the width of these oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point
10 between Africa and Brazil the distance is less than from Washington to Denver—five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the, north of the Pacific Ocean, America and Asia almost touch each other. Even today we have planes which could fly from the British Isles to New England and back without refueling. And the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased....

15 Any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping-off place for German attack on any one of the other republics of this hemisphere....

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that
20 the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the world....

The British people are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out
25 of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

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Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the
5 object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in
10 the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters, which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough, so that we and our
15 children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of
20 resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your Government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

25 Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

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Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia, and other nations near Germany to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day. We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the administration have a single-minded purpose—the defense of the United States.

This Nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency—and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice....

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and talents into action. Manufacturers of watches, of farm implements, linotypes, cash registers, automobiles, sewing machines, lawn mowers, and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb-packing crates, telescope mounts, shells, pistols, and tanks.

But all our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes—more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual". This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequence of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

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After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peacetime needs will require all of the new productive capacity-if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense.

- 5 I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the Nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men the skill, the wealth, and above all, the will.

- 10 I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield to our primary and compelling purpose.

- 15 I appeal to the owners of plants, to the managers, to the workers, to our own Government employees, to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. And with this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of you Government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task which lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your Government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our overall military necessities.

- 20 We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice, as we would show were we at war.

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

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There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

5 The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek Army and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

10 I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope—hope for peace, hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

15 I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

20 As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this Nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

Annual Message to Congress

ADDRESS

January 6, 1941
U.S. Congress | Washington, D.C.

Four Freedoms Speech

BACKGROUND

As Great Britain's Royal Air Force fended off the German Luftwaffe during the Battle of Britain, President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered this message to Congress, as required annually by the Constitution.

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...We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

- 5 We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war....

- 10 As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, "State of the Union Address (1941)," Presidential Message, January 06, 1941. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/state-of-the-union-address-129/>.

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That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and great accountability.

5 The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

10 Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

15 Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

20 Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

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In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious
5 danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production....

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what
10 we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations....

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who
15 man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been
20 done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

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Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

5 For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

10 The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

15 These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

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We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

5 We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

10 A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

15 In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

20 The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

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The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

- 5 That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

- 10 To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

- 15 Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

- 20 This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose. To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT & PRIME MINISTER WINSTON CHURCHILL

Joint Declaration by the President and the Prime Minister

INTERNATIONAL JOINT STATEMENT

August 14, 1941
Atlantic Conference

Naval Station Argentina | Dominion of Newfoundland, British Empire

Atlantic Charter

BACKGROUND

While the United States remained officially out of World War II, American President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill articulated a joint policy plan for the post-war world.

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The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

5 First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

10 Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Franklin D. Roosevelt. "The Atlantic Charter". Presidential Message, August 14, 1941. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/atlantic-charter/>.

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Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

- 5 Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

- 10 Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

- 15 Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable
20 measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Winston S. Churchill

UNIT 7

Post-War America

1945–1974

45-50-minute classes | 13-16 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

LESSON 1	1945-1953	The Start of the Cold War	3-4 classes	p. 5
LESSON 2	1953-1964	The American Dream	4-5 classes	p. 12
LESSON 3	1964-1974	Tumult: Foreign and Domestic	6-7 classes	p. 22
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment			p. 31
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 47

Why Teach Post-War America

World War II may have been America's "finest hour," earning those who fought the war and endured the Great Depression the title of the "Greatest Generation." But with America on the other side of those challenges, what would American life be like, and what would America's status be in the world? One thing was certain: nothing would be the same. There were unprecedented opportunities for Americans, both at home and abroad, and America was now a superpower. But at the same time, the prospect of nuclear war with a powerful ideological foe and a multitude of new challenges at home meant that America was being asked to exercise new responsibilities in an unknown landscape. Students should recognize what these opportunities and challenges were and should understand that much of what we accept today as typical of the American way of life was actually established in the decades immediately following the end of World War II.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. The American economy at home and its superpower status abroad afforded unrivaled opportunities for American citizens and American influence in the world, and the civil rights movement sought to extend these opportunities equally to all citizens.
2. The Cold War was fought primarily between two diametrically opposed philosophies of the human person, morality, and the purpose of government.
3. America went through a period of change in government and especially culture that broke with previous generations and which has largely remained in place to this day.
4. By the middle of the 1970s, the Vietnam War and other events eroded America's standing both at home and abroad, revealing the underlying weaknesses of the new post-war order.

What Teachers Should Consider

Post-war America was truly a remarkable moment in American history. The great victory over totalitarianism in World War II left Americans on the verge of a new era of opportunity, prosperity, and unprecedented power on the national and international stages. A whole new generation of Americans took advantage of these opportunities to pursue an “American dream” that now seemed well within reach.

But as America's former ally, the Soviet Union, reneged on its post-war promises, the deep ideological fissure between the principles of America and those of communism became greater and deadlier. The specter of nuclear war haunted American daily life, even amid the prosperity and grand opportunities that so many Americans enjoyed. The steady presidencies of Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower helped to shepherd America through this new world order and the many perils that came with it.

The John F. Kennedy administration and the strengthened civil rights movement that ushered in the 1960s brought an air of hopefulness. But with Kennedy's assassination and the trail of missteps between the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal, those hopes seemed to be dashed, and a pall settled over the American people and American politics.

Amidst all of this, the scope and size of the federal government surged again to unimagined influence and power under the Lyndon B. Johnson administration's Great Society. Meanwhile, the new generation of baby boomers grew unsatisfied with what it saw as a superficial consumer economy and a political system in which it was powerless. The resulting upheavals in culture and politics, especially as caused by the Vietnam War, left Americans' faith in their country shaken.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

Truman, David McCullough
The Cold War, John Lewis Gaddis
The Korean War, William Stueck
The King Years, Taylor Branch

America's Longest War, George Herring
American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage
Civil Rights in American History
Constitution 101
Constitution 201

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

Grand Expectations, James Patterson
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
The Vietnam War, Mark Atwood Lawrence

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

"The Sinews of Peace," Winston S. Churchill
"The Sources of Soviet Conduct," George F. Kennan
"A Fateful Hour," Harry S. Truman
The Cold War, Walter Lippmann
Resolution 68, National Security Council
Farewell Address, Dwight D. Eisenhower
Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy
"I Have a Dream," Martin Luther King Jr.
"Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom," Martin Luther King Jr.
Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon B. Johnson
Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society
"Message to Grassroots," Malcolm X
"A Time for Choosing," Ronald Reagan
"Peace without Conquest," Lyndon B. Johnson
"Soviet Military Might: Western Made," John Ashbrook

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZ

Lesson 1 — The Start of the Cold War

1945–1953

3-4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about America's initial efforts to confront communism following World War II and the ensuing conflicts, especially the Korean War.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 341-359

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 323-329

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 210-213

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 20

American Heritage

Lecture 9

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 341-354, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 210-212) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 354-359, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 212-213) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Turkey

Alaska

Greece

Hawaii

Palestine

Korea

Israel

38th Parallel

China

Pusan Perimeter

Taiwan

Yalu River

Persons

Hannah Arendt

Joseph Stalin

Harry Truman

Winston Churchill

George Kennan
 J. D. Salinger
 E. B. White
 Jackie Robinson
 George Marshall
 Mao Zedong

A. Philip Randolph
 Joseph McCarthy
 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg
 Douglas MacArthur
 Matthew Ridgway

Terms and Topics

Nuremberg Trials
 superpower
 highways
 shell shock
 GI Bill
 college
 baby boom
 atomic bomb
 United Nations
 communism
 Cold War
 Yalta Conference
 Iron Curtain
 satellite regimes
 rollback
 Truman Doctrine
 containment

self-determinism
 National Security Act
 Marshall Plan
 Berlin Airlift
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
 Warsaw Pact
 Zionism
 decolonization
 “Point Four” aid programs
 Dixiecrat
 Sino-Soviet Treaty
 NSC-68
 House Committee on Un-American Activities
 McCarthyism
 Korean War
 Battle of Chosin Reservoir
 Inchon Landing

Primary Sources

“The Sinews of Peace,” Winston Churchill
 “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” George Kennan
 “A Fateful Hour,” Harry Truman
The Cold War, Walter Lippmann
 Resolution 68, National Security Council

To Know by Heart

“There is no doubt in my mind that we are in the presence of one of the greatest and most horrible crimes ever committed. It has been done by scientific machinery by nominally civilized men in the name of a great state and one of the leading races of Europe.” —Winston Churchill on the Holocaust ([link](#))
 “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe.” —Winston Churchill, “The Sinews of Peace”

Timeline

1946-1991	Cold War
1950-1953	Korean War

Images

Historical figures and events
 Soldiers returning from war

Post-war automobiles
Levittowns
Maps of communist vs. free countries
Maps of Palestine
Images and uniforms of American, UN, North Korean, and Chinese officers and soldiers
Depictions and photographs of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
Video footage of soldiers and fighting
Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles
Military equipment and weaponry

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biography of Harry Truman
- Roger Kahn's commentary on Jackie Robinson in Major League Baseball
- Reginald Thompson's account of the American retreat from Chongchon River at the start of the Korean War
- Harry Truman's dismissal of Douglas MacArthur

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How were Europe and America different following World War II?
- What insights did Hannah Arendt provide about totalitarianism?
- In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?
- How did World War II sharpen for Americans the contradiction of racial discrimination in America?
- How and why did Harry Truman desegregate the armed forces?
- What is meant by the term "Cold War"?
- What were the risks inherent in having atomic weapons? What were the benefits?
- How did the main principles and goals of communism contrast with the ideas of the American Founding?
- What events in the late 1940s and early 1950s proved that communism would be a formidable foe?
- What did the Truman Doctrine say, and what did George Kennan argue, about policy toward the Soviet Union?
- What did NSC-68 say about how to counter the spread of communism more broadly?
- In what ways did Harry Truman and the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?
- To what extent was McCarthyism well-intentioned but ultimately unjust?
- Why did America lead the United Nations in the Korean War?
- What was the outcome of the Korean War and why?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 100: Name one war fought by the United States in the 1900s.
 - Question 108: What was the United States' main rival during the Cold War?
 - Question 109: During the Cold War, what was one main concern of the United States?
 - Question 110: Why did the United States enter the Korean War?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

American life had never been normal for the nearly two decades between the Great Depression and the end of World War II. With its victory over the Axis powers, the United States hoped to regain some normalcy while rising to the status of superpower as the most powerful country in the world. Yet it was not to be. The country's new status brought with it a torrent of challenges to match its equally impressive advantages. While the years immediately following World War II did restore much of the characteristic American way of life, there was no going back to the time before the Depression. Post-war America was a different America, with new opportunities and challenges, especially with the beginning of what would be known as the Cold War between the United States and communism's leading power, the Soviet Union.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Start of the Cold War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Begin the lesson by wrapping up the aftermath of World War II, including the Nuremberg Trials. To help students make sense of the evils of totalitarianism, discuss the main observations of Hannah Arendt in her study of totalitarianism and the Nuremberg Trials. Ask them to reflect upon why Arendt's views were so controversial.
- Juxtapose circumstances in various parts of the world with the situation in the United States, the lands and shores of which were largely untouched by the war. Students should also appreciate the new status that America enjoyed on the world stage and think through the consequences of such power, responsibility, and opportunity.
- Share the immediate domestic situation following the war, from the effects of returning soldiers and the GI Bill to the growth in population and economic production geared toward consumers—what *Fortune* magazine called “The Great American Boom.”
- Shift to the dawning reality of America's being a superpower and the consequences of the atomic age—especially with a powerful foe in the Soviet Union, whose very principles of truth, morality, justice, human dignity, and government stood diametrically opposed to the founding principles of America. Review the differences between the principles of the American Founding and of communism.
- Read and discuss with students excerpts from Winston Churchill's “The Sinews of Peace.”
- Review maps of the world from the time period so students can learn how the Yalta Conference and events in the year following World War II led to a deterioration in the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Trace with students the countries that fell under communist regimes and those that were being decolonized throughout the Cold War, noting especially how much the world map changed after 1945. Of special import is an account of American policy toward the Soviet Union in eastern Europe in the final year of World War II. Students should understand what it meant practically for freedom and human dignity when the Soviet Union brought a country under its control, including arrests, show trials, and executions. Discuss with students the different early approaches to the Cold War, especially the Truman Doctrine, and what these ideas meant in practice. In addition to containment and the creation of NATO, the Marshall Plan was important in forestalling communist inroads in war-ravaged Europe. Students should understand why America had to prevent the spread of communism.
- Have students consider the extent to which concerns over communist infiltration in America were justified, and how nevertheless the American response sometimes employed means of countering these threats that were unjust or unconstitutional.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had at the outset of the Korean War and how these shifted during the war. Having students record simple notes in a “T-Chart” can be effective for this part of the lesson.

- Build students' familiarity with the style of warfare in 1950, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Present to students explanations of each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Have students track strategy changes on a map of the Korean Peninsula.
- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war, especially Douglas MacArthur, Matthew Ridgway, William Dean, and the heroic chaplain Fr. Emil Kapaun.
- Teach the war in some detail, especially the major battles and military campaigns. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often and have students track battles and campaigns on maps of the Korean Peninsula.
- Recap the Korean War by considering major statistics, including the number of casualties and deaths on each side, and its effects on America, the Korean peninsula, and the world.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENT

Assignment: Explain the opportunities and challenges America faced following World War II, especially with respect to foreign policy and Communism (2-3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 1, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Pages 341-354

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Name one effect (positive or negative) that the end of World War II had on American society.
2. Who became president of the United States after Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in 1945?
3. What was the name of the American Cold War foreign policy suggested by George Kennan?
4. What was the goal of the Marshall Plan with regard to Europe?
5. Who was the first supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 1, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Pages 354-359

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who won the United States presidential election of 1948?
2. Which faction ultimately won the post-World War II Chinese civil war?
3. Who were the targets of Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigations in the early 1950s?
4. How did the Korean War begin?
5. Which American military leader was famously fired during the Korean War?

Lesson 2 — The American Dream

1953–1964

4–5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the prosperity Americans enjoyed in the 1950s, the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, and the civil rights movement.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages 359-376
See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 329-330, 348-352
Pages 213-214, 231-232

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Civil Rights in American History
American Heritage

Lecture 20
Lectures 7-8
Lecture 10

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 359-367, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 213, 214, and 231) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 367-376, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (page 232) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Iran
French Indochina
Cuba
Suez Canal

New Orleans, Louisiana
Montgomery, Alabama
Greensboro, North Carolina
Lincoln Memorial

Persons

Dwight Eisenhower
Nikita Khrushchev

Ho Chi Minh
Fidel Castro

Alger Hiss	Dolores Huerta
Elvis Presley	Dorothy Day
Harper Lee	Richard Nixon
Dr. Seuss	John F. Kennedy
Ray Bradbury	Robert F. Kennedy
Thurgood Marshall	Lee Harvey Oswald
Ruby Bridges	Lyndon B. Johnson
Martin Luther King Jr.	John Lewis
Rosa Parks	Everett Dirksen
Cesar Chavez	

Terms and Topics

interstate highway system	domino theory
eminent domain	Sputnik
suburbanization	Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
redlining	Suez Crisis
television	“military-industrial complex”
Ku Klux Klan	“Camelot”
civil rights movement	Peace Corps
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Kennedy tax cuts
<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>	Freedom Riders
desegregation	National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)
civil disobedience	Project Apollo
Montgomery bus boycott	Bay of Pigs
sit-ins	Berlin Wall
mutual assured destruction (MAD)	Cuban Missile Crisis
proxy war	“Letter from Birmingham Jail”
Third World	March on Washington
	Civil Rights Act of 1964

Primary Sources

- Farewell Address, Dwight Eisenhower
- Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy
- “I Have a Dream,” Martin Luther King Jr.
- “Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom,” Martin Luther King Jr.

To Know by Heart

- “And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.” —John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address
- “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” —Martin Luther King Jr., “I Have a Dream”

Timeline

1954	<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>
1957	Sputnik launched
1959	Cuban Revolution
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis

1963	March on Washington John F. Kennedy assassinated
1964	Civil Rights Act

Images

Historical figures and events
 Interstate highway system
 New suburbs
 First mass use of television and television footage
 Ruby Bridges' first day of school
 Bus boycotts, sit-ins, and Freedom Riders
 Footage from the Kennedy-Nixon debates and Kennedy's inauguration
 Berlin Wall
 Bay of Pigs aftermath
 Footage of the "I Have a Dream" speech by Martin Luther King Jr.

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies of Dwight Eisenhower and Martin Luther King Jr.
- Rosa Parks' account of riding in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama
- Relman Morin's account of school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas
- Minutes of the Executive Committee of the National Security Council and from Nikita Khrushchev during the Cuban Missile Crisis
- Protests by and abuse of civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama
- James Reston's report on the speech by Martin Luther King Jr. at the Lincoln Memorial
- John F. Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What was life like in 1950s America?
- How did the administrative state and many welfare programs come to be accepted during the 1950s?
- How did America attempt to address communism during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations?
- How did America's approach to the Cold War change the size, composition, and actions of the federal government?
- What moral issues arose from America's clandestine operations, especially in what were called Third World countries?
- What were the major events and effects of the early civil rights movement?
- Why did Martin Luther King Jr. espouse a nonviolent approach to his advocacy for civil rights?
- To what principles did Martin Luther King Jr. appeal in his campaign for civil equality?
- What were Dwight Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address, and what was the basis of those warnings?
- How can John F. Kennedy be compared to preceding presidents?
- What did John F. Kennedy's election seem to suggest about the direction of American policy?
- What were the major accomplishments and failures of the Kennedy administration?
- What were the main arguments put forth by Martin Luther King Jr. in his "I Have a Dream" speech?
- What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 do?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:

- Question 107: Dwight Eisenhower is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 111: Why did the United States enter the Vietnam War?
- Question 112: What did the civil rights movement do?
- Question 113: Martin Luther King Jr. is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Despite the tensions with the Soviet Union and the prospect of nuclear war, life in post-war America seemed to be more secure during the 1950s under the Eisenhower administration. As a trusted war hero, Dwight Eisenhower brought a calm to American politics. The American economy soared, burgeoning from a growing population and turning its industrial might from war to peacetime production. The relatively quiet 1950s witnessed the early civil rights movement, reflecting a long-overdue moral reckoning for the frustrating distance between the Founding's principles and the ways in which their implementation was still wanting. The election of John F. Kennedy seemed to usher in a more modern America, but that hope was shattered by his assassination, which began a decade of strife.

Teachers might best plan and teach The American Dream with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Help students to understand that many of the material and technological aspects typical of American life today first appeared in 1950s America, as exemplified by the building of sprawling suburbs, the interstate highway system, mass consumerism and marketing, labor-saving inventions, increasing college enrollment, and television, just to name a few developments. Students should consider how these novelties changed the American experience of life, both bringing a new level of comfort to more Americans while at the same time raising questions about life's ultimate meaning in the minds of many being raised in such prosperity.
- Examine Dwight Eisenhower's general approach to his presidency and the tone he set for the 1950s. Track the extent to which the administrative and welfare state ushered in under the New Deal was retained and normalized.
- Consider with students the ways in which the government bureaucracies and the military changed in response to the threats of nuclear war and communism. As the prospect of nuclear war was avoided by fighting proxy wars, the Truman Doctrine was given more force through new intelligence agencies, many of whose tactics were morally suspect. America was being pulled in a number of directions on the foreign stage, finding itself supporting or undermining regimes all over the world in an effort to restrain communism.
- Teach students about the efforts of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and early 1960s, including *Brown v. Board of Education*, school integration, desegregation, Ruby Bridges, Rosa Parks, the Montgomery bus boycott, the Greensboro sit-in, and Martin Luther King Jr. Note in particular King's various arguments for civil rights, including his appeals to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the American Founding. Students should consider King's character, his contemporary critics within the movement such as Carl Rowan and Roy Wilkins, and his principle of nonviolent civil disobedience, where unjust laws were violated without violence and the lawbreakers would accept the consequences, with the goal of raising awareness to get the laws changed. At the same time, students should learn about the violent responses of government officials and citizens in certain Southern states to civil rights efforts.
- Read with students and watch portions of Eisenhower's Farewell Address, paying special attention to his warnings about consumerism, the bureaucratic state, and most famously the

“military-industrial complex.” Eisenhower’s views on the military, presidency, and foreign policy warrant careful study as excellent examples of political prudence.

- Provide some background on the Kennedy family and its rise to power, including the questions surrounding the 1960 election, particularly in Texas and Illinois.
- Introduce John F. Kennedy by asking students to contrast Kennedy’s appearance and manner of speech with that of previous presidents, including Eisenhower. Help them to recover a sense of the excitement, energy, and hope that Kennedy projected, as captured by the references to America under Kennedy as a kind of “Camelot.” Kennedy began a new wave of Progressive thought and action. Read with students and watch portions of Kennedy’s inaugural address.
- Help students analyze the extent to which John F. Kennedy’s presidency was not a success, even by his own standards. Aside from a tax cut, he saw few domestic successes, and even his foreign policy was fraught with missteps such as the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, disappointing initial talks with the Soviet Union, and deploying more troops to Vietnam while approving the assassination of the South Vietnamese leader Ngô Đình Diệm. Kennedy partially redeemed himself with his leadership during the Cuban Missile Crisis—despite secret concessions that would not emerge for decades afterward—and, in the long run, the establishment of NASA and thus the Apollo moon landing program. Students should imagine each of these crises as they played out, viewing footage where appropriate.
- Read with students the “I Have a Dream” speech by Martin Luther King Jr.
- Discuss the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Students should outline defenses and criticisms of the Act; for example, why Barry Goldwater voted against it even though he had voted in favor of the 1957 and 1960 civil rights acts.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain what actions Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy took against communism during their administrations (2-3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the ways in which the civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. was successful; or, Explain the relationship King drew between his efforts for civil rights and the principles of the American Founding (2-3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 2, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Pages 359-367

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Name one of President Eisenhower's accomplishments.
2. What were the two intended goals of the United States' policy of containment?
3. Who took power in Cuba in 1959?
4. Name one aspect of post-World War II American society that jumpstarted the civil rights movement.
5. What relationship did President Eisenhower famously warn against in his 1961 Farewell Address?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 2, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Pages 367-376

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Name one of President Kennedy's successful policies.
2. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 was a tense standoff between which two nations?
3. In what city was President Kennedy assassinated?
4. Name one major event in the civil rights movement that occurred in the late 1950s or early 1960s (excluding the event mentioned in the next question).
5. Who gave the famous "I Have a Dream" speech in August 1963?

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 7 — Formative Quiz

Post-War America | Lessons 1-2
10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?
2. What was the Truman Doctrine, and what did George Kennan argue about policy toward the Soviet Union?
3. In what ways did President Truman and the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?
4. What were President Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address?

- 20

Lesson 3 — Tumult: Foreign and Domestic

1964–1974

6–7 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the challenges America faced in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including the cultural revolution and the Vietnam War.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages 376-393
See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 352-355, 361-364
Pages 232-234, 239-240

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The Great American Story
American Heritage
Civil Rights in American History
Constitution 101
Constitution 201

Lectures 21-22
Lecture 10
Lecture 8
Lecture 11
Lecture 6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 376-383, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (232–233) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 383-393, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (233-234 and 239-240) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

North Vietnam
South Vietnam
Gulf of Tonkin

China
Saigon

Persons

Barry Goldwater
Ronald Reagan

J. Edgar Hoover
Walter Cronkite

Malcolm X
Louis Farrakhan
James Earl Ray

Neil Armstrong
Henry Kissinger

Terms and Topics

Voting Rights Act	riots
Great Society	white flight
welfare	Vietcong
Medicare/Medicaid	Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
Aid to Families with	draft
Dependent Children	antiwar movement
Students for a Democratic	Pentagon Papers
Society (SDS)	Tet Offensive
The New Left	Silent Majority
feminism	moon landing
Young Americans for Freedom	Apollo 13
(YAF)	Nixon Doctrine
counterculture	Vietnamization
sexual revolution	détente
hippies	Kent State shootings
rock music	fiat currency
drugs	stagflation
Woodstock	Paris Peace Accords
environmentalism	Warren Court
<i>Loving v. Virginia</i>	Burger Court
black separatism	<i>Roe v. Wade</i>
Black Panthers	Watergate scandal

Primary Sources

Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon B. Johnson
Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society
“Message to Grassroots,” Malcolm X
“A Time for Choosing,” Ronald Reagan
“Peace Without Conquest,” Lyndon B. Johnson
“Soviet Military Might: Western Made,” John Ashbrook

To Know by Heart

“For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.” —Lyndon B. Johnson, Remarks at the University of Michigan
“You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We’ll preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we’ll sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.” —Ronald Reagan, “A Time for Choosing”

Timeline

1965	Voting Rights Act
1968	Tet Offensive
	Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated
	Robert F. Kennedy assassinated

	Richard Nixon elected president
1973	Paris Peace Accords
1974	Richard Nixon resigns

Images

Historical figures and events
 Images from riots
 Images and uniforms of American, South Vietnamese, and Vietcong soldiers
 Footage and photographs of scenes from Vietnam
 Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles
 Military equipment and weaponry
 Destruction from the war
 Antiwar protests
 Post-war maps

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- James Stockdale's witnessing of the "Tonkin incident"
- Heroic actions of individual soldiers in Vietnam
- Sheyann Webb's account of the Selma-to-Montgomery march
- Jim Ingram's account of the Detroit riots
- Studs Terkel's account of the student riots at the Democratic National Convention
- Neil Armstrong's account of the moon landing
- How the Pentagon Papers were obtained
- The Watergate break-in

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What did the Voting Rights Act do?
- What were the ideological and practical components of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society?
- What was the war on poverty?
- What is the welfare state?
- What new federal administrations were established under the Great Society?
- How successful was the Great Society?
- Why were many in the baby boomer generation dissatisfied with American life and politics by the 1960s?
- How did the baby boomer generation influence American politics, especially through the idea of the New Left?
- How did the baby boomer generation influence American culture, especially through the sexual revolution?
- Given the context of the Cold War, why was America fighting in Vietnam?
- What were the backgrounds of American soldiers in the Vietnam War? What was life like for them as they fought in the jungles?
- Why was it difficult, both militarily and domestically, for the United States to achieve complete victory in Vietnam?
- How did the Warren and Burger Courts align with the policy goals of the New Left through their decisions?

- What were Richard Nixon’s main political ideas and the main accomplishments of his presidency?
- What happened in the Watergate scandal?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 111: Why did the United States enter the Vietnam War?
 - Question 112: What did the civil rights movement do?
 - Question 113: Martin Luther King Jr. is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

John F. Kennedy’s assassination began a period of tumult in American history that would define the rest of the 1960s and the 1970s. A general dissatisfaction among young college students with the prosperous though somewhat directionless society in which they lived found an outlet in protesting an ill-defined and unpopular conflict in Vietnam that only seemed to worsen with each passing day. Urban riots as well as the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy compounded the sense of chaos, not to mention the ever-present threat of nuclear war. And even when a sense of order seemed to be restored under Richard Nixon, his own domestic scandals and eventual resignation further undermined the confidence of Americans in their country’s leaders.

Teachers might best plan and teach Tumult: Foreign and Domestic with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Offer a background of Lyndon B. Johnson, particularly the challenging circumstances under which he took the oath of office and the responsibilities that came with it. Consider his major domestic policy goals, especially his ideas for extensive legislation, creation of new agencies, and expenditures of federal money to use government to create the Great Society. This was a continuation and expansion of John F. Kennedy’s initial ideas, thus firmly entrenching the newest wave of Progressivism. The principles of limited government were discarded during these years as the role of the federal government in the daily lives of citizens, with associated increases in government power and spending, solidified the administrative state. Johnson’s Great Society sought to broaden the focus of Progressivism while maintaining its views on rights and the purpose and methods of government. Government was meant not merely to preserve rights (as the Founders asserted), or even to achieve economic equality and fulfillment (as in early Progressivism and the New Deal). Taking Progressivism a step further, the Great Society instead sought to use government to achieve a larger sense of *human* fulfillment, with welfare distributed and regulations imposed to alleviate many perceived social and even spiritual ills. It aimed to bring federal government action to areas previously outside its realm, such as public education. It was a message that fit well with a new cultural shift present among America’s giant population of young people born after World War II who were now becoming adults: the baby boomers.
- Explain the origins and characteristics of the baby boomer generation, as manifested during their adolescent and young adult years. Of special focus should be those who attended college, an unprecedented percentage of their generation. Despite unmatched levels of prosperity and opportunity, many in this generation found the consumerist and top-down control of government, college, and other institutions—as well as the resulting cultural, political, and moral expectations—repressive and confining. Anxious about a potential nuclear Armageddon over which they felt no sense of control, and in the wake of the moral and political crusade for civil rights, many baby boomers were itching for something more meaningful.

- Have students identify the two distinct but sometimes overlapping groups into which these young people fell. First, there were those who sought an alternative within politics. These individuals organized themselves as a political force which may be encapsulated in the Port Huron Statement by the Students for a Democratic Society. They constituted what became known as the New Left. While many of the Great Society programs aligned with their demands, they often found Johnson and the establishment Democratic Party to be lacking in energy and revolutionary action. The second group was those who focused mainly on being countercultural, evading and challenging the expected moral and behavioral norms of the World War II generation. These were the hippies and the Woodstock festival-goers. Despite these distinctions, there was certainly overlap between the two groups, and it took only a more concrete and important political-cultural issue to move them to action.
- Ask students to consider the importance of television and especially journalists in guiding the adherents of the above groups through their challenges to positions and people of authority.
- Amidst all of these changes, discuss with students the major philosophical outlook and Supreme Court decisions of the Warren and Burger Courts. Students should track how these judicial cases sometimes established ideas espoused by Progressivism, the New Left, and the cultural revolution without fully exercising the democratic process or adhering to the principles of the American Founding.
- Cover how growing frustrations, especially among a younger generation waiting on the implementation of federal civil rights policies by states, resulted in continued instances of violence committed against African Americans and civil rights advocates. The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. birthed a new approach to civil rights and the betterment of African Americans' position in society—the black power or black nationalist movement. This movement found increased popularity, while King's nonviolent philosophy found itself overtaken by a more combative approach that sometimes cast aside his peaceful ideas.
- Review with students the history of Vietnam, beginning with the French resuming control after World War II, paying particular attention to the gradual increase in the American presence, first under Dwight Eisenhower and then more so under John F. Kennedy. Students should connect American policy in Vietnam with the Truman Doctrine and the policy of containment.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had following the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in the Vietnam War, and how these shifted during the war. Having students record simple notes in a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Build students' familiarity with the style of warfare in the 1960s, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the challenges faced by soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Present students with explanations of each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Have students track strategy changes on a map of Vietnam.
- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war.
- Teach the war in some detail, especially the major battles and military campaigns. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often, and have students track battles and campaigns on maps of Vietnam.
- Have students consider the political issues surrounding Vietnam, from the war itself to purposes and objectives that were both unclear. On the one hand, note the issues in American political and military leadership: failing to outline concrete objectives; allying with corrupt

South Vietnamese officials yet endorsing their assassinations; the use of the draft to fight a war without clearly defined goals; and the deliberate misleading of the American public by both the government and the media. On the other hand, the restlessness of the New Left and the baby boomer generation found purpose in their opposition to the war and the draft, aided by a press that was unreliable in much of its reporting, particularly about the Tet Offensive. Thus was the effort of the Vietnam War undermined both in the field and at home.

- Have students take a close look at the events of 1968, which included the Tet Offensive, anti-war protests that reached fever pitch, riots, and political upheaval. Students should also understand the political messaging of Richard Nixon and his proposed solutions to the strife America was facing. Additionally, a brief numerical analysis of the effectiveness of the Great Society programs is warranted here, accompanied by a comparison of those programs' principles, means, and results to the views and policies espoused by the American Founders and past presidents such as Abraham Lincoln and Calvin Coolidge.
- Cover Richard Nixon's presidency through his resignation. Of note is Nixon's acceptance and expansion of federal programs and the administrative state—further entrenching the Progressive view of government—as well as the signing of several pieces of legislation and orders concerning civil rights, his détente policy that embraced Communist China and opened it to world trade, and his “Vietnamization” of the war, leading to the dubious Paris Peace Accords in 1973.
- Ensure that students take stock of the bleak situation in America following Richard Nixon's resignation. All the ebullience and hope that had emerged with VJ Day and been sustained through the Truman, Eisenhower, and especially Kennedy administrations had crumbled, leaving the nation mired in war and social, cultural, and political upheaval, with a bloated government that seemed to lack accountability or competency, new social programs that floundered, and the presidency severely tarnished by scandal.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the main ideas of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program, the New Left, or the hippie movement (2-3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the history of the Vietnam War (3-4 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 3, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Pages 376-383

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who succeeded John F. Kennedy as president after his assassination in 1963?
2. Name one effect of Goldwater's defeat in the 1964 United States presidential election.
3. What Congressional act led to the United States' formal military participation in Vietnam?
4. Name one problem the book mentions with the Vietnam War policy of the early 1960s.
5. What cultural force emerged from the societal confusion of the early 1960s?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 3, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Pages 383-393

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Name one event that influenced President Johnson’s decision not to run for reelection in 1968.
2. Briefly describe Nixon’s “Vietnamization” strategy.
3. How did Nixon improve American-Soviet relations in 1971?
4. What illegal activity on the part of the Nixon administration was exposed during the Watergate investigation?
5. How did Nixon’s presidency come to an end?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Study Guide — Post-War America Test

Unit 7

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1946-1991	Cold War
1950-1953	Korean War
1954	<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>
1957	Sputnik launched
1959	Cuban Revolution
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
1963	March on Washington; John F. Kennedy assassinated
1964	Civil Rights Act
1965	Voting Rights Act
1968	Tet Offensive; Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated; Robert F. Kennedy assassinated; Richard Nixon elected president
1973	Paris Peace Accords
1974	Richard Nixon resigns

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Turkey	Korea	Greensboro, North
Greece	Iran	Carolina
Suez Canal	French Indochina	Lincoln Memorial
Palestine	Cuba	North Vietnam
Israel	New Orleans, Louisiana	South Vietnam
China	Montgomery, Alabama	Gulf of Tonkin
Taiwan		Saigon

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

Hannah Arendt	Jackie Robinson	Nikita Khrushchev
Harry Truman	George Marshall	Ho Chi Minh
Joseph Stalin	Mao Zedong	Fidel Castro
Winston Churchill	A. Philip Randolph	Harper Lee
George Kennan	Joseph McCarthy	Dr. Seuss
J. D. Salinger	Douglas MacArthur	Ray Bradbury
E. B. White	Dwight Eisenhower	Thurgood Marshall

Martin Luther King Jr.
 Rosa Parks
 Cesar Chavez
 Dorothy Day
 Richard Nixon
 John F. Kennedy

Robert F. Kennedy
 Lee Harvey Oswald
 Lyndon B. Johnson
 Barry Goldwater
 Ronald Reagan
 J. Edgar Hoover

Walter Cronkite
 Malcolm X
 Neil Armstrong
 Henry Kissinger

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

Nuremberg Trials
 GI Bill
 baby boom
 atomic bomb
 United Nations
 communism
 Cold War
 Yalta Conference
 Iron Curtain
 Truman Doctrine
 containment
 National Security Act
 North Atlantic Treaty
 Organization (NATO)
 Warsaw Pact
 Zionism
 Sino-Soviet Treaty
 NSC-68
 House Committee on Un-
 American Activities
 McCarthyism
 Korean War
 Battle of Chosin Reservoir
 Inchon Landing
 interstate highway system
 eminent domain
 Ku Klux Klan
 civil rights movement
Brown v. Board of Education

desegregation
 civil disobedience
 Montgomery bus boycott
 sit-ins
 mutual assured destruction
 (MAD)
 Third World
 domino theory
 Sputnik
 Central Intelligence Agency
 (CIA)
 Suez Crisis
 Peace Corps
 National Aeronautics and
 Space Administration
 (NASA)
 Bay of Pigs
 Berlin Wall
 Cuban Missile Crisis
 “Letter from Birmingham
 Jail”
 March on Washington
 Civil Rights Act of 1964
 Voting Rights Act
 Great Society
 welfare
 Students for a Democratic
 Society (SDS)
 The New Left

feminism
 Young Americans for
 Freedom (YAF)
 sexual revolution
 hippies
 Woodstock
 environmentalism
Loving v. Virginia
 black separatism
 Black Panthers
 riots
 Vietcong
 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
 draft
 antiwar movement
 Tet Offensive
 moon landing
 Apollo 13
 Nixon Doctrine
 Vietnamization
 détente
 stagflation
 Paris Peace Accords
 Warren Court
 Burger Court
Roe v. Wade
 Watergate scandal

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.

“The Sinews of Peace,” Winston Churchill
“The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” George Kennan
“A Fateful Hour,” Harry Truman
The Cold War, Walter Lippmann
Resolution 68, National Security Council
Farewell Address, Dwight Eisenhower
Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy
“I Have a Dream,” Martin Luther King, Jr.
“Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom,” Martin Luther King, Jr.
Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon B. Johnson
Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society
“Message to Grassroots,” Malcolm X
“A Time for Choosing,” Ronald Reagan
“Peace Without Conquest,” Lyndon B. Johnson
“Soviet Military Might: Western Made,” John Ashbrook

TO KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“There is no doubt in my mind that we are in the presence of one of the greatest and most horrible crimes ever committed. It has been done by scientific machinery by nominally civilized men in the name of a great state and one of the leading races of Europe.” —Winston Churchill on the Holocaust

“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe.” —Winston Churchill, “The Sinews of Peace”

“And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.” —John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address

“I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” —Martin Luther King Jr., “I have a Dream”

“For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.” —Lyndon B. Johnson, Remarks at the University of Michigan

“You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We’ll preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we’ll sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.” —Ronald Reagan, “A Time for Choosing”

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biography of Harry Truman
- Reginald Thompson’s account of the American retreat from Chongchon River at the start of the Korean War

- Harry Truman's dismissal of Douglas MacArthur
- Biographies of Dwight Eisenhower and Martin Luther King Jr.
- Rosa Parks' account of riding in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama
- Relman Morin's account of school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas
- Protests by and abuse of civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama
- James Reston's report on the speech by Martin Luther King Jr. at the Lincoln Memorial
- John F. Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas
- James Stockdale's witnessing of the "Tonkin incident"
- Heroic actions of individual soldiers in Vietnam
- Sheyann Webb's account of the Selma-to-Montgomery march
- Jim Ingram's account of the Detroit riots
- Studs Terkel's account of the student riots at the Democratic National Convention
- Neil Armstrong's account of the moon landing
- The Watergate break-in

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The Start of the Cold War

- ☐ How were Europe and America different following World War II?
- ☐ What insights did Hannah Arendt provide about totalitarianism?
- ☐ In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?
- ☐ How and why did Harry Truman desegregate the armed forces?
- ☐ What is meant by the term "Cold War"?
- ☐ What were the risks inherent in having atomic weapons? What were the benefits?
- ☐ How did the main principles and goals of communism contrast with the ideas of the American Founding?
- ☐ What events in the late 1940s and early 1950s proved that communism would be a formidable foe?
- ☐ What did the Truman Doctrine say, and what did George Kennan argue, about policy towards the Soviet Union?
- ☐ What did NSC-68 say about how to counter the spread of communism more broadly?
- ☐ In what ways did Harry Truman and the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?
- ☐ To what extent was McCarthyism well-intentioned but ultimately unjust?
- ☐ Why did America lead the United Nations in the Korean War?
- ☐ What was the outcome of the Korean War and why?

Lesson 2 | The American Dream

- ☐ What was life like in 1950s America?
- ☐ How did the administrative state and many welfare programs come to be accepted during the 1950s?
- ☐ How did America attempt to address communism during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations?
- ☐ How did America's approach to the Cold War change the size, composition, and actions of the federal government?

- ☐ What were the major events and effects of the early civil rights movement?
- ☐ To what principles did Martin Luther King Jr. appeal in his campaign for civil equality?
- ☐ What were Dwight Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address, and what was the basis of those warnings?
- ☐ How can John F. Kennedy be compared to preceding presidents?
- ☐ What were the main arguments of Martin Luther King Jr. in his "I Have a Dream" speech?
- ☐ What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 do?

Lesson 3 | Tumult: Foreign and Domestic

- ☐ What did the Voting Rights Act do?
- ☐ What were the ideological and practical components of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society?
- ☐ What was the war on poverty?
- ☐ What is the welfare state?
- ☐ Why were many in the baby boomer generation dissatisfied with American life and politics by the 1960s?
- ☐ How did the baby boomer generation influence American politics, especially through the idea of the New Left?
- ☐ How did the baby boomer generation influence American culture, especially through the sexual revolution?
- ☐ Given the context of the Cold War, why was America fighting in Vietnam?
- ☐ What were the backgrounds of American soldiers in the Vietnam War? What was life like for them as they fought in the jungles?
- ☐ Why was it difficult, both militarily and domestically, for the United States to achieve complete victory in Vietnam?
- ☐ How did the Warren and Burger courts align with the policy goals of the New Left through their decisions?
- ☐ What were Richard Nixon's main political ideas and the main accomplishments of his presidency?
- ☐ What happened in the Watergate scandal?

Name_____

Date_____

Test — Post-War America

Unit 7

TIMELINE

Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

1946–1991	_____	A. March on Washington; John F. Kennedy assassinated
1950–1953	_____	B. Sputnik launched
1954	_____	C. Richard Nixon resigns
1957	_____	D. Cuban Missile Crisis
1959	_____	E. Civil Rights Act
1962	_____	F. Korean War
1963	_____	G. Paris Peace Accords
1964	_____	H. Cuban Revolution
1965	_____	I. Cold War
1968	_____	J. Voting Rights Act
1973	_____	K. <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>
1974	_____	L. Tet Offensive; Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy assassinated; Richard Nixon elected president

GEOGRAPHY & PLACES

Answer the following questions based on readings, class notes, and the Cold War map below.



(Map from David Burns/Fasttrack Teaching Materials)

1. Name three countries affiliated with the West during the Cold War.
2. Name three countries affiliated with the Soviet Union during the Cold War (other than Russia).

3. Name two countries that remained neutral during the Cold War.
4. Name two pro-Western and two pro-Soviet countries that emerged in the two decades following World War II.
5. What were the respective capitals of North Vietnam and South Vietnam?

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks.

6. _____ was the president who led the United States through its early confrontations with the Soviet Union and communism.
7. The _____, or the rapid expansion of family growth from approximately 1945-1960, dramatically changed the societal and cultural landscape of post-World War II America.
8. _____, in his famous speech on March 5, 1946, heralded the presence of the _____ which divided Europe between the free West and the Soviet-dominated East.
9. The _____ was the primary geopolitical conflict that shaped the world from roughly 1945-1991, despite the lack of direct warfare between its two main parties.
10. The policy of _____, or resistance to the expansion of Soviet influence throughout the world, was first publicly laid out by the American diplomat _____ in 1947.
11. The _____, which lasted from 1950-1953, was the first major open conflict fought between Western and Communist forces.

12. After carrying out a coup in 1959 that overthrew the regime of Fulgencio Batista, _____ became the new leader of Cuba who quickly sided with the Soviet Union.
13. The landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision _____, despite its hostile reception in the South, began the process of _____—a major step forward in the civil rights movement.
14. _____ was a central figure in the American civil rights movement from the early 1950s to his assassination in 1968.
15. The _____, which took place in 1955, was one of the earliest examples of the civil rights movement's adoption of, and success in using, nonviolent resistance.
16. On November 22, 1963, _____ was assassinated by the Communist sympathizer _____ while visiting Dallas, Texas.
17. The _____ of 1956 reinforced the United States' dominance in the Western world with regard to foreign policy against the Soviet Union.
18. Despite _____'s loss in the 1964 United States presidential election, his championing of conservative thought would ultimately result in the election of _____ as president almost 20 years later.
19. Despite the victories won by nonviolent resistance in the civil rights movement, the idea of _____ began to emerge in the 1960s as a response to the apparent lack of progress through normal political and societal means.
20. After his defeat in the 1960 United States presidential election, _____ finally triumphed in 1968 due to the internal conflict of the Democrat Party and general discontent with America's condition at the time.
21. The _____, which took place on January 31, 1968, massively shifted public opinion against the Vietnam War—despite its being a significant American military success against North Vietnam.
22. On July 20, 1969, _____ became the first man to walk on the moon during the Apollo 11 space mission.

23. The _____, which took place from 1972-1974, saw all three branches of American government pitted against each other, and would ultimately go on to become one of the most infamous events in the country's political history.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker/author.

24. "There is no doubt in my mind that we are in the presence of one of the _____ and _____ crimes ever committed. It has been done by _____ by _____ men in the name of a great state and one of the leading races of Europe."—

25. "From _____ in the Baltic to _____ in the Adriatic, an _____ has descended across the Continent."—
_____, "The Sinews of Peace"

26. "And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what _____—ask what _____."—

27. "I have a dream that my _____ little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the _____ but by the _____."—
_____, "I Have a Dream"

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

28. Rosa Parks' account of riding in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama

29. Studs Terkel's account of the student riots at the Democratic National Convention

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

30. How were Europe and America different following World War II?

31. In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?

32. What were the risks inherent in having atomic weapons? What were the benefits?
33. What events in the late 1940s and early 1950s proved that communism would be a formidable foe?
34. What did the Truman Doctrine say, and what did George Kennan argue, about policy towards the Soviet Union?
35. In what ways did President Truman and the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?
36. What was life like in 1950s America?
37. How did America attempt to address communism during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations?
38. What were the major events and effects of the early civil rights movement?
39. What were President Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address, and what rooted those warnings?
40. How can John F. Kennedy be compared to preceding presidents?
41. What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 do?
42. What did the Voting Rights Act of 1965 do?

43. What were the ideological and practical components of President Johnson's Great Society?
44. How did the baby boomer generation influence American politics, especially through the idea of the New Left?
45. Given the context of the Cold War, why was America fighting in Vietnam?
46. Why was it difficult, both militarily and domestically, for the United States to achieve complete victory in Vietnam?
47. What happened in the Watergate scandal?

Writing Assignment — Post-War America

Unit 7

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write an essay of 500–800 words answering the following question:

What aspects of American society (culture, politics, etc.) remained the same, and what aspects changed between the end of World War II (1945) and the end of the Vietnam War (1973)?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Winston S. Churchill

George F. Kennan

Harry S. Truman

Walter Lippmann

National Security Council (NSC)

Dwight D. Eisenhower

John F. Kennedy

Martin Luther King Jr.

Lyndon B. Johnson

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

Malcolm X

Ronald Reagan

John Ashbrook

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

The Sinews of Peace

SPEECH

March 5, 1946

Westminster College | Fulton, MO

BACKGROUND

Following the end of World War II, former British prime minister Winston Churchill was invited to deliver a speech in the United States by President Harry Truman. The resulting speech, delivered at Westminster College, famously defined the landscape of the nascent Cold War and the stakes it involved.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What “strategic concept” does Churchill propose?
2. What is the “supreme task and duty” of the American and English peoples?
3. What method is employed to fulfill this duty?
4. What is necessary for the United Nations to be effective?
5. What ought foreign policy to look like following World War II, according to Churchill?
6. What is the “Iron Curtain”?

Winston S. Churchill. “The Sinews of Peace.” Speech, March 5, 1946. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/sinews-of-peace-iron-curtain/>.

I am glad to come to Westminster College this afternoon, and am complimented that you should give me a degree. The name “Westminster” is somehow familiar to me.

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I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed, it was at Westminster that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric, and one or two other things. In fact we have both been educated at the same, or similar, or, at any rate, kindred establishments.

5

It is also an honour, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities—unsought but not recoiled from—the President has travelled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here to-day and to give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred nation, as well as my own countrymen across the ocean, and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. I shall certainly avail myself of this freedom, and feel the more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams. Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind, and that I speak only for myself. There is nothing here but what you see.

10

15

20

I can therefore allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us on the morrow of our absolute victory in arms, and to try to make sure with what strength I have that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.

25

30

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe inspiring accountability to the future. If you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples

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in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.

When American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write
5 at the head of their directive the words “over-all strategic concept.” There is wisdom in this, as it leads to clarity of thought. What then is the over-all strategic concept which we should inscribe today? It is nothing less than the safety and welfare, the freedom and progress, of all the homes and families of all the men and women in all the lands. And here I speak particularly of the myriad cottage or apartment homes where the
10 wage-earner strives amid the accidents and difficulties of life to guard his wife and children from privation and bring the family up in the fear of the Lord, or upon ethical conceptions which often play their potent part.

To give security to these countless homes, they must be shielded from the two giant
15 marauders, war and tyranny. We all know the frightful disturbances in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the breadwinner and those for whom he works and contrives. The awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories, and of large parts of Asia glares us in the eyes. When the designs of wicked men or the aggressive urge of mighty States dissolve over large areas the frame
20 of civilised society, humble folk are confronted with difficulties with which they cannot cope. For them all is distorted, all is broken, even ground to pulp.

When I stand here this quiet afternoon I shudder to visualise what is actually happening to millions now and what is going to happen in this period when famine stalks the
25 earth. None can compute what has been called ‘the unestimated sum of human pain’. Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people from the horrors and miseries of another war. We are all agreed on that.

Our American military colleagues, after having proclaimed their “over-all strategic
30 concept” and computed available resources, always proceed to the next step—namely, the method. Here again there is widespread agreement. A world organisation has already been erected for the prime purpose of preventing war. UNO, the successor of

the League of Nations, with the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work. We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of peace in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung
5 up, and not merely a cockpit in a Tower of Babel. Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation we must be certain that our temple is built, not upon shifting sands or quagmires, but upon the rock. Anyone can see with his eyes open that our path will be difficult and also long, but if we persevere together as we did in the two world wars—though not, alas, in the interval between
10 them—I cannot doubt that we shall achieve our common purpose in the end.

I have, however, a definite and practical proposal to make for action. Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without sheriffs and constables. The United Nations Organisation must immediately begin to be equipped with an
15 international armed force. In such a matter we can only go step by step, but we must begin now. I propose that each of the Powers and States should be invited to delegate a certain number of air squadrons to the service of the world organisation. These squadrons would be trained and prepared in their own countries, but would move around in rotation from one country to another. They would wear the uniform of their
20 own countries but with different badges. They would not be required to act against their own nation, but in other respects they would be directed by the world organisation. This might be started on a modest scale and would grow as confidence grew. I wished to see this done after the First World War, and I devoutly trust it may be done forthwith.

25
It would nevertheless be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the world organisation, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world. No one in any
30 country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and the raw materials to apply it, are at present largely retained in American hands. I do not believe we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and if

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some Communist or neo-Fascist State monopolised for the time being these dread agencies. The fear of them alone might easily have been used to enforce totalitarian systems upon the free democratic world, with consequences appalling to human imagination. God has willed that this shall not be and we have at least a breathing space
5 to set our house in order before this peril has to be encountered: and even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment, or threat of employment, by others. Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organisation with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these
10 powers would naturally be confided to that world organisation.

Now I come to the second danger of these two marauders which threatens the cottage, the home, and the ordinary people—namely, tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the British Empire are not
15 valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time when difficulties are so numerous to interfere
20 forcibly in the internal affairs of countries which we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law find their most famous expression in the American
25 Declaration of Independence.

All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell; that freedom of
30 speech and thought should reign; that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of

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freedom which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practise – let us practise what we preach.

5 I have now stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people: War and Tyranny. I have not yet spoken of poverty and privation which are in many cases the prevailing anxiety. But if the dangers of war and tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and co-operation can bring in the next few years to the world, certainly in the next few decades newly taught in the sharpening school of war, an
10 expansion of material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience. Now, at this sad and breathless moment, we are plunged in the hunger and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this will pass and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human folly or sub-human crime which should deny to all the nations the inauguration and enjoyment of an age of plenty. I
15 have often used words which I learned fifty years ago from a great Irish-American orator, a friend of mine, Mr Bourke Cockran. 'There is enough for all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plentiful abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace.' So far I feel that we are in full agreement.

20

Now, while still pursuing the method of realising our overall strategic concept, I come to the crux of what I have travelled here to say. Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organisation will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship
25 between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States. This is no time for generalities, and I will venture to be precise. Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society, but the continuance of the intimate relationship between our military advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, the similarity of
30 weapons and manuals of instructions, and to the interchange of officers and cadets at technical colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air Force bases in the possession of

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either country all over the world. This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and Air Force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire Forces and it might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important financial savings. Already we use together a large number of islands; more may well be entrusted
5 to our joint care in the near future.

The United States has already a Permanent Defence Agreement with the Dominion of Canada, which is so devotedly attached to the British Commonwealth and Empire. This Agreement is more effective than many of those which have often been made under
10 formal alliances. This principle should be extended to all British Commonwealths with full reciprocity. Thus, whatever happens, and thus only, shall we be secure ourselves and able to work together for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to any. Eventually there may come—I feel eventually there will come—the principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave to destiny, whose
15 outstretched arm many of us can already clearly see.

There is however an important question we must ask ourselves. Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our overriding loyalties to the World Organisation? I reply that, on the contrary,
20 it is probably the only means by which that organisation will achieve its full stature and strength. There are already the special United States relations with Canada which I have just mentioned, and there are the special relations between the United States and the South American Republics. We British have our twenty years Treaty of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance with Soviet Russia. I agree with Mr Bevin, the Foreign Secretary
25 of Great Britain, that it might well be a fifty years Treaty so far as we are concerned. We aim at nothing but mutual assistance and collaboration. The British have an alliance with Portugal unbroken since 1384, and which produced fruitful results at critical moments in the late war. None of these clash with the general interest of a world agreement, or a world organisation; on the contrary they help it. 'In my father's house
30 are many mansions.' Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbour no design

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incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial and, as I believe, indispensable.

I spoke earlier of the Temple of Peace. Workmen from all countries must build that
5 temple. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old friends, if
their families are inter-mingled, and if they have ‘faith in each other’s purpose, hope in
each other’s future and charity towards each other’s shortcomings’—to quote some
good words I read here the other day—why cannot they work together at the common
task as friends and partners? Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each
10 other’s working powers? Indeed they must do so or else the temple may not be built,
or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved again unteachable and have
to go and try to learn again for a third time in a school of war, incomparably more
rigorous than that from which we have just been released. The dark ages may return,
the Stone Age may return on the glittering wings of science, and what might now
15 shower immeasurable material blessings upon mankind, may even bring about its total
destruction. Beware, I say; time may be short. Do not let us take the course of allowing
events to drift along until it is too late. If there is to be a fraternal association of the
kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security which both our countries
can derive from it, let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that
20 it plays its part in steadying and stabilising the foundations of peace. There is the path
of wisdom. Prevention is better than cure.

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody
knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organisation intends to do
25 in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and
proselytising tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian
people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and
goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the peoples of all the Russias
and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting
30 friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers by
the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful
place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon the seas.

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Above all, we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty however, for I am sure you would wish me to state the facts as I see them to you, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

5

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must
10 call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone—Greece with its immortal glories—is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful
15 inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in
20 Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy.

Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are being made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist
25 party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favours to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles upon a front of nearly 400 miles, in order to allow our Russian allies to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western Democracies had
30 conquered.

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If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the Western Democracies. Whatever conclusions
5 may be drawn from these facts—and facts they are—this is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

The safety of the world requires a new unity in Europe, from which no nation should
10 be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed, or which occurred in former times, have sprung. Twice in our own lifetime we have seen the United States, against their wishes and their traditions, against arguments, the force of which it is impossible not to comprehend, drawn by irresistible forces, into these wars in time to secure the victory of the good
15 cause, but only after frightful slaughter and devastation had occurred. Twice the United States has had to send several millions of its young men across the Atlantic to find the war; but now war can find any nation, wherever it may dwell between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe, within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter. That I
20 feel is an open cause of policy of very great importance.

In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist Party is seriously hampered by having to {support} the Communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the
25 Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a {strong} France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now. However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and
30 work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist centre. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute

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a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilisation. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy; but we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

5

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favourable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further 18 months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

10

I have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a high minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr Lloyd-George, who was the head of the British delegation at Versailles. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now. In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel that same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at the present time.

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On the other hand I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to

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see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

5 From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western
10 Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If however they become divided or falter in their duty and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

15 Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in
20 all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented in my belief without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honoured today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in
25 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organisation and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I respectfully offer to you in this Address to which I have given the title “The
30 Sinews of Peace.”

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Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because you see the 46 millions in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one half, even in war-time, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose
5 that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years of agony, or that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defence of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes which you and we espouse. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealths be added to that of the United States with all that
10 such co-operation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength seeking no one's land or
15 treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men; if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high-roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.

GEORGE F. KENNAN

The Sources of Soviet Conduct

ARTICLE EXCERPTS

Foreign Affairs | July 1947

BACKGROUND

An American diplomat stationed in Moscow, George Kennan wrote his confidential yet influential “Long Telegram” in 1946, which discussed how best to understand the Soviet Union’s aggressive post-World War II actions. A year later, an edited and expanded version of the “Telegram” was published by Kennan (albeit anonymously) in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. In this article, Kennan publicly analyzed the culture of the Soviet Union and proposed methods on how America best ought to respond to it.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Kennan say is the main enemy of socialism?
2. How does he say any “positive” developments from Russia should be understood?
3. Why does Kennan say the Soviet Union is not in a hurry to achieve victory?
4. What is the primary method he suggests the United States use against the Soviet Union?
5. What other diplomatic tactics does Kennan recommend?
6. Why does Kennan believe that the struggle between America and the Soviet Union is ultimately a good thing for America?

George F. Kennan. “Excerpts from ‘Sources of Soviet Conduct.’” Journal article excerpts, *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/excerpts-from/>.

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Of the original [communist] ideology, nothing has been officially junked. Belief is maintained in the basic badness of capitalism, in the inevitability of its destruction, in the obligation of the proletariat [the working class] to assist in that destruction and to take power into its own hands. But stress has come to be laid primarily on those concepts which relate most specifically to the Soviet regime itself: to its position as the sole truly Socialist regime in a dark and misguided world, and to the relationships of power within it.

The first of these concepts is that of the innate antagonism between capitalism and Socialism. We have seen how deeply that concept has become imbedded in foundations of Soviet power. It has profound implications for Russia's conduct as a member of international society. It means that there can never be on Moscow's side a sincere assumption of a community of aims between the Soviet Union and powers which are regarded as capitalist. It must inevitably be assumed in Moscow that the aims of the capitalist world are antagonistic to the Soviet regime, and therefore to the interests of the peoples it controls. If the Soviet government occasionally sets its signature to documents which would indicate the contrary, this is to be regarded as a tactical maneuver permissible in dealing with the enemy (who is without honor) and should be taken in the spirit of caveat emptor [literally, "buyer beware"; in other words, don't trust it]. Basically, the antagonism remains. ... And from it flow many of the phenomena which we find disturbing in the Kremlin's conduct of foreign policy: the secretiveness, the lack of frankness, the duplicity, the wary suspiciousness, and the basic unfriendliness of purpose. These phenomena are there to stay, for the foreseeable future. There can be variations of degree and of emphasis. When there is something the Russians want from us, one or the other of these features of their policy may be thrust temporarily into the background; and when that happens there will always be Americans who will leap forward with gleeful announcements that "the Russians have changed," and some who will even try to take credit for having brought about such "changes." But we should not be misled by tactical maneuvers. These characteristics of Soviet policy, like the postulate from which they flow, are basic to the internal nature of Soviet power, and will be with us, whether in the foreground or the background, until the internal nature of Soviet power is changed.

This means we are going to continue for long time to find the Russians difficult to deal with. It does not mean that they should be considered as embarked upon a do-or-die program to overthrow our society by a given date. The theory of the inevitability of the
5 eventual fall of capitalism has the fortunate connotation that there is no hurry about it. The forces of progress can take their time in preparing the final coup de grace [the death blow; that is, the destruction of capitalism]. Meanwhile, what is vital is that the “Socialist fatherland”—that oasis of power which has already been won for Socialism in the person of the Soviet Union—should be cherished and defended by all good
10 Communists at home and abroad, its fortunes promoted, its enemies badgered and confounded. The promotion of premature, “adventuristic” revolutionary projects abroad which might embarrass Soviet power in any way would be an inexcusable, even a counter-revolutionary act. The cause of Socialism is the support and promotion of Soviet power, as defined in Moscow. ...

15 But we have seen that the Kremlin is under no ideological compulsion to accomplish its purposes in a hurry. Like the Church, it is dealing in ideological concepts which are of long-term validity, and it can afford to be patient. It has no right to risk the existing achievements of the revolution for the sake of vain baubles of the future. The very
20 teachings of [Vladimir] Lenin [the founder of the Soviet Union] himself require great caution and flexibility in the pursuit of Communist purposes. Again, these precepts are fortified by the lessons of Russian history: of centuries of obscure battles between nomadic forces over the stretches of a vast unfortified plain. Here caution, circumspection, flexibility and deception are the valuable qualities; and their value
25 finds a natural appreciation in the Russian ... mind. Thus the Kremlin has no compunction about retreating in the face of superior forces. And being under the compulsion of no timetable, it does not get panicky under the necessity for such retreat. Its political action is a fluid stream which moves constantly, wherever it is permitted to move, toward a given goal. Its main concern is to make sure that it has filled every
30 nook and cranny available to it in the basin of world power. But if it finds unassailable barriers in its path, it accepts these philosophically and accommodates itself to them. The main thing is that there should always be pressure, unceasing constant pressure,

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toward the desired goal. There is no trace of any feeling in Soviet psychology that that goal must be reached at any given time.

These considerations make Soviet diplomacy at once easier and more difficult to deal with than the diplomacy of individual aggressive leaders like Napoleon and Hitler. On the one hand it is more sensitive to contrary force, more ready to yield on individual sectors of the diplomatic front when that force is felt to be too strong, and thus more rational in the logic and rhetoric of power. On the other hand it cannot be easily defeated or discouraged by a single victory on the part of its opponents. And the patient persistence by which it is animated means that it can be effectively countered not by sporadic acts which represent the momentary whims of democratic opinion but only by intelligent long-range policies on the part of Russia's adversaries—policies no less steady in their purpose, and no less variegated and resourceful in their application, than those of the Soviet Union itself.

In these circumstances it is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. It is important to note, however, that such a policy has nothing to do with outward histrionics: with threats or blustering or superfluous gestures of outward "toughness." While the Kremlin is basically flexible in its reaction to political realities, it is by no means unamenable [unresponsive] to considerations of prestige. Like almost any other government, it can be placed by tactless and threatening gestures in a position where it cannot afford to yield even though this might be dictated by its sense of realism. The Russian leaders are keen judges of human psychology, and as such they are highly conscious that loss of temper and of self-control is never a source of strength in political affairs. They are quick to exploit such evidences of weakness. For these reasons it is a *sine qua non* [a necessary requirement] of successful dealing with Russia that the foreign government in question should remain at all times cool and collected and that its demands on Russian policy should be put forward in such a manner as to leave the way open for a compliance not too detrimental to Russian prestige. ...

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It is clear that the United States cannot expect in the foreseeable future to enjoy political intimacy with the Soviet regime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, in the political arena. It must continue to expect that Soviet policies will reflect no abstract love of peace and stability, no real faith in the possibility of a permanent happy coexistence of the Socialist and capitalist worlds, but rather a cautious, persistent pressure toward the disruption and weakening of all rival influence and rival power.

Balanced against this are the facts that Russia, as opposed to the western world in general, is still by far the weaker party, that Soviet policy is highly flexible, and that Soviet society may well contain deficiencies which will eventually weaken its own total potential. This would of itself warrant the United States entering with reasonable confidence upon a policy of firm containment, designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world.

But in actuality the possibilities for American policy are by no means limited to holding the line and hoping for the best. It is entirely possible for the United States to influence by its actions the internal developments, both within Russia and throughout the international Communist movement, by which Russian policy is largely determined. This is not only a question of the modest measure of informational activity which this government can conduct in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, although that, too, is important. It is rather a question of the degree to which the United States can create among the peoples of the world generally the impression of a country which knows what it wants, which is coping successfully with the problem of its internal life and with the responsibilities of a World Power, and which has a spiritual vitality capable of holding its own among the major ideological currents of the time. To the extent that such an impression can be created and maintained, the aims of Russian Communism must appear sterile and quixotic, the hopes and enthusiasm of Moscow's supporters must wane, and added strain must be imposed on the Kremlin's foreign policies. For the palsied decrepitude of the capitalist world is the keystone of Communist philosophy. Even the failure of the United States to experience the early economic

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depression which the ravens of the Red Square have been predicting with such complacent confidence since hostilities ceased would have deep and important repercussions throughout the Communist world.

- 5 By the same token, exhibitions of indecision, disunity and internal disintegration within this country have an exhilarating effect on the whole Communist movement. At each evidence of these tendencies, a thrill of hope and excitement goes through the Communist world; a new jauntiness can be noted in the Moscow tread; new groups of foreign supporters climb on to what they can only view as the band wagon of
10 international politics; and Russian pressure increases all along the line in international affairs.

- It would be an exaggeration to say that American behavior unassisted and alone could exercise a power of life and death over the Communist movement and bring about the
15 early fall of Soviet power in Russia. But the United States has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate, to force upon the Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation and circumspection than it has had to observe in recent years, and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power. For
20 no mystical, Messianic movement—and particularly not that of the Kremlin—can face frustration indefinitely without eventually adjusting itself in one way or another to the logic of that state of affairs.

- Thus the decision will really fall in large measure in this country itself. The issue of
25 Soviet-American relations is in essence a test of the overall worth of the United States as a nation among nations. To avoid destruction the United States need only measure up to its own best traditions and prove itself worthy of preservation as a great nation.

- Surely, there was never a fairer test of national quality than this. In the light of these
30 circumstances, the thoughtful observer of Russian-American relations will find no cause for complaint in the Kremlin's challenge to American society. He will rather experience a certain gratitude to a Providence which, by providing the American

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people with this implacable challenge, has made their entire security as a nation dependent on their pulling themselves together and accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

A Fateful Hour (Truman Doctrine)

SPEECH

March 12, 1947

United States Congress | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Many nations around the world struggled to rebuild from the devastating effects of World War II. Because the vast majority of these countries were economically unstable, the risk of Communist influence and infiltration was extremely high. In this speech to Congress, President Harry Truman requested aid for two such nations, Greece and Turkey, and in the process proposed modifications to America's understanding of post-World War II foreign policy—especially where the possibility of Soviet “intervention” was concerned.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. According to Truman, what was the situation in Greece and Turkey?
2. Why does he believe America ought to aid other nations?
3. What are the two “alternative ways of life” Truman describes?
4. What does he request from Congress?
5. What does Truman say American assistance will provide to the world in general?

Harry S. Truman. “Truman Doctrine.” Speech, March 12, 1947. From the Avalon Project.

https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

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The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

- 5 One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

- 10 The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

- 15 I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

- 20 Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

- 25 When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

- 30 As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

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Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to ensure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

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The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

- 5 We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

- 10 It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece; in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

- 15 No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents eighty-five per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

- 25 The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

- Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

- 30 The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The

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circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

5 Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

10

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties *{it}* can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

15

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

20

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

25

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

30

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek

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to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

- 5 The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

10

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

- 15 One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

- 20 The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

- 25 I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

30

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as

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coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

5 It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

10

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

15

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

20

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

25 We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

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In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1 tenth of 1 per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

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If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world — and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

5

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

WALTER LIPPMANN

The Cold War: A Study in US Foreign Policy

BOOK EXCERPTS

1947

BACKGROUND

The Truman Doctrine provided for the United States the guideposts for a post-World War II foreign policy addressing the rising fear of Soviet domination of Europe. The Doctrine was in fact an outgrowth of the policy of containment—first championed, as has been seen, by George Kennan—that aimed to keep the Soviet Union and its military movements in check across the globe. However, the American journalist Walter Lippmann wrote his book *The Cold War: A Study in US Foreign Policy* both to analyze and to criticize Kennan and the policy of containment.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does Lippmann object to the policy of containment?
2. What does the conflict between America and the Soviet Union do to other nations?
3. What diplomacy issues does Lippmann say the “Yalta military boundary” creates?
4. How ought the United States to approach the Soviet Union?
5. What does Lippmann argue the true goal of any American foreign policy should be?

Walter Lippmann. “Excerpts from *The Cold War*.” Book excerpts, 1947. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/excerpts-from-the-cold-war/>.

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My objection ... to the policy of containment is not that it seeks to confront the Soviet power with American power, but that the policy is misconceived, and must result in a misuse of American power. For as I have sought to show, it commits this country to a struggle which has for its objective nothing more substantial than the hope that in ten or fifteen years the Soviet power will, as the result of long frustration, “break up” or “mellow.” In this prolonged struggle the role of the United States is, according to Mr. X, to react “at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points” to the encroachments of the Soviet power.

10 The policy, therefore, concedes to the Kremlin the strategical initiative as to when, where and under what local circumstances the issue is to be joined. It compels the United States to meet the Soviet pressure at these shifting geographical and political points by using satellite states, puppet governments and agents which have been subsidized and supported, though their effectiveness is meager and their reliability uncertain. By forcing
15 us to expend our energies and our substance upon these dubious and unnatural allies on the perimeter of the Soviet Union, the effect of the policy is to neglect our natural allies in the Atlantic community, and to alienate them.

They are alienated also by the fact that they do not wish to become, like the nations of
20 the perimeter, the clients of the United States in whose affairs we intervene, asking as the price of our support that they take the directives of their own policy from Washington. They are alienated above all by the prospect of war, which could break out by design or accident, by miscalculation or provocation, if at any of these constantly shifting geographical and political points the Russians or Americans became so deeply engaged
25 that no retreat or compromise was possible. In this war their lands would be the battlefield. Their peoples would be divided by civil conflict. Their cities and their fields would be the bases and the bridgeheads in a total war which, because it would merge into a general civil war, would be as indecisive as it was savage. ...

30 I am contending that the American diplomatic effort should be concentrated on the problem created by the armistice – which is on how the continent of Europe can be evacuated by the three non-European armies which are now inside Europe. This is the

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problem which will have to be solved if the independence of the European nations is to be restored. Without that there is no possibility of a tolerable peace. But if these armies withdraw, there will be a very different balance of power in the world than there is today, and one which cannot easily be upset. For the nations of Europe, separately and in groups, perhaps even in unity, will then, and then only, cease to be the stakes and the pawns of the Russian-American conflict. ...

The terms of the problem were defined at Yalta in the winter of 1945. There, with a victory over Germany in sight, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin made a military settlement which fixed the boundaries where the converging armies were to meet, and were to wait while the governments negotiated the terms of peace which would provide for the withdrawal of the armies. The crucial issue in the world today is whether the Yalta military boundary, which was intended to be provisional for the period of the armistice, is to become the political boundary of two hostile coalitions. ...

The Yalta military boundary was the datum line from which the diplomatic settlement of the war had necessarily to begin. It was, I believe, at this juncture that American diplomacy became confused, lost sight of the primary and essential objective, and became entangled in all manner of secondary issues and disputes in the Russian borderlands.

The British and the Americans, of course, could not accept the permanent division of the European continent along the Yalta line. They could not accept a settlement in which Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria would lose all independence and become incorporated as Soviet republics in the U.S.S.R. They had a debt of honor to the countless patriots in those lands. They realized that if the frontiers of the Soviet system were extended as far west as the middle of Germany and Austria, then not only Germany and Austria but all western Europe might fall within the Russian sphere of influence and be dominated by the Soviet Union.

Thus for the best of reasons and with the best of motives they came to the conclusion that they must wage a diplomatic campaign to prevent Russia from expanding her sphere, to prevent her from consolidating it, and to compel her to contract it. But they failed to

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see clearly that until the Red Army evacuated eastern Europe and withdrew to the frontiers of the Soviet Union, none of these objectives could be achieved. ...

5 For if, and only if, we can bring about the withdrawal of the Red Army from the Yalta line to the new frontier of the Soviet Union – and simultaneously, of course, the withdrawal of the British and American armies from continental Europe – can a balance of power be established which can then be maintained. For after the withdrawal, an attempt to return would be an invasion – an open, unmistakable act of military aggression. Against such an aggression, the power of the United States to strike the vital
10 centers of Russia by air and by amphibious assault would stand as the opposing and deterrent force. And until treaties are agreed to which bring about the withdrawal of the Red Army, the power of the United States to strike these vital centers would be built up for the express purpose of giving weight to our policy of ending the military occupation of Europe.

15

All the other pressures of the Soviet Union at the “constantly shifting geographical and political points,” which Mr. X is so concerned about – in the Middle East and in Asia – are, I contend, secondary and subsidiary to the fact that its armed forces are in the heart of Europe. It is to the Red Army in Europe, therefore, and not to ideologies, elections,
20 forms of government, to socialism, to communism, to free enterprise, that a correctly conceived and soundly planned policy should be directed.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**Resolution 68 (NSC-68)****RESOLUTION EXCERPTS**April 14, 1950

BACKGROUND

Following the adoption of containment and the Truman Doctrine as official American anti-communist policy, there still remained the question of how specifically to apply both to the broader global stage. Written by Paul Nitze and the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Office, Resolution 68—also known as NSC-68—presented to the National Security Council a list of proposed objectives to better answer this question of how to combat Soviet expansion.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the primary means by which the Soviet Union threatens the United States?
2. Why is Soviet expansion a problem for national security?
3. Why should the United States be responsible for responding to the Soviet Union?
4. What actions ought the United States take to prepare to defend the world from the Soviet Union?
5. By what means will the United States ultimately hold back the Soviet Union, according to the NSC?

National Security Council. "National Security Council Paper 68 (NSC-68)." Resolution excerpts, April 14, 1950. From the Atomic Heritage Foundation. <https://www.atomicheritage.org/key-documents/national-security-council-paper-68-nsc-68>.

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CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis indicates that the probable fission bomb capability and possible thermonuclear bomb capability of the Soviet Union have greatly intensified the Soviet threat to the security of the United States. This threat is of the same character as that described in NSC 20/4 (approved by the President on November 24, 1948) but is more immediate than had previously been estimated. In particular, the United States now faces the contingency that within the next four or five years the Soviet Union will possess the military capability of delivering a surprise atomic attack of such weight that the United States must have substantially increased general air, ground, and sea strength, atomic capabilities, and air and civilian defenses to deter war and to provide reasonable assurance, in the event of war, that it could survive the initial blow and go on to the eventual attainment of its objectives. In return, this contingency requires the intensification of our efforts in the fields of intelligence and research and development.

Allowing for the immediacy of the danger, the following statement of Soviet threats, contained in NSC 20/4, remains valid:

The gravest threat to the security of the United States within the foreseeable future stems from the hostile designs and formidable power of the USSR, and from the nature of the Soviet system.

The political, economic, and psychological warfare which the USSR is now waging has dangerous potentialities for weakening the relative world position of the United States and disrupting its traditional institutions by means short of war, unless sufficient resistance is encountered in the policies of this and other non-communist countries.

The risk of war with the USSR is sufficient to warrant, in common prudence, timely and adequate preparation by the United States.

Soviet domination of the potential power of Eurasia, whether achieved by armed aggression or by political and subversive means, would be strategically and politically unacceptable to the United States.

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In the light of present and prospective Soviet atomic capabilities, the action which can be taken under present programs and plans, however, becomes dangerously inadequate, in both timing and scope, to accomplish the rapid progress toward the attainment of the United States political, economic, and military objectives which is now imperative.

5

A continuation of present trends would result in a serious decline in the strength of the free world relative to the Soviet Union and its satellites. This unfavorable trend arises from the inadequacy of current programs and plans rather than from any error in our objectives and aims. These trends lead in the direction of isolation, not by deliberate decision but by lack of the necessary basis for a vigorous initiative in the conflict with the Soviet Union.

10

Our position as the center of power in the free world places a heavy responsibility upon the United States for leadership. We must organize and enlist the energies and resources of the free world in a positive program for peace which will frustrate the Kremlin design for world domination by creating a situation in the free world to which the Kremlin will be compelled to adjust. Without such a cooperative effort, led by the United States, we will have to make gradual withdrawals under pressure until we discover one day that we have sacrificed positions of vital interest.

15

20

It is imperative that this trend be reversed by a much more rapid and concerted build-up of the actual strength of both the United States and the other nations of the free world. The analysis shows that this will be costly and will involve significant domestic financial and economic adjustments. ...

25

In summary, we must, by means of a rapid and sustained build-up of the political, economic, and military strength of the free world, and by means of an affirmative program intended to wrest the initiative from the Soviet Union, confront it with convincing evidence of the determination and ability of the free world to frustrate the Kremlin design of a world dominated by its will. Such evidence is the only means short of war which eventually may force the Kremlin to abandon its present course of action and to negotiate acceptable agreements on issues of major importance.

30

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Farewell Address

SPEECH

January 17, 1961
The White House | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Having served as president from 1953 to 1961, Dwight Eisenhower's presidency was marked by conflicts with the Soviet Union and communism generally that defined the early stages of the Cold War, including the Suez Crisis and the beginnings of Vietnam. Just before leaving office, he gave this televised farewell address, which sought to remind Americans of their national identity—as well as potential obstacles to their improvement—as they continued to press on through the Cold War.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does American prestige depend on, according to Eisenhower?
2. What does he say have been the “basic purposes” of American free government?
3. What are the two major threats facing American government that Eisenhower points out?
4. According to him, how has the American military evolved?
5. What does Eisenhower say is the “task of statesmanship”?

Dwight D. Eisenhower. “Farewell Address (1961).” Speech, January 17, 1961. From the National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-dwight-d-eisenhowers-farewell-address>.

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My fellow Americans:

Three days from now, after half a century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional and solemn ceremony, the authority of the
5 Presidency is vested in my successor.

This evening I come to you with a message of leave-taking and farewell, and to share a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen.

10 Like every other citizen, I wish the new President, and all who will labor with him, Godspeed. I pray that the coming years will be blessed with peace and prosperity for all.

Our people expect their President and the Congress to find essential agreement on issues of great moment, the wise resolution of which will better shape the future of the Nation.

15

My own relations with the Congress, which began on a remote and tenuous basis when, long ago, a member of the Senate appointed me to West Point, have since ranged to the intimate during the war and immediate post-war period, and, finally, to the mutually interdependent during these past eight years.

20

In this final relationship, the Congress and the Administration have, on most vital issues, cooperated well, to serve the national good rather than mere partisanship, and so have assured that the business of the Nation should go forward. So, my official relationship with the Congress ends in a feeling, on my part, of gratitude that we have been able to do
25 so much together.

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major
30 wars among great nations. Three of these involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this pre-eminence, we yet realize that

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America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

5 *****

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of
10 a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance, or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing
15 the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without
20 complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle—with liberty at stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment.

Crises there will continue to be. In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or
25 small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defense; development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture; a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research—these and many other possibilities, each possibly promising in itself, may be suggested as the only way to the
30 road we wish to travel.

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But each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national programs—balance between the private and the public economy, balance between cost and hoped for advantage—balance between the clearly necessary and the comfortably desirable; balance between our essential requirements as a nation and the duties imposed by the nation upon the individual; balance between action of the moment and the national welfare of the future. Good judgment seeks balance and progress; lack of it eventually finds imbalance and frustration.

The record of many decades stands as proof that our people and their government have, in the main, understood these truths and have responded to them well, in the face of stress and threat. But threats, new in kind or degree, constantly arise. I mention two only.

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 peace time, 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 State corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is

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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.

5

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.

10

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.

15

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

20

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal government.

25

Today, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers.

30

The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present and is gravely to be regarded.

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Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

- 5 It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system—ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

10

Another factor in maintaining balance involves the element of time. As we peer into society's future, we—you and I, and our government—must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

- 20 Down the long lane of the history yet to be written America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect.

- 25 Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

- 30 Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose difference, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has

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witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war—as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years—I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

- 5 Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road.

10

So—in this my last good night to you as your President—I thank you for the many opportunities you have given me for public service in war and peace. I trust that in that service you find somethings worthy; as for the rest of it, I know you will find ways to improve performance in the future.

15

You and I—my fellow citizens—need to be strong in our faith that all nations, under God, will reach the goal of peace with justice. May we be ever unswerving in devotion to principle, confident but humble with power, diligent in pursuit of the Nation's great goals.

20

To all the peoples of the world, I once more give expression to America's prayerful and continuing inspiration:

- 25 We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings; that those who have freedom will understand, also, its heavy responsibilities; that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity; that the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth, and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come
30 to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Inaugural Address

SPEECH

January 20, 1961

United States Capitol Building | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Only 43 years old when elected president in 1960, much of John Kennedy's life was shaped by World War II and the early stages of the Cold War. His inaugural address sought not only to unify Americans domestically in the Cold War through forward-looking and optimistic rhetoric, but also to articulate his understanding of what the nation's foreign policy should be.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Kennedy say his inauguration truly is?
2. What domestic and foreign promises does he make?
3. What should American goals be in the modern age?
4. How does Kennedy approach the Soviet Union?
5. What questions does he say each American should be asking?

John F. Kennedy. "Inaugural Address (1961)." Speech, January 20, 1961. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/inaugural-address-2/>.

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We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom – symbolizing an end as well as a beginning – signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

5

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe – the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

10

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans – born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage – and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

15

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

20

This much we pledge – and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided there is little we can do – for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

25

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom – and to

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remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

5 To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required – not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

10 To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge – to convert our good words into good deeds – in a new alliance for progress – to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas.
15 And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we
20 renew our pledge of support – to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective – to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak – and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a
25 pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond
30 doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

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But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course – both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind’s final war.

5

So let us begin anew – remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

10 Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms – and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations

15 under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

20

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah – to “undo the heavy burdens ... (and) let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides
25 join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our
30 lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

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In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

5

Now the trumpet summons us again – not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need – not as a call to battle, though embattled we are – but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation” – a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

10

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

15

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility – I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it – and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

20

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country.

25

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go

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forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

I Have a Dream

SPEECH

August 28, 1963

Lincoln Memorial | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw great strides being made in the African American civil rights movement, although many of its ultimate goals were still years away from fruition. One of the major leaders of the movement at this time was Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. During the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in August 1963, King delivered this speech before roughly 250,000 people in front of the Lincoln Memorial, in which he powerfully called for the recognition of the civil and economic rights of all Americans.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What event does King say began civil rights for African Americans?
2. What is his “dream”?
3. What historical references does King make?
4. How should people be judged, according to him?
5. What does King say is the ultimate goal of the civil rights movement?

Martin Luther King Jr. “I Have a Dream.” Speech, August 28, 1963. From National Public Radio (NPR).
<https://www.npr.org/2010/01/18/122701268/i-have-a-dream-speech-in-its-entirety>.

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Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

5

But 100 years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check.

10

When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men — yes, Black men as well as white men — would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

15

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked insufficient funds.

20

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt.

We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

25

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism.

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Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quick sands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

5 It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

10 There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we
15 must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The
20 marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny.

And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.
25 We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, when will you be satisfied? We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors

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of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities.

We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood
5 and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: for whites only.

We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.

No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

10 I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back
15 to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

20 So even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the
25 sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

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I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

5 I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

10 I have a dream that one day down in Alabama with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, one day right down in Alabama little Black boys and Black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

15 This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

20

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning: My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

25 And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania. Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado. Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that, let freedom ring from

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Stone Mountain of Georgia. Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee. Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

5 And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, Black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: Free at last. Free at last. Thank God almighty, we are free at last.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom

ARTICLE EXCERPTS

Ebony | October 1966

BACKGROUND

Frustrated by continued racism and the perception that normal political and legal methods were not being truly effective, many black Americans in the latter half of the 1960s grew discontented with Martin Luther King Jr.'s nonviolent methods. As a result, there was a rise in the embrace of a more violent black nationalism/separatism which promised more effective results for African Americans. In response, the magazine *Ebony* published this essay by King, in which he defended his movement's successes and warned of the consequences of revolutionary violence.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does King promote nonviolent action?
2. What does self-defense reveal about the rights granted to African Americans?
3. What does King say about the nature of civil rights demonstrations?
4. What type of rights does he say the movement has shifted toward?
5. Why are the march and boycott important tools for civil rights?
6. How will an ideal world with regard to civil rights be created, according to King?

Martin Luther King Jr. "Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom." Magazine article excerpts, *Ebony*, October 1966. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/nonviolence-the-only-road-to-freedom/>.

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The year 1966 brought with it the first public challenge to the philosophy and strategy of nonviolence from within the ranks of the civil rights movement. Resolutions of self-defense and Black Power sounded forth from our friends and brothers. ...

5 Indeed, there was much talk of violence. It was the same talk we have heard on the fringes of the nonviolent movement for the past ten years. It was the talk of fearful men, saying that they would not join the nonviolent movement because they would not remain nonviolent if attacked. Now the climate had shifted so that it was even more popular to talk of violence{.} ...

10

... [T]he Negro, even in his bitterest moments, is not intent on killing white men to be free. This does not mean that the Negro is a saint who abhors violence. Unfortunately, a check of the hospitals in any Negro community on any Saturday night will make you painfully aware of the violence within the Negro community. Hundreds of victims of shooting and cutting lie bleeding in the emergency rooms, but there is seldom if ever a white person who is the victim of Negro hostility. ...

15

I am convinced that for practical as well as moral reasons, nonviolence offers the only road to freedom for my people. ...

20

The hard cold facts of racial life in the world today indicate that the hope of the people of color in the world may well rest on the American Negro and his ability to reform the structures of racist imperialism from within and thereby turn the technology and wealth of the West to the task of liberating the world from want.

25

This is no time for romantic illusions about freedom and empty philosophical debate. ... What is needed is ... a tactical program which will bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life as quickly as possible. So far, this has only been offered by the nonviolent movement.

30

Our record of achievement through nonviolent action is already remarkable. ...

The Question of Self-Defense

There are many people who very honestly raise the question of self-defense. ... It goes without saying that people will protect their homes. This is a right guaranteed by the Constitution and respected even in the worst areas of the South. But the mere protection of one's home and person against assault by lawless night riders does not provide any positive approach to the fears and conditions which produce violence. There must be some program for establishing law. ...

In a nonviolent demonstration, self-defense must be approached from quite another perspective. One must remember that the cause of the demonstration is some exploitation or form of oppression that has made it necessary for men of courage and good will to demonstrate against the evil. For example, a demonstration against the evil of *de facto* school segregation is based on the awareness that a child's mind is crippled daily by inadequate educational opportunity. The demonstrator agrees that it is better for him to suffer publicly for a short time to end the crippling evil of school segregation than to have generation after generation of children suffer in ignorance. ...

It is always amusing to me when a Negro man says that he can't demonstrate with us because if someone hit him he would fight back. Here is a man whose children are being plagued by rats and roaches, whose wife is robbed daily at overpriced ghetto food stores, who himself is working for about two-thirds the pay of a white person doing a similar job and with similar skills, and in spite of all this daily suffering it takes someone spitting on him or calling him a nigger to make him want to fight. ...

Strategy for Change

The American racial revolution has been a revolution to "get in" rather than to overthrow. We want a share in the American economy, the housing market, the educational system and the social opportunities. The goal itself indicates that a social change in America must be nonviolent. ...

The nonviolent strategy has been to dramatize the evils of our society in such a way that pressure is brought to bear against those evils by the forces of good will in the community and change is produced. ...

5

So far, we have had the Constitution backing most of the demands for change, and this has made our work easier, since we could be sure that the federal courts would usually back up our demonstrations legally. Now we are approaching areas where the voice of the Constitution is not clear. We have left the realm of constitutional rights and we are entering the area of human rights.

10

The Constitution assured the right to vote, but there is no such assurance of the right to adequate housing, or the right to an adequate income. And yet, in a nation which has a gross national product of 750 billion dollars a year, it is morally right to insist that every person has a decent house, an adequate education and enough money to provide basic necessities for one's family. ...

15

Techniques of the Future

When Negroes marched, so did the nation. ... When marches are carefully organized around well-defined issues, they represent the power which Victor Hugo phrased as the most powerful force in the world, "an idea whose time has come." ... When the idea is a sound one, the cause a just one, and the demonstration a righteous one, change will be forthcoming. But if any of these conditions are not present, the power for change is missing[.] ... [A] group of ten thousand marching in anger against a police station and cussing out the chief of police will do very little to bring respect, dignity and unbiased law enforcement. Such a demonstration would only produce fear and bring about an addition of forces. ...

20

25

... [W]hen marching is seen as a part of a program to dramatize an evil, to mobilize the forces of good will, and to generate pressure and power for change, marches will continue to be effective. ...

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Along with the march as a weapon for change in our nonviolent arsenal must be listed the boycott. Basic to the philosophy of nonviolence is the refusal to cooperate with evil. There is nothing quite so effective as a refusal to cooperate economically with the forces and institutions which perpetuate evil in our communities. ...

5

There is no easy way to create a world where men and women can live together, where each has his own job and house and where all children receive as much education as their minds can absorb. But if such a world is created in our lifetime, it will be done in the United States by Negroes and white people of good will. It will be accomplished by persons who have the courage to put an end to suffering by willingly suffering themselves rather than inflict suffering upon others. It will be done by rejecting the racism, materialism and violence that has characterized Western civilization and especially by working toward a world of brotherhood, cooperation and peace.

10

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Remarks at the University of Michigan

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

May 22, 1964

The University of Michigan | Ann Arbor, MI

BACKGROUND

Exactly six months after President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, President Lyndon Johnson spoke to the graduating class of 1964 at the University of Michigan. In this commencement address, Johnson called for the formation of the quasi-utopian “Great Society” as a means of improving most—if not all—aspects of America’s domestic situation, based on what the nation had achieved in its general progress during the preceding decades.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the “purpose of protecting the life of our Nation,” as described by Johnson?
2. What difficulties does he envision for the next century in America?
3. What is the Great Society?
4. Where does Johnson hope to build the Great Society?
5. By what means does he say the Great Society will be implemented?
6. What does Johnson ask the students to do?

Lyndon B. Johnson. “Remarks at the University of Michigan.” Commencement address, May 22, 1964. From the American Presidency Project. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-university-michigan>.

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President Hatcher, Governor Romney, Senators McNamara and Hart, Congressmen Meader and Staebler, and other members of the fine Michigan delegation, members of the graduating class, my fellow Americans:

5 It is a great pleasure to be here today. This university has been coeducational since 1870, but I do not believe it was on the basis of your accomplishments that a Detroit high school girl said, "In choosing a college, you first have to decide whether you want a coeducational school or an educational school."

10 Well, we can find both here at Michigan, although perhaps at different hours.

I came out here today very anxious to meet the Michigan student whose father told a friend of mine that his son's education had been a real value. It stopped his mother from bragging about him.

15

I have come today from the turmoil of your Capital to the tranquility of your campus to speak about the future of your country.

20 The purpose of protecting the life of our Nation and preserving the liberty of our citizens is to pursue the happiness of our people. Our success in that pursuit is the test of our success as a Nation.

25 For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people.

The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization.

30

Your imagination, your initiative, and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and

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new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

- 5 The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning.

10 The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.

- 15 It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race. It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.

20 But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

25 So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society—in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms.

Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans four-fifths of them in urban areas. In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes, highways, and facilities equal to all those built since this country was first settled. So in
30 the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire urban United States.

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Aristotle said: "Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life." It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities today.

- 5 The catalog of ills is long: there is the decay of the centers and the despoiling of the suburbs. There is not enough housing for our people or transportation for our traffic. Open land is vanishing and old landmarks are violated.

- 10 Worst of all expansion is eroding the precious and time honored values of community with neighbors and communion with nature. The loss of these values breeds loneliness and boredom and indifference.

- 15 Our society will never be great until our cities are great. Today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities and not beyond their borders.

New experiments are already going on. It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live but to live the good life.

- 20 I understand that if I stayed here tonight I would see that Michigan students are really doing their best to live the good life.

- 25 This is the place where the Peace Corps was started. It is inspiring to see how all of you, while you are in this country, are trying so hard to live at the level of the people.

- 30 A second place where we begin to build the Great Society is in our countryside. We have always prided ourselves on being not only America the strong and America the free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded, our seashores overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing.

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A few years ago we were greatly concerned about the “Ugly American.” Today we must act to prevent an ugly America.

5 For once the battle is lost, once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured. And once man can no longer walk with beauty or wonder at nature his spirit will wither and his sustenance be wasted.

10 A third place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children’s lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal.

15 Today, 8 million adult Americans, more than the entire population of Michigan, have not finished 5 years of school. Nearly 20 million have not finished 8 years of school. Nearly 54 million—more than one-quarter of all America—have not even finished high school.

20 Each year more than 100,000 high school graduates, with proved ability, do not enter college because they cannot afford it. And if we cannot educate today’s youth, what will we do in 1970 when elementary school enrollment will be 5 million greater than 1960? And high school enrollment will rise by 5 million. College enrollment will increase by more than 3 million.

25 In many places, classrooms are overcrowded and curricula are outdated. Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid, and many of our paid teachers are unqualified. So we must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty.

30 But more classrooms and more teachers are not enough. We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size. This means better training for our teachers. It means preparing youth to enjoy their hours of leisure as well as their hours

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of labor. It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation.

5 These are three of the central issues of the Great Society. While our Government has many programs directed at those issues, I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems.

10 But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America. I intend to establish working groups to prepare a series of White House conferences and meetings—on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges. And from these meetings and from this inspiration and from these studies we will begin to set our course toward the Great Society.

15 The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities.

20 Woodrow Wilson once wrote: “Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time.”

25 Within your lifetime powerful forces, already loosed, will take us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience, almost beyond the bounds of our imagination.

For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age. You have the chance never before afforded to any people in any age. You can help build a society where the demands of morality, and the needs of the spirit, can be realized in the life of the Nation.

30 So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the color of his skin?

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Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?

- 5 Will you join in the battle to make it possible for all nations to live in enduring peace—as neighbors and not as mortal enemies?

Will you join in the battle to build the Great Society, to prove that our material progress is only the foundation on which we will build a richer life of mind and spirit?

10

There are those timid souls who say this battle cannot be won; that we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. But we need your will, your labor, your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society.

- 15 Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world. So I have come here today to your campus to say that you can make their vision our reality. So let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.

20

Thank you. Goodbye.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Port Huron Statement

POLITICAL MANIFESTO

December 31, 1962

Port Huron, MI

BACKGROUND

The 1960s saw the “baby boomer” generation become increasingly discontented with almost every aspect of American society, including politics. Numerous radical (and sometimes violent) movements rose up as a result of desire for change. One famous example was the student-led movement Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), originating from the University of Michigan. Their political manifesto, entitled “The Port Huron Statement,” called for the creation of a “New Left” to establish social reform—thus predicting the more widespread college radicalism that would emerge in the latter half of the 1960s.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the history of the United States, according to the SDS?
2. What do they say are “oppress[ions]” some Americans experience in the U.S.?
3. What does the SDS say about the nature of modern American “values” and their connection to human nature generally?
4. What alternative political and economic solutions do they offer?
5. How do college students interact with American society, according to the SDS? How does society influence students’ actions and behavior?
6. What comprises the “New Left” for them?

Students for a Democratic Society. “The Port Huron Statement.” Political manifesto, December 31, 1962. From the University of Virginia at Charlottesville via the Sixties Project.
www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html.

Introduction: Agenda for a Generation

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

5

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people—
10 these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the
15 Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract “others” we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two,
20 for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and became our own subjective concerns, we began to see complicated and disturbing
25 paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration “all men are created equal ...” rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.

30 We witnessed, and continue to witness, other paradoxes. With nuclear energy whole cities can easily be powered, yet the dominant nation-states seem more likely to unleash destruction greater than that incurred in all wars of human history. Although our own

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technology is destroying old and creating new forms of social organization, men still tolerate meaningless work and idleness. While two-thirds of mankind suffers under nourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and uncontrolled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people."

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era. The worldwide outbreak of revolution against colonialism and imperialism, the entrenchment of totalitarian states, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, supertechnology—these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.

Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. But we are a minority—the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts. In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox; we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present. Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will "muddle through," beneath the stagnation of those who have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of Utopias, but of any new departures as well. Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control. They fear change itself, since change might smash whatever invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now. For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening. The fact that each individual sees apathy

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in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change. The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics, and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repel the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies. Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.

Some would have us believe that Americans feel contentment amidst prosperity—but might it not better be called a glaze above deeply felt anxieties about their role in the new world? And if these anxieties produce a developed indifference to human affairs, do they not as well produce a yearning to believe that there is an alternative to the present, that something can be done to change circumstances in the school, the workplaces, the bureaucracies, the government? It is to this latter yearning, at once the spark and engine of change, that we direct our present appeal. The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today. On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis: as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining determining influence over his circumstances of life.

Values

Making values explicit—an initial task in establishing alternatives—is an activity that has been devalued and corrupted. The conventional moral terms of the age, the politician moralities—“free world,” “people’s democracies” —reflect realities poorly, if at all, and seem to function more as ruling myths than as descriptive principles. But neither has our experience in the universities brought us moral enlightenment. Our professors and administrators sacrifice controversy to public relations; their curriculums change more slowly than the living events of the world; their skills and silence are purchased by investors in the arms race; passion is called unscholastic. The questions we might want raised—what is really important? can we live in a different and better way? if we wanted

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to change society, how would we do it? —are not thought to be questions of a “fruitful, empirical nature,” and thus are brushed aside.

5 Unlike youth in other countries we are used to moral leadership being exercised and moral dimensions being clarified by our elders. But today, for us, not even the liberal and socialist preachments of the past seem adequate to the forms of the present. Consider the old slogans: Capitalism Cannot Reform Itself, United Front Against Fascism, General Strike, All Out on May Day. Or, more recently, No Cooperation with Commies and Fellow Travelers, Ideologies Are Exhausted, Bipartisanship, No Utopias. These are
10 incomplete, and there are few new prophets. It has been said that our liberal and socialist predecessors were plagued by vision without program, while our own generation is plagued by program without vision. All around us there is astute grasp of method, technique—the committee, the ad hoc group, the lobbyist, the hard and soft sell, the make, the projected image—but, if pressed critically, such expertise is incompetent to
15 explain its implicit ideals. It is highly fashionable to identify oneself by old categories, or by naming a respected political figure, or by explaining “how we would vote” on various issues.

Theoretic chaos has replaced the idealistic thinking of old—and, unable to reconstitute
20 theoretic order, men have condemned idealism itself. Doubt has replaced hopefulness—and men act out a defeatism that is labeled realistic. The decline of utopia and hope is in fact one of the defining features of social life today. The reasons are various: the dreams of the older left were perverted by Stalinism and never re-created; the congressional stalemate makes men narrow their view of the possible; the specialization of human
25 activity leaves little room for sweeping thought; the horrors of the twentieth century symbolized in the gas ovens and concentration camps and atom bombs, have blasted hopefulness. To be idealistic is to be considered apocalyptic, deluded. To have no serious aspirations, on the contrary, is to be “tough-minded.”

30 In suggesting social goals and values, therefore, we are aware of entering a sphere of some disrepute. Perhaps matured by the past, we have no formulas, no closed theories—but that does not mean values are beyond discussion and tentative determination. A first task

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of any social movement is to convince people that the search for orienting theories and the creation of human values is complex but worthwhile. We are aware that to avoid platitudes we must analyze the concrete conditions of social order. But to direct such an analysis we must use the guideposts of basic principles. Our own social values involve
5 conceptions of human beings, human relationships, and social systems.

We regard men as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacities for reason, freedom, and love. In affirming these principles we are aware of countering perhaps the dominant conceptions of man in the twentieth century: that he is a thing to be
10 manipulated, and that he is inherently incapable of directing his own affairs. We oppose the depersonalization that reduces human beings to the status of things—if anything, the brutalities of the twentieth century teach that means and ends are intimately related, that vague appeals to “posterity” cannot justify the mutilations of the present. We oppose,
15 too, the doctrine of human incompetence because it rests essentially on the modern fact that men have been “competently” manipulated into incompetence—we see little reason why men cannot meet with increasing the skill, the complexities and responsibilities of their situation, if society is organized not for minority, but for majority, participation in decision-making.

Men have unrealized potential for self-cultivation, self-direction, self-understanding, and creativity. It is this potential that we regard as crucial and to which we appeal, not to the human potentiality for violence, unreason, and submission to authority. The goal of man and society should be human independence: a concern not with image of popularity but with finding a meaning in life that is personally authentic; a quality of mind not
25 compulsively driven by a sense of powerlessness, nor one which unthinkingly adopts status values, nor one which represses all threats to its habits, but one which has full, spontaneous access to present and past experiences, one which easily unites the fragmented parts of personal history, one which openly faces problems which are troubling and unresolved; one with an intuitive awareness of possibilities, an active sense
30 of curiosity, an ability and willingness to learn.

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This kind of independence does not mean egotistic individualism—the object is not to have one’s way so much as it is to have a way that is one’s own. Nor do we deify man—we merely have faith in his potential.

- 5 Human relationships should involve fraternity and honesty. Human interdependence is contemporary fact; human brotherhood must be willed, however, as a condition of future survival and as the most appropriate form of social relations. Personal links between man and man are needed, especially to go beyond the partial and fragmentary bonds of function that bind men only as worker to worker, employer to employee, teacher to student, American to Russian.

Loneliness, estrangement, isolation describe the vast distance between man and man today. These dominant tendencies cannot be overcome by better personnel management, nor by improved gadgets, but only when a love of man overcomes the idolatrous worship of things by man. As the individualism we affirm is not egoism, the selflessness we affirm is not self-elimination. On the contrary, we believe in generosity of a kind that imprints one’s unique individual qualities in the relation to other men, and to all human activity. Further, to dislike isolation is not to favor the abolition of privacy; the latter differs from isolation in that it occurs or is abolished according to individual will.

20 We would replace power rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstance by power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason, and creativity. As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation.

30 In a participatory democracy, the political life would be based in several root principles: that decision-making of basic social consequence be carried on by public groupings; that politics be seen positively, as the art of collectively creating an acceptable pattern of social relations;

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that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community, thus being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life;

- 5 that the political order should serve to clarify problems in a way instrumental to their solution; it should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be organized so as to illuminate choices and facilitate the attainment of goals; channels should be commonly available to relate men to knowledge and to power so that private problems—from bad recreation facilities to
10 personal alienation—are formulated as general issues.

The economic sphere would have as its basis the principles:

- 15 that work should involve incentives worthier than money or survival. It should be educative, not stultifying; creative, not mechanical; self-directed, not manipulated, encouraging independence, a respect for others, a sense of dignity, and a willingness to accept social responsibility, since it is this experience that has crucial influence on habits, perceptions and individual ethics;

- 20 that the economic experience is so personally decisive that the individual must share in its full determination;

- that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to democratic participation and subject to democratic
25 social regulation.

- Like the political and economic ones, major social institutions—cultural, educational, rehabilitative, and others—should be generally organized with the well-being and dignity of man as the essential measure of success.

30

In social change or interchange, we find violence to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people,

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into a depersonalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and the institutions—local, national, international—that encourage non-violence as a condition of conflict be developed.

- 5 These are our central values, in skeletal form. It remains vital to understand their denial or attainment in the context of the modern world.

The Students

- 10 In the last few years, thousands of American students demonstrated that they at least felt the urgency of the times. They moved actively and directly against racial injustices, the threat of war, violations of individual rights of conscience, and, less frequently, against economic manipulation. They succeeded in restoring a small measure of controversy to the campuses after the stillness of the McCarthy period. They succeeded, too, in gaining some concessions from the people and institutions they opposed, especially in the fight
15 against racial bigotry.

- The significance of these scattered movements lies not in their success or failure in gaining objectives—at least, not yet. Nor does the significance lie in the intellectual “competence” or “maturity” of the students involved—as some pedantic elders allege. The significance is in the fact that students are breaking the crust of apathy and
20 overcoming the inner alienation that remain the defining characteristics of American college life.

- If student movements for change are still rarities on the campus scene, what is commonplace there? The real campus, the familiar campus, is a place of private people,
25 engaged in their notorious “inner emigration.” It is a place of commitment to business-as-usual, getting ahead, playing it cool. It is a place of mass affirmation of the Twist, but mass reluctance toward the controversial public stance. Rules are accepted as “inevitable,” bureaucracy as “just circumstances,” irrelevance as “scholarship,” selflessness as “martyrdom,” politics as “just another way to make people, and an
30 unprofitable one, too.”

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Almost no students value activity as citizens. Passive in public, they are hardly more idealistic in arranging their private lives: Gallup concludes they will settle for “low success, and won’t risk high failure.” There is not much willingness to take risks (not even in business), no setting of dangerous goals, no real conception of personal identity except one manufactured in the image of others, no real urge for personal fulfillment except to be almost as successful as the very successful people. Attention is being paid to social status (the quality of shirt collars, meeting people, getting wives or husbands, making solid contacts for later on); much, too, is paid to academic status (grades, honors, the med school rat race). But neglected generally is real intellectual status, the personal cultivation of the mind.

“Students don’t even give a damn about the apathy,” one has said. Apathy toward apathy begets a privately constructed universe, a place of systematic study schedules, two nights each week for beer, a girl or two, and early marriage; a framework infused with personality, warmth, and under control, no matter how unsatisfying otherwise.

Under these conditions university life loses all relevance to some. Four hundred thousand of our classmates leave college every year.

The accompanying “let’s pretend” theory of student extracurricular affairs validates student government as a training center for those who want to live their lives in political pretense, and discourages initiative from the more articulate, honest, and sensitive students. The bounds and style of controversy are delimited before controversy begins. The university “prepares” the student for “citizenship” through perpetual rehearsals and, usually, through emasculation of what creative spirit there is in the individual.

The academic life contains reinforcing counterparts to the way in which extracurricular life is organized. The academic world is founded on a teacher-student relation analogous to the parent-child relation which characterizes in loco parentis. Further, academia includes a radical separation of the student from the material of study. That which is studied, the social reality, is “objectified” to sterility, dividing the student from life—just as he is restrained in active involvement by the deans controlling student government.

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The specialization of function and knowledge, admittedly necessary to our complex technological and social structure, has produced an exaggerated compartmentalization of study and understanding. This has contributed to an overly parochial view, by faculty, of the role of its research and scholarship; to a discontinuous and truncated
5 understanding, by students, of the surrounding social order; and to a loss of personal attachment, by nearly all, to the worth of study as a humanistic enterprise.

There is, finally, the cumbersome academic bureaucracy extending throughout the academic as well as the extracurricular structures, contributing to the sense of outer
10 complexity and inner powerlessness that transforms the honest searching of many students to a ratification of convention and, worse, to a numbness to present and future catastrophes. The size and financing systems of the university enhance the permanent trusteeship of the administrative bureaucracy, their power leading to a shift within the university toward the value standards of business and the administrative mentality. Huge
15 foundations and other private financial interests shape the under financed colleges and universities, making them not only more commercial, but less disposed to diagnose society critically, less open to dissent. Many social and physical scientists, neglecting the liberating heritage of higher learning, develop “human relations” or “morale-producing” techniques for the corporate economy, while others exercise their intellectual skills to
20 accelerate the arms race.

Tragically, the university could serve as a significant source of social criticism and an initiator of new modes and molders of attitudes. But the actual intellectual effect of the college experience is hardly distinguishable from that of any other communications
25 channel—say, a television set—passing on the stock truths of the day. Students leave college somewhat more “tolerant” than when they arrived, but basically unchallenged in their values and political orientations. With administrators ordering the institution, and faculty the curriculum, the student learns by his isolation to accept elite rule within the university, which prepares him to accept later forms of minority control. The real
30 function of the educational system—as opposed to its more rhetorical function of “searching for truth” —is to impart the key information and styles that will help the student get by, modestly but comfortably, in the big society beyond.

The Society Beyond

Look beyond the campus, to America itself. That student life is more intellectual, and perhaps more comfortable, does not obscure the fact that the fundamental qualities of life on the campus reflect the habits of society at large. The fraternity president is seen at the junior manager levels; the sorority queen has gone to Grosse Pointe; the serious poet burns for a place, any place, to work; the once-serious and never-serious poets work at the advertising agencies. The desperation of people threatened by forces about which they know little and of which they can say less; the cheerful emptiness of people “giving up” all hope of changing things; the faceless ones polled by Gallup who listed “international affairs” fourteenth on their list of “problems” but who also expected thermonuclear war in the next few years; in these and other forms, Americans are in withdrawal from public life, from any collective effort at directing their own affairs.

Some regard these national doldrums as a sign of healthy approval of the established order—but is it approval by consent or manipulated acquiescence? Others declare that the people are withdrawn because compelling issues are fast disappearing—perhaps there are fewer bread lines in America, but is Jim Crow gone, is there enough work and work more fulfilling, is world war a diminishing threat, and what of the revolutionary new peoples? Still others think the national quietude is a necessary consequence of the need for elites to resolve complex and specialized problems of modern industrial society—but then, why should business elites help decide foreign policy, and who controls the elites anyway, and are they solving mankind’s problems? Others, finally, shrug knowingly and announce that full democracy never worked anywhere in the past—but why lump qualitatively different civilizations together, and how can a social order work well if its best thinkers are skeptics, and is man really doomed forever to the domination of today?

There are now convincing apologies for the contemporary malaise. While the world tumbles toward the final war, while men in other nations are trying desperately to alter events, while the very future qua future is uncertain—America is without community impulse, without the inner momentum necessary for an age when societies cannot

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successfully perpetuate themselves by their military weapons, when democracy must be viable because of its quality of life, not its quantity of rockets.

The apathy here is, first, subjective—the felt powerlessness of ordinary people, the resignation before the enormity of events. But subjective apathy is encouraged by the objective American situation—the actual structural separation of people from power, from relevant knowledge, from pinnacles of decision-making. Just as the university influences the student way of life, so do major social institutions create the circumstances in which the isolated citizen will try hopelessly to understand his world and himself.

The very isolation of the individual—from power and community and ability to aspire—means the rise of a democracy without publics. With the great mass of people structurally remote and psychologically hesitant with respect to democratic institutions, those institutions themselves attenuate and become, in the fashion of the vicious circle, progressively less accessible to those few who aspire to serious participation in social affairs. The vital democratic connection between community and leadership, between the mass and the several elites, has been so wrenched and perverted that disastrous policies go unchallenged time and again. ...

The University and Social Change

There is perhaps little reason to be optimistic about the above analysis. True, the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition is the weakest point in the dominating complex of corporate, military, and political power. But the civil rights, peace, and student movements are too poor and socially slighted, and the labor movement too quiescent, to be counted with enthusiasm. From where else can power and vision be summoned? We believe that the universities are an overlooked seat of influence.

First, the university is located in a permanent position of social influence. {Its} educational function makes it indispensable and automatically makes it a crucial institution in the formation of social attitudes. Second, in an unbelievably complicated world, it is the central institution for organizing, evaluating and transmitting knowledge. Third, the extent to which academic resources presently are used to buttress immoral

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social practice is revealed, first, by the extent to which defense contracts make the universities engineers of the arms race. Too, the use of modern social science as a manipulative tool reveals itself in the “human relations” consultants to the modern corporations, who introduce trivial sops to give laborers feelings of “participation” or
5 “belonging,” while actually deluding them in order to further exploit their labor. And, of course, the use of motivational research is already infamous as a manipulative aspect of American politics. But these social uses of the universities’ resources also demonstrate the unchangeable reliance by men of power on the men and storehouses of knowledge: this makes the university functionally tied to society in new ways, revealing new
10 potentialities, new levers for change. Fourth, the university is the only mainstream institution that is open to participation by individuals of nearly any viewpoint.

These, at least, are facts, no matter how dull the teaching, how paternalistic the rules, how irrelevant the research that goes on. Social relevance, the accessibility to knowledge,
15 and internal openness—these together make the university a potential base and agency in a movement of social change.

Any new left in America must be, in large measure, a left with real intellectual skills, committed to deliberativeness, honesty, reflection as working tools. The university
20 permits the political life to be an adjunct to the academic one, and action to be informed by reason.

A new left must be distributed in significant social roles throughout the country. The universities are distributed in such a manner.
25

A new left must consist of younger people who matured in the postwar world, and partially be directed to the recruitment of younger people. The university is an obvious beginning point.

30 A new left must include liberals and socialists, the former for their relevance, the latter for their sense of thoroughgoing reforms in the system. The university is a more sensible

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place than a political party for these two traditions to begin to discuss their differences and look for political synthesis.

5 A new left must start controversy across the land, if national policies and national apathy are to be reversed. The ideal university is a community of controversy, within itself and in its effects on communities beyond.

10 A new left must transform modern complexity into issues that can be understood and felt close up by every human being. It must give form to the feelings of helplessness and indifference, so that people may see the political, social, and economic sources of their private troubles, and organize to change society. In a time of supposed prosperity, moral complacency, and political manipulation, a new left cannot rely on only aching stomachs to be the engine force of social reform. The case for change, for alternatives that will involve uncomfortable personal efforts, must be argued as never before. The university
15 is a relevant place for all of these activities.

20 But we need not indulge in illusions: the university system cannot complete a movement of ordinary people making demands for a better life. From its schools and colleges across the nation, a militant left might awaken its allies, and by beginning the process towards peace, civil rights, and labor struggles, reinsert theory and idealism where too often reign confusion and political barter. The power of students and faculty united is not only potential; it has shown its actuality in the South, and in the reform movements of the North.

25 The bridge to political power, though, will be {built} through genuine cooperation, locally, nationally, and internationally, between a new left of young people and an awakening community of allies. In each community we must look within the university and act with confidence that we can be powerful, but we must look outwards to the less exotic but more lasting struggles for justice.

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To turn these mythic possibilities into realities will involve national efforts at university reform by an alliance of students and faculty. They must wrest control of the educational

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process from the administrative bureaucracy. They must make fraternal and functional contact with allies in labor, civil rights, and other liberal forces outside the campus. They must import major public issues into the curriculum—research and teaching on problems of war and peace is an outstanding example. They must make debate and controversy, not dull pedantic cant, the common style for educational life. They must consciously build a base for their assault upon the loci of power.

As students for a democratic society, we are committed to stimulating this kind of social movement, this kind of vision and program in campus and community across the country. If we appear to seek the unattainable, as it has been said, then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable.

MALCOLM X

Message to Grassroots

SPEECH

November 10, 1963

King Solomon Baptist Church | Detroit, MI

BACKGROUND

Less than three months after the March on Washington, and less than a year before future President Lyndon Johnson would sign the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the radical civil rights activist Malcolm X delivered a speech at the Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference in Detroit. In this speech, Malcolm X challenged the status quo of the civil rights movement, typified by Martin Luther King Jr.'s emphasis on nonviolence, and called for more direct (and violent) action instead.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Malcolm X say is America's "problem"?
2. Who does he say is the real "enemy"?
3. How does Malcolm X talk about revolutions and their connection to African Americans?
4. How does he criticize the nonviolent civil rights movement of Martin Luther King Jr.?
5. What is the conflict Malcolm X points to within the African-American community?

Malcolm X. "Message to Grassroots." Speech, November 10, 1963. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/message-to-grassroots/>.

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We want to have just an off-the-cuff chat between you and me, us. We want to talk right down to earth in a language that everybody here can easily understand. We all agree tonight, all of the speakers have agreed, that America has a very serious problem. Not only does America have a very serious problem, but our people have a very serious
5 problem. America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here. And every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this as a fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of
10 unintelligent.

What you and I need to do is learn to forget our differences. When we come together, we don't come together as Baptists or Methodists. You don't catch hell because you're a Baptist, and you don't catch hell because you're a Methodist. You don't catch hell because you're a Methodist or Baptist, you don't catch hell because you're a Democrat
15 or a Republican, you don't catch hell because you're a Mason or an Elk, and you sure don't catch hell because you're an American; because if you were an American, you wouldn't catch hell. You catch hell because you're a black man. You catch hell, all of us catch hell, for the same reason.

So we're all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You're
20 nothing but an ex-slave. You don't like to be told that. But what else are you? You are ex-slaves. You didn't come here on the "Mayflower." You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the "Mayflower," you were brought here by the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

25 We have a common enemy. We have this in common: We have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite—on the basis of what we have in common. And what

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we have foremost in common is that enemy—the white man. He's an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell.

In Bandung back in, I think, 1954, was the first unity meeting in centuries of black people. And once you study what happened at the Bandung conference, and the results
5 of the Bandung conference, it actually serves as a model for the same procedure you and I can use to get our problems solved. At Bandung all the nations came together, the dark nations from Africa and Asia. Some of them were Buddhists, some of them were Muslims, some of them were Christians, some were Confucianists, some were
10 atheists. Despite their religious differences, they came together. Some were communists, some were socialists, some were capitalists—despite their economic and political differences, they came together. All of them were black, brown, red or yellow.

The number-one thing that was not allowed to attend the Bandung conference was the white man. He couldn't come. Once they excluded the white man, they found that they could get together. Once they kept him out, everybody else fell right in and fell in line.
15 This is the thing that you and I have to understand. And these people who came together didn't have nuclear weapons, they didn't have jet planes, they didn't have all of the heavy armaments that the white man has. But they had unity.

They were able to submerge their little petty differences and agree on one thing: That there one African came from Kenya and was being colonized by the Englishman, and
20 another African came from the Congo and was being colonized by the Belgian, and another African came from Guinea and was being colonized by the French, and another came from Angola and was being colonized by the Portuguese. When they came to the Bandung conference, they looked at the Portuguese, and at the Frenchman, and at the Englishman, and at the Dutchman, and learned or realized the one thing that all of
25 them had in common—they were all from Europe, they were all Europeans, blond, blue-eyed and white skins. They began to recognize who their enemy was. The same man that was colonizing our people in Kenya was colonizing our people in the Congo. The same one in the Congo was colonizing our people in South Africa, and in Southern

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Rhodesia, and in Burma, and in India, and in Afghanistan, and in Pakistan. They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man. So they got together on this basis—that they had a common enemy.

And when you and I here in Detroit and in Michigan and in America who have been awakened today look around us, we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy, whether he's in Georgia or Michigan, whether he's in California or New York. He's the same man—blue eyes and blond hair and pale skin—the same man. So what we have to do is what they did. They agreed to stop quarreling among themselves. Any little spat that they had, they'd settle it among themselves, go into a huddle—don't let the enemy know that you've got a disagreement.

Instead of airing our differences in public, we have to realize we're all the same family. And when you have a family squabble, you don't get out on the sidewalk. If you do, everybody calls you uncouth, unrefined, uncivilized, savage. If you don't make it at home, you settle it at home; you get in the closet, argue it out behind closed doors, and then when you come out on the street, you pose a common front, a united front. And this is what we need to do in the community, and in the city, and in the state. We need to stop airing our differences in front of the white man, put the white man out of our meetings, and then sit down and talk shop with each other. That's what we've got to do.

I would like to make a few comments concerning the difference between the black revolution and the Negro revolution. Are they both the same? And if they're not, what is the difference? What is the difference between a black revolution and a Negro revolution? First, what is a revolution? Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the

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objective of a revolution, the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program, you may change your goal and you may change your mind.

- 5 Look at the American Revolution in 1776. That revolution was for what? For land. Why did they want land? Independence. How was it carried out? Bloodshed. Number one, it was based on land, the basis of independence. And the only way they could get it was bloodshed. The French Revolution—what was it based on? The landless against the landlord. What was it for? Land. How did they get it? Bloodshed. Was no love lost, was no compromise, was no negotiation. I'm telling you—you don't know what a
10 revolution is. Because when you find out what it is, you'll get back in the alley, you'll get out of the way.

The Russian Revolution—what was it based on? Land; the landless against the landlord. How did they bring it about? Bloodshed. You haven't got a revolution that doesn't involve bloodshed. And you're afraid to bleed. I said, you're afraid to bleed.

- 15 As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you bled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you bled. You bleed for white people, but when it comes time to seeing your own churches being bombed and little black girls murdered, you haven't got any blood. You bleed when the white man says bleed; you bite when the white man says bite; and you bark when the white man
20 says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify being nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bombed, and your little girls are being murdered, and at the same time you are going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somebody else you don't even know?
- 25 If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it

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is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

- 5 The Chinese Revolution—they wanted land. They threw the British out, along with the Uncle Tom Chinese. Yes, they did. They set a good example. When I was in prison, I read an article—don't be shocked when I say I was in prison. You're still in prison. That's what America means: prison. When I was in prison, I read an article in *Life* magazine showing a little Chinese girl, nine years old; her father was on his hands and knees and she was pulling the trigger because he was an Uncle Tom
- 10 Chinaman. When they had the revolution over there, they took a whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. And within ten years that little girl became a full-grown woman. No more Toms in China. And today it's one of the toughest, roughest, most feared countries on this earth—by the white man. Because there are no Uncle Toms over there.
- 15 Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight. There's been a revolution, a black revolution, going on in Africa. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were
- 20 revolutionary; they were the ones who brought the word "Uhuru" to the fore. The Mau Mau, they were revolutionary, they believed in scorched earth, they knocked everything aside that got in their way, and their revolution also was based on land, a desire for land. In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists, they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into
- 25 France. They told France, to hell with France, they wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle.

So I cite these various revolutions, brothers and sisters, to show you that you don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn-the-other-cheek revolution. There's no

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such thing as a nonviolent revolution. The only kind of revolution that is nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It's the only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks—on the toilet. That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.

The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is world-wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution—that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is? You don't know what a revolution is. If you did, you wouldn't use that word.

A revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No, you need a revolution. Whoever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, as Rev. Cleage was pointing out beautifully, singing "We Shall Overcome"? You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing, you're too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren't asking for any nation—they're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The American Revolution was white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too—yes, it was—white nationalism. You don't

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think so? Why do you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? —black nationalism. A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Rev. Cleage, pointing out why he couldn't get
5 together with someone else in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

To understand this, you have to go back to what the young brother here referred to as the house Negro and the field Negro back during slavery. There were two kinds of
10 slaves, the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes—they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good because they ate his food—what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved the master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master's house—quicker than the master would. If the master said, "We
15 got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, *we* sick?" *We* sick! He identified himself with his master,
20 more than his master identified with himself. And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let's run away, let's escape, let's separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that's
25 what we call him today, because we've still got some house niggers running around here.

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about

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"I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro. And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same thing that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America, this good white man? Where
5 you going to get a better job than you get here?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain't left nothing in Africa," that's what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa.

On that same plantation, there was the field Negro. The field Negroes—those were the masses. There were always more Negroes in the field than there were Negroes in the house. The Negro in the field caught hell. He ate leftovers. In the house they ate high
10 up on the hog. The Negro in the field didn't get anything but what was left of the insides of the hog. They call it "chitt'lings" nowadays. In those days they called them what they were—guts. That's what you were—gut-eaters. And some of you all still gut-eaters.

The field Negro was beaten from morning to night; he lived in a shack, in a hut; he wore old, castoff clothes. He hated his master. I say he hated his master. He was
15 intelligent. That house Negro loved his master. But that field Negro—remember, they were in the majority, and they hated the master. When the house caught on fire, he didn't try to put it out; that field Negro prayed for a wind, for a breeze. When the master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he'd die. If someone came to the field Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," he didn't say "Where we going?" He'd say, "Any place is
20 better than here." You've got field Negroes in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man's house on fire, you don't hear the little Negroes talking about "*our* government is in trouble." They say, "*The* government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: "*Our* government"! I even heard one say "*our* astronauts." They won't even let him near the plant—and "*our* astronauts"!
25 "*Our* Navy"—that's a Negro that is out of his mind, a Negro that is out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, keep us

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under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent. That's Tom making you nonviolent. It's like when you go to the dentist, and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there
5 and because you've got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer—peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don't know what's happening. Because someone has taught you to suffer—peacefully.

The white man does the same thing to you in the street, when he wants to put knots on your head and take advantage of you and not have to be afraid of your fighting back.
10 To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, to suffer peacefully. Don't stop suffering—just suffer peacefully. As Rev. Cleage pointed out, they say you should let your blood flow in the streets. This is a shame. You know he's a Christian preacher. If it's a shame to him, you know what it is to me.

15 There's nothing in our book, the Koran, that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That's a good religion. In fact, that's that old-time religion. That's the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life
20 for a life: That's a good religion. And nobody resents that kind of religion being taught but a wolf, who intends to make you his meal.

This is the way it is with the white man in America. He's a wolf—and you're sheep. Any time a shepherd, a pastor, teaches you and me not to run from the white man and, at the same time, teaches us not to fight the white man, he's a traitor to you and me. Don't
25 lay down a life all by itself. No, preserve your life, it's the best thing you've got. And if you've got to give it up, let it be even-steven.

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The slavemaster took Tom and dressed him well, fed him well and even gave him a little education—a *little* education; gave him a long coat and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them. The same strategy that was used in those days is used today, by the same white man. He takes a Negro, a so-called Negro, and makes him prominent, builds him up, publicizes him, makes him a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for Negroes—and a Negro leader.

I would like to just mention just one other thing else quickly, and that is the method that the white man uses, how the white man uses the "big guns," or Negro leaders, against the Negro revolution. They are not a part of the Negro revolution. They are used against the Negro revolution.

When Martin Luther King failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia, the civil-rights struggle in America reached its low point. King became bankrupt almost, as a leader. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was in financial trouble; and it was in trouble, period, with the people when they failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia. Other Negro civil-rights leaders of so-called national stature became fallen idols. As they became fallen idols, began to lose their prestige and influence, local Negro leaders began to stir up the masses. In Cambridge, Maryland, Gloria Richardson; in Danville, Virginia, and other parts of the country, local leaders began to stir up our people at the grass-roots level. This was never done by these Negroes of national stature. They control you, but they have never incited you or excited you. They control you, they contain you, they have kept you on the plantation.

As soon as King failed in Birmingham, Negroes took to the streets. King went out to California to a big rally and raised I don't know how many thousands of dollars. He came to Detroit and had a march and raised some more thousands of dollars. And recall, right after that Roy Wilkins attacked King. He accused King and CORE [Congress Of Racial Equality] of starting trouble everywhere and then making the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] get them out of jail and spend a lot of money; they accused King and CORE of raising all the money

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and not paying it back. This happened; I've got it in documented evidence in the newspaper. Roy started attacking King, and King started attacking Roy, and Farmer started attacking both of them. And as these Negroes of national stature began to attack each other, they began to lose their control of the Negro masses.

- 5 The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham—remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head—yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the
- 10 television and said "this is a moral issue." That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking—about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it
- 15 to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.

- It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D. C. to death; I was there. When they found
- 20 out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off." Kennedy said, "Look, you all are letting this thing go too far." And Old Tom said, "Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it." They
- 25 said, "These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us." And that old shrewd fox, he said, "If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it."

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- A matter of hours went by. They had a meeting at the Carlyle Hotel in New York City. The Carlyle Hotel is owned by the Kennedy family; that's the hotel Kennedy spent the night at, two nights ago; it belongs to his family. A philanthropic society headed by a white man named Stephen Currier called all the top civil-rights leaders together at the
- 5 Carlyle Hotel. And he told them, "By you all fighting each other, you are destroying the civil-rights movement. And since you're fighting over money from white liberals, let us set up what is known as the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership. Let's form this council, and all the civil-rights organizations will belong to it, and we'll use it for fund-raising purposes." Let me show you how tricky the white man is. And as soon as
- 10 they got it formed, they elected Whitney Young as its chairman, and who do you think became the co-chairman? Stephen Currier, the white man, a millionaire. Powell was talking about it down at Cobo Hall today. This is what he was talking about. Powell knows it happened. Randolph knows it happened. Wilkins knows it happened. King knows it happened. Every one of that Big Six—they know it happened.
- 15 Once they formed it, with the white man over it, he promised them and gave them \$800,000 to split up among the Big Six; and told them that after the march was over they'd give them \$700,000 more. A million and a half dollars—split up between leaders that you have been following, going to jail for, crying crocodile tears for. And they're nothing but Frank James and Jesse James and the what-do-you-call-'em brothers.
- 20 As soon as they got the setup organized, the white man made available to them top public-relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal; which then began to project these Big Six as the leaders of the march. Originally they weren't even in the march. You were talking this march talk on Hastings Street, you were talking march talk on Lenox Avenue, and on Fillmore Street, and on Central
- 25 Avenue, and 32nd Street and 63rd Street. That's where the march talk was being talked. But the white man put the Big Six at the head of it; made them the march. They became the march. They took it over. And the first move they made after they took it over, they invited Walter Reuther, a white man; they invited a priest, a rabbi, and an old white preacher. The same white element that put Kennedy into power—labor, the Catholics,

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the Jews, and liberal Protestants; the same clique that put Kennedy in power, joined the march on Washington.

It's just like when you've got some coffee that's too black, which means it's too strong. What do you do? You integrate it with cream, you make it weak. But if you pour too
5 much cream in it, you won't even know you ever had coffee. It used to be hot, it becomes cool. It used to be strong, it becomes weak. It used to wake you up, now it puts you to sleep. This is what they did with the march on Washington. They joined it. They didn't integrate it, they infiltrated it. They joined it, became a part of it, took it over. And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be
10 hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. Nothing but a circus, with clowns and all. You had one right here in Detroit—I saw it on television—with clowns leading it, white clowns and black clowns. I know you don't like what I'm saying, but I'm going to tell you anyway. Because I can prove what I'm saying. If you think I'm telling you wrong, you bring me Martin Luther
15 King and A. Philip Randolph and James Farmer and those other three, and see if they'll deny it over a microphone.

No, it was a sellout. It was a takeover. When James Baldwin came in from Paris, they wouldn't let him talk, because they couldn't make him go by the script. Burt Lancaster read the speech that Baldwin was supposed to make; they wouldn't let Baldwin get up there, because they know Baldwin is liable to say anything. They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what song to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make; and then told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one of those Toms was out of town by sundown. Now I know you don't like my saying this. But I can back it up. It was a circus, a performance that beat anything Hollywood could ever do, the performance of the year. Reuther and those other three devils should get an Academy Award for the best actors because they acted like they really loved Negroes and fooled a whole lot of Negroes. And the six Negro leaders should get an award too, for the best supporting cast.

RONALD REAGAN

A Time for Choosing

CAMPAIGN SPEECHOctober 27, 1964

BACKGROUND

The Republican Party nominated Senator Barry Goldwater to be its candidate for president in 1964, running against the incumbent Lyndon B. Johnson. Political activist and former actor Ronald Reagan spoke in support of Goldwater in a televised campaign speech that marked the beginning of his own national political career—culminating in his election as president 16 years later, in 1980.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What crises does America face in 1964, according to Reagan?
2. What is “the last stand on Earth”?
3. What are America’s unique ideas about government?
4. How are these ideas under attack, according to Reagan?
5. How does he say modern government programs threaten the Constitution?
6. What is the “road to peace”?

Ronald Reagan. “A Time for Choosing.” Speech, October 27, 1964. From the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/reagans/ronald-reagan/time-choosing-speech-october-27-1964>.

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Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you and good evening. The sponsor has been identified, but unlike most television programs, the performer hasn't been provided with a script. As a matter of fact, I have been permitted to choose my own words and discuss my own ideas regarding the choice that we face in the next few weeks.

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I have spent most of my life as a Democrat. I recently have seen fit to follow another course. I believe that the issues confronting us cross party lines. Now, one side in this campaign has been telling us that the issues of this election are the maintenance of peace and prosperity. The line has been used, "We've never had it so good."

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But I have an uncomfortable feeling that this prosperity isn't something on which we can base our hopes for the future. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today, 37 cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share, and yet our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in. We haven't balanced our budget 28 out of the last 34 years. We've raised our debt limit three times in the last twelve months, and now our national debt is one and a half times bigger than all the combined debts of all the nations of the world. We have 15 billion dollars in gold in our treasury; we don't own an ounce. Foreign dollar claims are 27.3 billion dollars. And we've just had announced that the dollar of 1939 will now purchase 45 cents in its total value.

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As for the peace that we would preserve, I wonder who among us would like to approach the wife or mother whose husband or son has died in South Vietnam and ask them if they think this is a peace that should be maintained indefinitely. Do they mean peace, or do they mean we just want to be left in peace? There can be no real peace while one American is dying some place in the world for the rest of us. We're at war with the most dangerous enemy that has ever faced mankind in his long climb from the swamp to the stars, and it's been said if we lose that war, and in so doing lose this way of freedom of ours, history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. Well I think it's time we ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms that were intended for us by the Founding Fathers.

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Not too long ago, two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a businessman who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, “We don’t know how lucky we are.” And the Cuban stopped and said, “How lucky you are? I had someplace to escape to.” And in that sentence he told us the
5 entire story. If we lose freedom here, there’s no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth.

And this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and the most unique idea in all the
10 long history of man’s relation to man.

This is the issue of this election: Whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a far-distant capitol can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

15 You and I are told increasingly we have to choose between a left or right. Well I’d like to suggest there is no such thing as a left or right. There’s only an up or down - [up] {to} man’s old-aged dream, the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism. And regardless of their sincerity, their
20 humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course.

In this vote-harvesting time, they use terms like the “Great Society,” or as we were told a few days ago by the President, we must accept a greater government activity in the affairs
25 of the people. But they’ve been a little more explicit in the past and among themselves; and all of the things I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, they have voices that say, “The cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism.” Another voice says, “The profit motive has become outmoded. It must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state.” Or, “Our
30 traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th century.” Senator Fullbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as “our moral teacher and our

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leader,” and he says he is “hobbled in his task by the restrictions of power imposed on him by this antiquated document.” He must “be freed,” so that he “can do for us” what he knows “is best.” And Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as “meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government.”

Well, I, for one, resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me, the free men and women of this country, as “the masses.” This is a term we haven’t applied to ourselves in America. But beyond that, “the full power of centralized government”—{ } this was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don’t control things. A government can’t control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose. They also knew, those Founding Fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy.

Now, we have no better example of this than government’s involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. Since 1955, the cost of this program has nearly doubled. One-fourth of farming in America is responsible for 85 percent of the farm surplus. Three-fourths of farming is out on the free market and has known a 21 percent increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. You see, that one-fourth of farming that’s regulated and controlled by the federal government. In the last three years we’ve spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn we don’t grow.

Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater, as President, would seek to eliminate farmers. He should do his homework a little better, because he’ll find out that we’ve had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government programs. He’ll also find that the Democratic administration has sought to get from Congress [an] extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free. He’ll find that they’ve also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn’t keep books as prescribed by the federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals.

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And contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the federal government to remove 2 million farmers from the soil.

At the same time, there's been an increase in the Department of Agriculture employees.

- 5 There's now one for every 30 farms in the United States, and still they can't tell us how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace and Billie Sol Estes never left shore.

- 10 Every responsible farmer and farm organization has repeatedly asked the government to free the farm economy, but how - who are farmers to know what's best for them? The wheat farmers voted against a wheat program. The government passed it anyway. Now the price of bread goes up; the price of wheat to the farmer goes down.

- 15 Meanwhile, back in the city, under urban renewal the assault on freedom carries on. Private property rights [are] so diluted that public interest is almost anything a few government planners decide it should be. In a program that takes from the needy and gives to the greedy, we see such spectacles as in Cleveland, Ohio, a million-and-a-half-dollar building completed only three years ago must be destroyed to make way for what government officials call a "more compatible use of the land." The President tells us he's 20 now going to start building public housing units in the thousands, where heretofore we've only built them in the hundreds. But FHA [Federal Housing Authority] and the Veterans Administration tell us they have 120,000 housing units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosure. For three decades, we've sought to solve the problems of unemployment through government planning, and the more the plans fail, the more the 25 planners plan. The latest is the Area Redevelopment Agency.

- They've just declared Rice County, Kansas, a depressed area. Rice County, Kansas, has two hundred oil wells, and the 14,000 people there have over 30 million dollars on deposit in personal savings in their banks. And when the government tells you you're depressed, 30 lie down and be depressed.

We have so many people who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without

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coming to the conclusion the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one. So they're going to solve all the problems of human misery through government and government planning. Well, now, if government planning and welfare had the answer - and they've had almost 30 years of it - shouldn't we expect government to read the score
5 to us once in a while? Shouldn't they be telling us about the decline each year in the number of people needing help? The reduction in the need for public housing?

But the reverse is true. Each year the need grows greater; the program grows greater. We were told four years ago that 17 million people went to bed hungry each night. Well that
10 was probably true. They were all on a diet. But now we're told that 9.3 million families in this country are poverty-stricken on the basis of earning less than 3,000 dollars a year. Welfare spending [is] 10 times greater than in the dark depths of the Depression. We're spending 45 billion dollars on welfare. Now do a little arithmetic, and you'll find that if we divided the 45 billion dollars up equally among those 9 million poor families, we'd be
15 able to give each family 4,600 dollars a year. And this added to their present income should eliminate poverty. Direct aid to the poor, however, is only running only about 600 dollars per family. It would seem that someplace there must be some overhead.

Now, so now we declare "war on poverty," or "You, too, can be a Bobby Baker." Now do
20 they honestly expect us to believe that if we add 1 billion dollars to the 45 billion we're spending, one more program to the 30-odd we have - and remember, this new program doesn't replace any, it just duplicates existing programs - do they believe that poverty is suddenly going to disappear by magic? Well, in all fairness I should explain there is one part of the new program that isn't duplicated. This is the youth feature. We're now going
25 to solve the dropout problem, juvenile delinquency, by reinstituting something like the old CCC camps [Civilian Conservation Corps], and we're going to put our young people in these camps. But again we do some arithmetic, and we find that we're going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person we help 4,700 dollars a year. We can send them to Harvard for 2,700! Course, don't get me wrong. I'm not suggesting
30 Harvard is the answer to juvenile delinquency.

But seriously, what are we doing to those we seek to help? Not too long ago, a judge called

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me here in Los Angeles. He told me of a young woman who'd come before him for a divorce. She had six children, was pregnant with her seventh. Under his questioning, she revealed her husband was a laborer earning 250 dollars a month. She wanted a divorce to get an 80 dollar raise. She's eligible for 330 dollars a month in the Aid to Dependent
5 Children Program. She got the idea from two women in her neighborhood who'd already done that very thing.

Yet anytime you and I question the schemes of the do-gooders, we're denounced as being against their humanitarian goals. They say we're always "against" things - we're never
10 "for" anything.

Well, the trouble with our liberal friends is not that they're ignorant; it's just that they know so much that isn't so.

Now, we're for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old age, and to that end we've accepted Social Security as a step toward meeting the
15 problem.

But we're against those entrusted with this program when they practice deception regarding its fiscal shortcomings, when they charge that any criticism of the program means that we want to end payments to those people who depend on them for a livelihood. They've called it "insurance" to us in a hundred million pieces of literature. But then they appeared before the Supreme Court and they testified it was a welfare
20 program. They only use the term "insurance" to sell it to the people. And they said Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax. There is no fund, because Robert Byers, the actuarial head, appeared before a congressional committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298
25 billion dollars in the hole. But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they
30 needed to bail them out of trouble. And they're doing just that.

A young man, 21 years of age, working at an average salary - his Social Security

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contribution would, in the open market, buy him an insurance policy that would guarantee 220 dollars a month at age 65. The government promises 127. He could live it up until he's 31 and then take out a policy that would pay more than Social Security. Now are we so lacking in business sense that we can't put this program on a sound basis, so
5 that people who do require those payments will find they can get them when they're due, that the cupboard isn't bare?

Barry Goldwater thinks we can.

10 At the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features that would permit a citizen who can do better on his own to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he had made provision for the non-earning years? Should we not allow a widow with children to work, and not lose the benefits supposedly paid for by her deceased husband? Shouldn't you and I be allowed to declare who our beneficiaries will be under this program, which we
15 cannot do? I think we're for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care because of a lack of funds. But I think we're against forcing all citizens, regardless of need, into a compulsory government program, especially when we have such examples, as was announced last week, when France admitted that their Medicare program is now bankrupt. They've come to the end of the road.

20

In addition, was Barry Goldwater so irresponsible when he suggested that our government give up its program of deliberate, planned inflation, so that when you do get your Social Security pension, a dollar will buy a dollar's worth, and not 45 cents worth?

25 I think we're for an international organization, where the nations of the world can seek peace. But I think we're against subordinating American interests to an organization that has become so structurally unsound that today you can muster a two-thirds vote on the floor of the General Assembly among nations that represent less than 10 percent of the world's population. I think we're against the hypocrisy of assailing our allies because here
30 and there they cling to a colony, while we engage in a conspiracy of silence and never open our mouths about the millions of people enslaved in the Soviet colonies in the satellite nations.

I think we're for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we're against doling out money government to government, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help 19 countries. We're helping 107. We've spent 146 billion dollars. With that money, we bought a 2 million dollar yacht for Haile Selassie. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, extra wives for Kenya[n] government officials. We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity. In the last six years, 52 nations have bought 7 billion dollars worth of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from this country.

No government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size. So governments' programs, once launched, never disappear.

Actually, a government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth.

Federal employees - federal employees number two and a half million; and federal, state, and local, one out of six of the nation's work force employed by government. These proliferating bureaus with their thousands of regulations have cost us many of our constitutional safeguards. How many of us realize that today federal agents can invade a man's property without a warrant? They can impose a fine without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury? And they can seize and sell his property at auction to enforce the payment of that fine. In Chico County, Arkansas, James Wier over-planted his rice allotment. The government obtained a 17,000 dollar judgment. And a U.S. marshal sold his 960-acre farm at auction. The government said it was necessary as a warning to others to make the system work.

Last February 19th at the University of Minnesota, Norman Thomas, six-times candidate for President on the Socialist Party ticket, said, "If Barry Goldwater became President, he would stop the advance of socialism in the United States." I think that's exactly what he will do.

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But as a former Democrat, I can tell you Norman Thomas isn't the only man who has drawn this parallel to socialism with the present administration, because back in 1936, Mr. Democrat himself, Al Smith, the great American, came before the American people and charged that the leadership of his Party was taking the Party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland down the road under the banners of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. And he walked away from his Party, and he never returned til the day he died, because to this day, the leadership of that Party has been taking that Party, that honorable Party, down the road in the image of the labor Socialist Party of England.

Now it doesn't require expropriation or confiscation of private property or business to impose socialism on a people. What does it mean whether you hold the deed [...] or the title to your business or property if the government holds the power of life and death over that business or property? And such machinery already exists. The government can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute. Every businessman has his own tale of harassment. Somewhere a perversion has taken place. Our natural, unalienable rights are now considered to be a dispensation of government, and freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp as it is at this moment.

Our Democratic opponents seem unwilling to debate these issues. They want to make you and I believe that this is a contest between two men - that we're to choose just between two personalities.

Well what of this man that they would destroy, and in destroying, they would destroy that which he represents, the ideas that you and I hold dear? Is he the brash and shallow and trigger-happy man they say he is? Well I've been privileged to know him "when." I knew him long before he ever dreamed of trying for high office, and I can tell you personally I've never known a man in my life I believed so incapable of doing a dishonest or dishonorable thing.

This is a man who, in his own business before he entered politics, instituted a profit-sharing plan before unions had ever thought of it. He put in health and medical insurance

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for all his employees. He took 50 percent of the profits before taxes and set up a retirement program, a pension plan for all his employees. He sent monthly checks for life to an employee who was ill and couldn't work. He provides nursing care for the children of mothers who work in the stores. When Mexico was ravaged by the floods in the Rio Grande, he climbed in his airplane and flew medicine and supplies down there.

An ex-GI told me how he met him. It was the week before Christmas during the Korean War, and he was at the Los Angeles airport trying to get a ride home to Arizona for Christmas. And he said that [there were] a lot of servicemen there and no seats available on the planes. And then a voice came over the loudspeaker and said, "Any men in uniform wanting a ride to Arizona, go to runway such-and-such," and they went down there, and there was a fellow named Barry Goldwater sitting in his plane. Every day in those weeks before Christmas, all day long, he'd load up the plane, fly it to Arizona, fly them to their homes, fly back over to get another load.

During the hectic split-second timing of a campaign, this is a man who took time out to sit beside an old friend who was dying of cancer. His campaign managers were understandably impatient, but he said, "There aren't many left who care what happens to her. I'd like her to know I care." This is a man who said to his 19-year-old son, "There is no foundation like the rock of honesty and fairness, and when you begin to build your life on that rock, with the cement of the faith in God that you have, then you have a real start." This is not a man who could carelessly send other people's sons to war. And that is the issue of this campaign that makes all the other problems I've discussed academic, unless we realize we're in a war that must be won.

Those who would trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state have told us they have a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation." And they say if we'll only avoid any direct confrontation with the enemy, he'll forget his evil ways and learn to love us. All who oppose them are indicted as warmongers. They say we offer simple answers to complex problems. Well, perhaps there is a simple answer - not an easy answer but simple: If you and I have the courage to tell our elected officials that we want our national policy based on what we know in

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our hearts is morally right.

We cannot buy our security, our freedom from the threat of the bomb by committing an immorality so great as saying to a billion human beings now enslaved behind the Iron
5 Curtain, "Give up your dreams of freedom because to save our own skins, we're willing to make a deal with your slave masters." Alexander Hamilton said, "A nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one." Now let's set the record straight. There's no argument over the choice between peace and war, but there's only one guaranteed way you can have peace - and you can have it in the next second -
10 surrender.

Admittedly, there's a risk in any course we follow other than this, but every lesson of history tells us that the greater risk lies in appeasement, and this is the specter our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face, that their policy of accommodation is
15 appeasement, and it gives no choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. If we continue to accommodate, continue to back and retreat, eventually we have to face the final demand, the ultimatum. And what then, when Nikita Khrushchev has told his people he knows what our answer will be? He has told them that we're retreating under the pressure of the Cold War, and someday when the time comes to
20 deliver the final ultimatum, our surrender will be voluntary, because by that time we will have been weakened from within spiritually, morally, and economically. He believes this because from our side he's heard voices pleading for "peace at any price" or "better Red than dead," or as one commentator put it, he'd rather "live on his knees than die on his feet." And therein lies the road to war, because those voices don't speak for the rest of us.

25 You and I know and do not believe that life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. If nothing in life is worth dying for, when did this begin - just in the face of this enemy? Or should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery under the pharaohs? Should Christ have refused the cross?
30 Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have thrown down their guns and refused to fire the shot heard 'round the world? The martyrs of history were not fools, and our honored dead who gave their lives to stop the advance of the Nazis didn't die in vain. Where, then,

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is the road to peace? Well it's a simple answer after all.

You and I have the courage to say to our enemies, "There is a price we will not pay."
"There is a point beyond which they must not advance." And this - this is the meaning
5 in the phrase of Barry Goldwater's "peace through strength." Winston Churchill said,
"The destiny of man is not measured by material computations. When great forces are
on the move in the world, we learn we're spirits - not animals." And he said, "There's
something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space, which, whether we
like it or not, spells duty."

10

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny.

We'll preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we'll sentence
them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.

15

We will keep in mind and remember that Barry Goldwater has faith in us. He has faith
that you and I have the ability and the dignity and the right to make our own decisions
and determine our own destiny.

20

Thank you very much.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Peace Without Conquest

SPEECH EXCERPTS

April 7, 1965

The Johns Hopkins University | Baltimore, MD

BACKGROUND

The United States' involvement in Vietnam in the 1950s and early 1960s was fairly limited. Choosing to avoid sending soldiers overseas, the U.S. government instead gave South Vietnam funding (and military advisors) to fight the guerilla warfare of the North. This changed after a U.S. destroyer was supposedly attacked by North Vietnamese ships in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964. Congress responded by quickly passing the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorized President Lyndon Johnson to send U.S. troops to Vietnam. In this televised address the following year, Johnson conveyed to the nation his reasoning behind the military escalation.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does Johnson say American troops are now involved in Vietnam?
2. How does he describe the Asian situation at the time?
3. What further reasons does Johnson give for fighting in Vietnam?
4. What goals does America have in Vietnam?
5. What choices does America face, according to Johnson?

Lyndon B. Johnson. "Peace Without Conquest." Speech excerpts, April 7, 1965. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/address-at-johns-hopkins-university-peace-without-conquest/>.

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... Tonight Americans and Asians are dying for a world where each people may choose its own path to change.

5 This is the principle for which our ancestors fought in the valleys of Pennsylvania.¹ It is the principle for which our sons fight tonight in the jungles of Viet-Nam.

Viet-Nam is far away from this quiet campus. We have no territory there, nor do we seek any. The war is dirty and brutal and difficult. And some 400 young men, born into an America that is bursting with opportunity and promise, have ended their lives on
10 Viet-Nam's steaming soil.

Why must we take this painful road?

15 Why must this Nation hazard its ease, and its interest, and its power for the sake of a people so far away?

We fight because we must fight if we are to live in a world where every country can shape its own destiny. And only in such a world will our own freedom be finally secure.

20 This kind of world will never be built by bombs or bullets. Yet the infirmities of man are such that force must often precede reason, and the waste of war, the works of peace.

We wish that this were not so. But we must deal with the world as it is, if it is ever to be as we wish.

25

The Nature of the Conflict

The world as it is in Asia is not a serene or peaceful place.

30 The first reality is that North Viet-Nam has attacked the independent nation of South Viet-Nam. Its object is total conquest.

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Of course, some of the people of South Viet-Nam are participating in attack on their own government. But trained men and supplies, orders and arms, flow in a constant stream from north to south.

5 This support is the heartbeat of the war.

And it is a war of unparalleled brutality. Simple farmers are the targets of assassination and kidnapping. Women and children are strangled in the night because their men are loyal to their government. ...

10

Over this war – and all Asia – is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking.² This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Viet-Nam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes.

15

Why Are We in Viet-Nam?

Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Viet-Nam?

20

We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Viet-Nam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence.

25

And I intend to keep that promise.

To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong.

30

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count

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on us if they are attacked. To leave Viet-Nam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war.

- 5 We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Viet-Nam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield means only to prepare for the next. We must say in southeast Asia – as we did in Europe – in the
- 10 words of the Bible: “Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.”³ ...

Our Objective in Viet-Nam

- Our objective is the independence of South Viet-Nam, and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves – only that the people of South Viet-Nam be allowed to
- 15 guide their own country in their own way.

We will do everything necessary to reach that objective. And we will do only what is absolutely necessary. ...

- 20 We hope that peace will come swiftly. But that is in the hands of others besides ourselves. And we must be prepared for a long continued conflict. It will require patience as well as bravery, the will to endure as well as the will to resist. ...

The Dream of World Order

- 25 This will be a disorderly planet for a long time. In Asia, as elsewhere, the forces of the modern world are shaking old ways and uprooting ancient civilizations. There will be turbulence and struggle and even violence. Great social change – as we see in our own country now – does not always come without conflict. ...

Conclusion

30 ... Every night before I turn out the lights to sleep I ask myself this question: Have I done everything that I can do to unite this country? Have I done everything I can to

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help unite the world, to try to bring peace and hope to all the peoples of the world?
Have I done enough?

5 Ask yourselves that question in your homes – and in this hall tonight. Have we, each
of us, all done all we could? Have we done enough? ...

This generation of the world must choose: destroy or build, kill or aid, hate or
understand.

10 We can do all these things on a scale never dreamed of before.

Well, we will choose life {emphasis original}.⁴ In so doing we will prevail over the
enemies within man, and over the natural enemies of all mankind. ...

FOOTNOTES {from original document}

1. A reference to the American Revolution.
2. A reference to communist China, officially called the People's Republic of China.
3. A reference to the Old Testament of the Bible: Job 38:11.
4. Deuteronomy 30:19.

JOHN ASHBROOK

Soviet Military Might: Western Made

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

October 24, 1973

BACKGROUND

The American conservative movement initially supported Richard Nixon's administration due to his strong anti-communist stance. However, Nixon and his national security advisor, Henry Kissinger, eventually pursued the policy generally known as "détente," which aimed at reducing tensions between the U.S. and its primary enemies—China and the Soviet Union. Conservatives responded by endorsing their own candidate for the 1972 Republican presidential primary, Ohio Congressman John Ashbrook. Although Ashbrook ultimately lost, his views on foreign policy—as demonstrated by this congressional record—bear remarkable similarities to future conservative perspectives on the subject.

GUIDING QUESTIONS:

1. How does Ashbrook contrast the rhetoric about U.S.-Soviet trade with the facts?
2. What are the 7 points he makes about the results of the U.S. and Soviet Union continuing to interact economically?
3. In what particular area does Ashbrook say the Soviets most take advantage of the United States?

John Ashbrook. "Soviet Military Might: Western Made." Congressional record, October 24, 1973. From GovInfo. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1973-pt27/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1973-pt27-3-1.pdf>.

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The professional smokescreen about peaceful trade continues.

The plain fact is that irresponsible policies have built us an enemy and maintain that enemy in the business of totalitarian rule and world conquest. The tragedy is that
5 intelligent people have bought the political double talk about world peace, a new world order and mellowing Soviets.

I suggest that the man in the street, the average taxpayer-voter thinks more or less as I do. You do not subsidize an enemy. [...]

10

It requires a peculiar kind of intellectual myopia to ship supplies and technology to the Soviets when they are instrumental in killing fellow citizens.

What about the argument that trade will lead to peace? Well, we have had United
15 States-Soviet trade for over fifty years. The first and second 5-year plans were built by American companies. To continue a policy that is a total failure is to gamble with the lives of several million Americans and countless allies.

You can not stoke up the Soviet military machine at one end and then complain that
20 the other end came back and bit you. Unfortunately, the human price for our immoral policies is not paid by the policymakers in Washington. The human price is paid by the farmers, the students, and working and middle classes of America—and our fighting men in Korea and Vietnam. The citizen who pays the piper is not calling the tune—he does not even know the name of the tune.

25

Let me summarize my conclusions:

First. Trade with the U.S.S.R. was started over 50 years ago under President Woodrow Wilson with the declared intention of mellowing the Bolsheviks. The policy has been a
30 total and costly failure. It has proven to be impractical—this is what I would expect from an immoral policy.

Second. We have built ourselves an enemy. We keep that self-declared enemy in business. This information has been blacked out by successive administrations. Misleading and untruthful statements have been made by the executive branch to Congress and the American people.

Third. Our policy of subsidizing self-declared enemies is neither rational nor moral. I have drawn attention to the intellectual myopia of the group that influences and draws up foreign policy.

Fourth. The annual attacks in Vietnam and the wars in the Middle East are made possible only by Russian armaments and our assistance to the Soviets.

Fifth. This worldwide Soviet activity is consistent with communist theory. Mikhail Suslov, the party theoretician, recently stated that the current détente with the United States is temporary. The purpose of détente, according to Suslov, is to give the Soviets sufficient strength for a renewed assault on the West. In other words, when you have finished building the Kama plant and the trucks come rolling off, watch out for another Vietnam.

Sixth. Internal Soviet repression continue—against Baptists, against Jews, against national groups, and against dissident academics.

Seventh. Soviet technical dependence is a powerful instrument for world peace if we want to use it. So far it has been used as an aid-to-dependent-Soviets welfare program. With about as much success as the domestic welfare program.

Why should they stop supplying Hanoi? The more they stoke up the war the more they get from the United States. Not only do the Soviets get more goods from the United States, they get them on credit. The U.S. Export-Import Bank is providing credits to the Soviet Union with an interest rate of 6 percent. It costs the Export-Import Bank 7¾

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percent to raise that money it lends to the Soviet Union. The U.S. Government subsidizes the Export-Import Bank, which means, of course, the American taxpayer is picking up the bill. While interest on mortgages are 9½ percent in many parts of the United States, the Soviet Union gets loans at 6 percent on materials that they will use to defeat us.

5

UNIT 8

Recent American History

1974–Present

45-50-minute classes | 13-16 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

LESSON 1	1974-1989	Crossroads, at Home and Abroad	3-4 classes	p. 6
LESSON 2	1989-2001	America after the Cold War	3-4 classes	p. 12
LESSON 3	2001-2016	Twenty-First Century America	3-4 classes	p. 19
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment			p. 24
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 38

Why Teach Recent American History

In more than one respect, the events of the last half-century have formed the day-to-day life of today's American students. We feel their consequences still at play in American politics, government, and culture. In order for students to gain some perspective on recent events, they must study the latest chapter of American history. In these years, the question of American identity—of what America *is*—resurfaced, even as America found herself in new territory as the world's lone superpower. Finding the answer to this question in the closing years of the Cold War, in the midst of an ongoing cultural revolution as globalization and new technologies have reshaped American society, has proved to be an enormous challenge. Students deserve to learn the contours of these competing ideas and to understand the scope of their own responsibilities as the generation in charge of the next chapter of America's story.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan presented two competing views of the role of government—views that have continued to define modern political alignments.
2. The victory of the United States over communism in the Cold War was largely due to the strength of America's principled commitment to freedom, a strong posture in foreign policy, the strong grassroots movement for liberty in eastern Europe, and the inherent flaws of the planned economies and totalitarian regimes the United States opposed.
3. The 1990s were an era of relatively strong bipartisanship on issues of fiscal responsibility and free-market principles.
4. The policy responses to the September 11th attacks moved from a tightly focused pursuit of retributive justice to two decades of expansive foreign wars and a large-scale expansion of U.S. intelligence agencies.
5. A struggle in politics and business between the “establishment elite” and middle- and lower-income Americans has defined much of American politics since the 2008 economic crisis.

What Teachers Should Consider

As we reflect on the present, we may have great firsthand insights that will elude the attention of future historians. But we also will have many blind spots. We won't have sufficient perspective to understand the causes of recent events or foresee their ultimate consequences. Those two advantages will be held by future historians. Therefore, in studying the American history of the last five decades, our claims to knowledge must be prudent and reserved, and we must be careful not to turn history class into a current-events debate. For this reason, our curriculum does not advise history instruction on events of the current or most recent presidential administrations and concludes with the 2016 presidential election.

In the late 1970s, America was at a crossroads. The Nixon administration had mixed success in reversing progressive policies (and in some cases actually expanded government influence), and it left the presidency itself in a damaged state following the Watergate scandal. Jimmy Carter's presidency reasserted progressive ideas, even as Carter himself adhered to more traditional religious and cultural views. But a combination of economic woes and a faltering standing in world affairs hobbled Carter's presidency with the perception that it was causing a national decline.

Ronald Reagan campaigned against Carter in 1980 on this theme, seeking a restoration of the principles on which America was founded. His message and personality resonated with many Americans, helping him to decisively win the presidency in both 1980 and 1984. Reagan's policies as president largely remained true to his campaign message. Overall, he sought to reduce the size of the federal government, he brought stability to the economic landscape, and he confronted the Soviet Union with a firm policy of “peace through strength.” The result was an astounding political victory leading to a partisan realignment.

The collapse of the Soviet Union ushered in a new era in American history. The American economy continued to strengthen, while on the world stage, America embraced a post-Cold War role as the world's policeman, engaging in military campaigns in small nations on multiple continents.

The terror attacks on September 11, 2001, were a great shock, and they cast a shadow forward for the next two decades—and beyond. The American response to the attacks resulted in massive military expenditures and the end of balanced budgets. The quest to hunt terrorists wherever they could be found led to two long wars in the Middle East, even as American nation-building efforts in that region foundered. The growth in size and power of American intelligence agencies marked a new phase in the power of the federal government in the American regime.

The financial crisis of 2008 marked another turning point in recent American history. The size and power of the federal government and the national debt continued to grow. The income gaps between Americans grew ever sharper. America's principles and the virtues of statesmanship, so abundant in the past, were suddenly in short supply in the partisanship that emerged during the late 1990s and early 2000s. This class shift aligned with a cultural shift, and the 2016 election increasingly became about the struggles over these issues.

The United States is still very much in the throes of this struggle today, and it remains to be seen what the outcome will be.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

The Cold War, John Lewis Gaddis

Revolution 1989, Victor Sebestyen

A History of the Modern Middle East, William Cleveland and Martin Bunton

American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

American Heritage

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

Restless Giant, James Patterson

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

First Inaugural Address, Ronald Reagan
Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate, Ronald Reagan
Remarks at Moscow State University, Ronald Reagan
Contract with America, Republican National Committee
Address to a Joint Session of Congress, George W. Bush
Address at Cairo University, Barack Obama
Remarks to the People of Poland, Donald Trump
Remarks at Mount Rushmore, Donald Trump

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZ

Lesson 1 — Crossroads, at Home and Abroad

1974–1989

3-4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the ongoing woes America faced during the 1970s and then the principles and policies of the Reagan administration, both at home and toward the Soviet Union near the end of the Cold War.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 393-407

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 364-368

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 240-242

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lectures 23-24

American Heritage

Lecture 10

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 393-407, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 240-242) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Saigon

Grenada

Egypt

Libya

Israel

Taiwan

Iran

Berlin

Afghanistan

Persons

Gerald Ford

Sandra Day O'Connor

Jimmy Carter

Muammar Gaddafi

Anwar el-Sadat

Margaret Thatcher

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini

Pope John Paul II

Ronald Reagan

Mikhail Gorbachev

Terms and Topics

pardon	“Big Government”
stagflation	Reaganomics
taxation	Economic Recovery Tax Act
regulation	Social Security
Khmer Rouge	national debt
Fall of Saigon	Department of Education
bicentennial	Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
Carter Doctrine	Solidarity
Camp David Accords	Euromissile crisis
Iranian Revolution	glasnost
Iranian Hostage Crisis	perestroika
abortion	Berlin Wall
social conservatives	Strategic Arms Reduction
libertarians	Treaty (START)
limited government	

Primary Sources

First Inaugural Address, Ronald Reagan
 Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate, Ronald Reagan
 Remarks at Moscow State University, Ronald Reagan

To Know by Heart

“From time to time, we have been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. But if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else?” —Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address

“Government’s first duty is to protect the people, not run their lives.” —Ronald Reagan

“Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. We didn’t pass it to our children in the bloodstream. It must be fought for, protected, and handed on for them to do the same.” —Ronald Reagan

“[T]he nine most terrifying words in the English language are: I’m from the government and I’m here to help.” —Ronald Reagan

“Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!” —Ronald Reagan, Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate

Timeline

1975-1976	Reunification of Vietnam
1978-1979	Iranian Revolution
1979-1981	Iran hostage crisis
1980	Ronald Reagan elected president
1985-1987	Iran-Contra Affair
1989	Fall of the Berlin Wall

Images

Historical figures and events
Footage and images from the fall of Saigon
Footage of hostages in Iran
Images and footage from the Solidarity movement in Poland

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biography of Ronald Reagan
- Stephen Klinkhammer's account of the fall of Saigon
- How the Camp David Accords came about
- How the Iranian Revolution and hostage crisis unfolded
- Hamilton Jordan's accounts of the Iranian Hostage Crisis
- Debates between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan
- The arming of the Taliban against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan
- William Harwood's eyewitness account of the *Challenger* disaster

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What caused stagflation during the 1970s?
- What happened in Vietnam after the American forces withdrew? What can this teach us about military involvement in other countries?
- What were Jimmy Carter's foreign policy successes and failures?
- What role did the Supreme Court play in the changing culture of the 1970s?
- Who made up the Reagan coalition that led to his 1980 election victory?
- How did Ronald Reagan change the role of the federal government?
- How did Reagan's economic policies foster a stronger economy during the 1980s?
- How did the policies and words of the Reagan administration successfully confront the Soviet Union?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 108: Who was the United States' main rival during the Cold War?
 - Question 109: During the Cold War, what was one main concern of the United States?
 - Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The Watergate scandal and the resignation of Richard Nixon were the culmination of a decade of tremendous turmoil in the United States. Beginning in 1963 with President John F. Kennedy's assassination, the Vietnam War abroad and the cultural revolution at home brought America to a kind of crossroads. Jimmy Carter tried to change the tone of politics, putting forward more positive visions for the presidency at home and for America in the world. Against this backdrop, Ronald Reagan argued for a recovery of America's founding principles and the nation's vital role in opposing communism internationally. In the 1980 election, American voters chose Reagan's path, which led to a robust economic recovery and the eventual fall of the Soviet Union.

Teachers might best plan and teach Crossroads, at Home and Abroad with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Help students to appreciate the collective psychological state of the American citizenry in the wake of the Watergate scandal, Vietnam, the cultural revolution, the riots, and the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King Jr. In addition, they should be reminded of the lingering fear of a nuclear war. The ideals of America and the American way of life seemed to have been undermined or exposed as an illusion for many Americans. In many respects, it was unfamiliar territory for the country.
- Discuss the general policy of news media in the United States following the 1960s and 1970s. Vietnam and Watergate led the media and much of the public to be skeptical of official government narratives and the authority of elected figures.
- Consider the presidency of Gerald Ford and the timely role he played against this backdrop of uncertainty and upheaval. Ford deserves credit for the sense of calm and competence he exuded, helping to alleviate the high level of distrust in public figures.
- Review with students the events that followed the United States' withdrawal of military from Vietnam, including the fall of Saigon and the Cambodian genocide. Students should consider the great responsibilities and risks involved in military operations within the domestic struggles of another country, especially for noncombatants, American soldiers, and allies.
- Examine the rise and appeal of Jimmy Carter, including his more casual approach to the presidency, his focus on environmentalism, and the Carter Doctrine. Note both his successes, such as the Camp David Accords, and his failures, such as the Iranian hostage crisis, the Arab Oil Embargo, and stagflation. Students should be able to articulate the main causes and events for each.
- Outline with students the main principles of Ronald Reagan's candidacy and campaign message. Note in particular Reagan's appeals to the principles of the American Founders, his arguments against what he termed "big government," and his steadfast determination to oppose communism and the Soviet Union as moral evils. Show how these views contrasted with the prevailing spirit of the late 1970s.
- Explain the new economic policies of the Reagan administration, the extent to which they were responsible for controlling inflation and revitalizing the American economy, and the ways in which Ronald Reagan departed from a policy of a limited federal government.
- Identify the major principles and achievements of Ronald Reagan regarding foreign policy, especially in opposition to the Soviet Union. Explain that Reagan was convinced that the Soviet Union was not only morally wrong but also an existential threat to American interests. This conviction was combined with a fierce defense of American principles and increased military and economic pressure to curb the advances of the Soviet Union in international affairs. Students should also understand how Reagan's policies toward the Soviet Union worked with Margaret Thatcher, Pope John Paul II, and the Solidarity movement in Poland to champion freedom in eastern Europe.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the policies and outcomes of the Carter administration (2-3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the policies and outcomes of the Reagan administration (2-3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Recent American History | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages 393-407

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What did historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. argue about President Nixon and the Watergate scandal in his 1973 book entitled *The Imperial Presidency*?
2. Provide an example of President Carter's immediate efforts to reject the "imperial presidency."
3. What was the foreign policy disaster that led to the erosion of President Carter's credibility?
4. What were the effects of President Reagan's Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981?
5. What was the Euromissile crisis and how did President Reagan handle it?

Lesson 2 — America after the Cold War

1989–2001

3–4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States' subsequent involvement in the global economy across the George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton administrations, and the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 408-417

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 376-380

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 250-251

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 25

American Heritage

Lecture 10

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 408-417, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 250-251) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Middle East

Somalia

Iraq

Haiti

Kuwait

Balkans

Persian Gulf

Ground Zero

Panama

Shanksville, Pennsylvania

Persons

George H. W. Bush

Ross Perot

Boris Yeltsin

Pat Buchanan

Saddam Hussein

Bill Clinton

Colin Powell

Newt Gingrich

Clarence Thomas

Bill Gates

George W. Bush
Al Gore
Dick Cheney

Osama bin Laden

Terms and Topics

Tiananmen Square massacre
Berlin Wall
Operation Desert Storm
UN Security Council
Invasion of Panama
Waco massacre
Whitewater controversy
European Union
globalism
nongovernmental
 organizations (NGOs)
Violent Crime Control Act
mass incarceration
terrorism
jihad
The Internet
personal computer
North American Free Trade
 Agreement (NAFTA)
illegal immigration
outsourcing

“Rust Belt”
“Sun Belt”
“Contract with America”
Welfare Reform Act
block grant
budget surplus
pop music
rap
1995 Oklahoma City bombing
impeachment
2000 election
World Trade Center
The Pentagon
Flight 93
al-Qaeda
War on Terror
Taliban
Battle of Tora Bora
Patriot Act
No Child Left Behind Act

Primary Sources

Contract with America, Republican National Committee
Address to a Joint Session of Congress, George W. Bush

To Know by Heart

“The era of big government is over.” —Bill Clinton

Timeline

1990-1991	Gulf War
1991	Dissolution of the Soviet Union
2001	9/11 attacks

Images

Historical figures and events
Footage from the Tiananmen Square massacre, including “Tank Man”
The fall of the Berlin Wall
Footage from the Gulf War
Images and uniforms of American and Iraqi soldiers and al-Qaeda terrorists
Military equipment and weaponry
Early computers, cell phones, and websites
Footage from fighting in the Balkans
Footage and images from the 9/11 attacks
Footage of President Bush’s “bullhorn speech”

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Heroic deeds of soldiers in the Gulf War
- The *Los Angeles Times*’ reporting on the Rodney King riots
- The missed opportunities against Osama bin Laden in the 1990s
- Bill Clinton’s impeachment trial
- Heroic deeds of citizens, police, and firefighters on 9/11, including the passengers on Flight 93
- Fighting in the first months in Afghanistan

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the Chinese protesting in Tiananmen Square? What happened?
- What events in Europe and within the Soviet Union led to the fall of the Berlin Wall?
- Why did the United States fight the Gulf War? What was the outcome?
- What were some of the appeals of Bill Clinton in 1992?
- How did American jobs and businesses change during the 1990s and early 2000s, especially in small towns, the “Rust Belt,” and the “Sun Belt”?
- What legislation and policies did Bill Clinton and Congress use during the 1990s to balance the federal budget and spur economic growth?
- How did American culture and demographics further change during the 1990s?
- What happened on September 11, 2001? Why did it happen?
- What policy events from the 1980s and 1990s paved the way for the September 11 attacks?
- What were America’s responses to the September 11 attacks, both militarily and at home?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 100: Name one war fought by the United States in the 1900s.
 - Question 114: Why did the United States enter the Persian Gulf War?
 - Question 115: What major event happened on September 11, 2001, in the United States?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The collapse of the Soviet Union marked an American victory in the Cold War. Decades of high-stakes maneuvering—in economics, in policy, and on the battlefield—culminated in this event which had for much of the Cold War seemed impossible. But now, coming off this great victory and the prosperity of the Reagan years, America was poised to be the sole superpower in the world, one that would seek to promote self-government and free enterprise at home and abroad. The 1990s continued the economic

gains of the 1980s, while America's military and intelligence apparatus turned toward the affairs of smaller countries in the Caribbean, the Balkans, and the Middle East. The new global economy brought advantages and challenges to Americans. But the relative calm with which America approached the start of the 21st century was suddenly disrupted by the terror attacks on September 11, 2001, which would dramatically shift American foreign policy and the American way of life.

Teachers might best plan and teach America after the Cold War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Walk students through the final events leading to the collapse of the Soviet Union and what the world has since learned about life in the Soviet Union, the atrocities of communism, and its economic failures.
- Consider the status of America, both on the world stage and economically, at the start of the 1990s. The order that victory in World War II seemed to have promised but which the Cold War delayed appeared finally to have arrived.
- Study with students the impetus for fighting the Gulf War and the shifting spheres for foreign policy.
- Review the presidency of Bill Clinton, especially the extent to which he and the Republican Congress worked together during the 1990s and the effects these policies had on the budget, economic growth, trade, and domestic manufacturing.
- Examine changing attitudes and practices in America regarding marriage rates, birth rates, divorce rates, religious participation, crime, and welfare during the 1990s.
- Explain to students the technological changes that occurred during the 1990s, especially the widespread development of personal computers and the Internet and their effects on Americans' communications and lifestyle.
- Teach about the conflicts in Haiti and the Balkans during the 1990s, including America's and NATO's involvement.
- Detail the events leading up to the September 11 attacks in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Shanksville, Pennsylvania. Cover the history of that day in detail, including the many acts of heroism exhibited by selfless American citizens.
- Outline with students the major policy actions and events in response to the September 11 attacks, including the military campaigns in Afghanistan, changes to airport security, and the expansion of intelligence agencies and powers, especially under the Patriot Act.
- Have students think through the various advantages and disadvantages each side had in the Afghanistan War.
- Highlight the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in Afghanistan.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how the American economy and demographics changed during the 1990s (2-3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Describe what happened on September 11, 2001, and explain the United States' response in the months and years that followed (2-3 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Recent American History | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 408-417

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Describe President George H. W. Bush's demeanor during the collapse of the Soviet Union. Why did he respond this way?
2. What was the action taken by the Bush administration that the book describes as supporting Francis Fukuyama's claim that the end of the Cold War marked "the end of history"?
3. During his early presidency, what was President Clinton's most notable achievement?
4. What was President Clinton's strategy for remaining popular during the end of his first term?
5. Describe George W. Bush's posture towards potential acts of terror following the September 11th attacks. Provide an example of the Bush administration's action.

Name_____

Date_____

Unit 8 — Formative Quiz

Recent American History | Lessons 1-2
10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What happened in Vietnam after the American forces withdrew? What can this teach us about military involvement in other countries?
2. What were Jimmy Carter's foreign policy successes and failures?
3. How did Ronald Reagan change the role of the federal government?
4. What events in Europe and within the Soviet Union led to the fall of the Berlin Wall?
5. What were some of the appeals of Bill Clinton in 1992?

- 17

Lesson 3 — Twenty-First Century America

2001–2016

3–4 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the War on Terror and the Iraq War, as well as the domestic successes and struggles of the following 15 years.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope
Primary Sources

Pages 417-428
See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 380-381, 385-395
Pages 251-252, 256-257

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lecture 25
Lecture 10

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 416-428, and either complete the reading questions handout in the *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 251-252 & 256-257) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Fallujah
Benghazi
North Korea

Persons

Mark Zuckerberg
Barack Obama
Edward Snowden

Hillary Clinton
Donald Trump

Terms and Topics

neoconservative
“weapons of mass
destruction” (WMD)
de-Ba’athification

improvised explosive device
(IED)
Google
iPhone

social media	establishment
Facebook	<i>Citizens United v. FEC</i>
<i>Harry Potter</i>	Tea Party movement
celebrities	school choice
Iraq War troop surge	Afghanistan troop surge
national debt	Benghazi attack
personal debt	Chinese Communist Party
subprime mortgages	IRS targeting
housing crisis	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
bailout	(ISIS)
Great Recession	<i>Obergefell v. Hodges</i>
Affordable Care Act	Twitter
("Obamacare")	nationalism

Primary Sources

Address at Cairo University, Barack Obama
 Remarks to the People of Poland, Donald Trump
 Remarks at Mount Rushmore, Donald Trump

To Know by Heart

"There is not a liberal America and a conservative America—there is the United States of America. There is not a black America and a white America and Latino America and Asian America—there's the United States of America." —Barack Obama

"[O]n both sides of the Atlantic, our citizens are confronted by yet another danger—one firmly within our control[:] ... the steady creep of government bureaucracy that drains the vitality and wealth of the people. The West became great not because of paperwork and regulations but because people were allowed to chase their dreams and pursue their destinies." —Donald Trump, Remarks to the People of Poland

"Against every law of society and nature, our children are taught in school to hate their own country, and to believe that the men and women who built it were not heroes, but that [they] were villains. The radical view of American history is a web of lies—all perspective is removed, every virtue is obscured, every motive is twisted, every fact is distorted, and every flaw is magnified until the history is purged and the record is disfigured beyond all recognition." —Donald Trump, Remarks at Mt. Rushmore

Timeline

2001–2021	Afghanistan War
2003–2011	Iraq War
2008	Housing market collapse
2008–2009	Great Recession

Images

Historical figures and events
 Images and uniforms of American and Iraqi soldiers
 Footage and photographs of scenes from Iraq
 Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles

Military equipment and weaponry
Destruction from the Iraq War
Antiwar protests
First iPhone
Tea Party protests
Images of China's economic and military growth
Images of ISIS

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Heroic deeds of soldiers in the Iraq War and Afghanistan War
- Some of the atrocities committed by ISIS

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- Why did the United States invade Iraq?
- What roles did the defense industry and neoconservative policy have in the start and in the long-term goal of the Iraq War?
- What role did de-Ba'athification and the discharge of the Iraqi Army have in the course of the war in Iraq?
- What was fighting like in Iraq after the initial invasion?
- How did smartphones and social media change the flow of information, the economy, and communication in the United States?
- What caused the 2008 housing market collapse?
- How did Congress's response to the 2008 financial crisis help or hinder economic recovery?
- How did ISIS come into existence and overrun much of Iraq, Syria, and Libya?
- Question from the U.S. Civics Test:
 - Question 116: Name one U.S. military conflict after the September 11, 2001, attacks.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The September 11 attacks opened a new era in American history, one that has defined much of American foreign policy and politics until the present. The power of the presidency and of the federal government continued to grow during the War on Terror and the Iraq War begun in 2003. At home, America experienced a revived antiwar movement and then an economic crash in 2008. During the presidencies of Barack Obama and Donald Trump, American political alignments became increasingly partisan and divisive. All the while, the advent of smartphones and social media revolutionized the way Americans communicate and share ideas. As the American economy continued to globalize, China's growth in economic and political power, the growing influence of nongovernmental organizations, and the power of technology companies all presented a new chapter in American history.

Teachers might best plan and teach Twenty-First Century America with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Review with students the debates leading up to the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Students should understand the arguments at the time, the disposition of the American citizenry against the

backdrop of the September 11 attacks, and the information that has since been revealed about the origins of the conflict.

- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had in the Iraq War and how these shifted during the war. Of special importance was the de-Ba'athification of Iraq and the dismissal of the Iraqi Army.
- Highlight the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the Iraq War.
- Explain the origins of the 2008 housing bubble and the economic crash and recession that followed, including the effect of subprime mortgages and the role of federal policy, the banking industry, personal debt, the government bailouts and stimulus, and uncertain federal fiscal and monetary policy in the years that followed.
- Outline for students the main political debates involving the Affordable Care Act, the Tea Party movement, and the Occupy protests.
- Review American foreign policy during the late Bush administration and the Obama administration. Noteworthy events to cover in some detail include the 2007 troop surge in Iraq, Barack Obama's address at Cairo University and the Arab Spring, the NATO bombing campaign in Libya, the attack on the American diplomatic compound in Benghazi, and the rise of ISIS.
- Introduce the unexpected electoral victory of Donald Trump in 2016 and the political shift in the populace that led to his election.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENT

Assignment: Explain the major foreign and domestic events in the United States since 2003 (4–5 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Recent American History | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 416-428

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What effect did the recession of 2008 have on the general public's opinion of government? Why?
2. What problems did President Obama's healthcare plan attempt to address?
3. What political activist movement led to a Republican House majority in 2010, effectively stopping President Obama's legislative plans for the rest of his presidency?
4. What rising idea did President Trump emphasize during his time in office?
5. According to the book, what is the great unresolved bipartisan problem that best illustrates the dysfunction of our current political system?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Study Guide — Recent American History Test

Unit 8

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1975-1976	Reunification of Vietnam
1978-1979	Iranian Revolution
1979-1981	Iran hostage crisis
1980	Ronald Reagan elected president
1985-1987	Iran-Contra Affair
1989	Fall of the Berlin Wall
1990-1991	Gulf War
1991	Dissolution of the Soviet Union
2001	9/11 attacks
2001–2021	Afghanistan War
2003–2011	Iraq War
2008	Housing market collapse
2008–2009	Great Recession

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

Saigon	Berlin	Balkans
Egypt	Middle East	Ground Zero
Israel	Iraq	Shanksville, Pennsylvania
Iran	Kuwait	Fallujah
Afghanistan	Persian Gulf	Benghazi
Grenada	Panama	North Korea
Libya	Somalia	
Taiwan	Haiti	

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

Gerald Ford	Ronald Reagan	Mikhail Gorbachev
Jimmy Carter	Sandra Day O'Connor	George H. W. Bush
Anwar el-Sadat	Muammar Gaddafi	Boris Yeltsin
Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini	Margaret Thatcher	Saddam Hussein
	Pope John Paul II	Colin Powell

Clarence Thomas
 Ross Perot
 Pat Buchanan
 Bill Clinton
 Newt Gingrich

Bill Gates
 George W. Bush
 Al Gore
 Dick Cheney
 Osama bin Laden

Mark Zuckerberg
 Barack Obama
 Edward Snowden
 Hillary Clinton
 Donald Trump

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

stagflation
 taxation
 Khmer Rouge
 Fall of Saigon
 bicentennial
 Carter Doctrine
 Camp David Accords
 Iranian Revolution
 Iranian Hostage Crisis
 abortion
 social conservatives
 libertarians
 limited government
 “Big Government”
 Reaganomics
 Economic Recovery Tax Act
 Social Security
 national debt
 Department of Education
 Strategic Defense Initiative
 (SDI)
 Solidarity
 Euromissile crisis
 glasnost
 perestroika
 Berlin Wall
 Strategic Arms Reduction
 Treaty (START)
 Tiananmen Square massacre
 Operation Desert Storm
 UN Security Council

Invasion of Panama
 Waco massacre
 Whitewater Controversy
 European Union
 globalism
 nongovernmental
 organizations (NGOs)
 Violent Crime Control Act
 terrorism
 jihad
 The Internet
 personal computer
 North American Free Trade
 Agreement (NAFTA)
 illegal immigration
 outsourcing
 “Rust Belt”
 “Sun Belt”
 “Contract with America”
 Welfare Reform Act
 budget surplus
 Oklahoma City bombing
 impeachment
 2000 election
 World Trade Center
 The Pentagon
 Flight 93
 al-Qaeda
 War on Terror
 Taliban
 Battle of Tora Bora

Patriot Act
 No Child Left Behind Act
 neoconservative
 “weapons of mass
 destruction” (WMD)
 de-Ba’athification
 improvised explosive device
 (IED)
 Google
 iPhone
 social media
 Facebook
 Iraq War troop surge
 national debt
 personal debt
 subprime mortgages
 housing crisis
 bailout
 Great Recession
 Affordable Care Act
 (“Obamacare”)
 Tea Party movement
 Afghanistan troop surge
 Benghazi attack
 Chinese Communist Party
 IRS targeting
 Islamic State of Iraq and
 Syria (ISIS)
Obergefell v. Hodges
 Twitter
 nationalism

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.

First Inaugural Address, Ronald Reagan
Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate, Ronald Reagan
Remarks at Moscow State University, Ronald Reagan
Contract with America, Republican National Committee
Address to a Joint Session of Congress, George W. Bush
Address at Cairo University, Barack Obama
Remarks to the People of Poland, Donald Trump
Remarks at Mount Rushmore, Donald Trump

TO KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“From time to time, we have been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. But if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else?” —Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address

“Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!” —Ronald Reagan, Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate

“Government’s first duty is to protect the people, not run their lives.” —Ronald Reagan

“Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. We didn’t pass it to our children in the bloodstream. It must be fought for, protected, and handed on for them to do the same.” —Ronald Reagan

“[T]he nine most terrifying words in the English language are: I’m from the government and I’m here to help.” —Ronald Reagan

“The era of big government is over.” —Bill Clinton

“There is not a liberal America and a conservative America—there is the United States of America. There is not a black America and a white America and Latino America and Asian America—there’s the United States of America.” —Barack Obama

“[O]n both sides of the Atlantic, our citizens are confronted by yet another danger—one firmly within our control[:] ... the steady creep of government bureaucracy that drains the vitality and wealth of the people. The West became great not because of paperwork and regulations but because people were allowed to chase their dreams and pursue their destinies.” —Donald Trump, Remarks to the People of Poland

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biography of Ronald Reagan
- How the Iranian Revolution and hostage crisis unfolded
- Hamilton Jordan’s accounts of the Iranian Hostage Crisis

- Debates between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan
- The arming of the Taliban against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan
- William Harwood's eyewitness account of the *Challenger* disaster
- Heroic deeds of soldiers in the Gulf War
- The *Los Angeles Times*' reporting on the Rodney King riots
- Bill Clinton's impeachment trial
- Heroic deeds of citizens, police, and firefighters on 9/11, including the passengers on Flight 93
- Fighting in the first months in Afghanistan
- Heroic deeds of soldiers in the Iraq War and Afghanistan War

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | Crossroads, at Home and Abroad

- ☐ What caused stagflation during the 1970s?
- ☐ What happened in Vietnam after the American forces withdrew? What can this teach us about military involvement in other countries?
- ☐ What were Jimmy Carter's foreign policy successes and failures?
- ☐ What role did the Supreme Court play in the changing culture of the 1970s?
- ☐ Who made up the Reagan coalition that led to his 1980 election victory?
- ☐ How did Ronald Reagan change the role of the federal government?
- ☐ How did Reagan's economic policies foster a stronger economy during the 1980s?
- ☐ How did the policies and words of the Reagan administration successfully confront the Soviet Union?

Lesson 2 | America after the Cold War

- ☐ What were the Chinese protesting in Tiananmen Square? What happened?
- ☐ What events in Europe and within the Soviet Union led to the fall of the Berlin Wall?
- ☐ Why did the United States fight the Gulf War? What was the outcome?
- ☐ What were some of the appeals of Bill Clinton in 1992?
- ☐ How did American jobs and businesses change during the 1990s and early 2000s, especially in small towns, the "Rust Belt," and the "Sun Belt"?
- ☐ What legislation and policies did Bill Clinton and Congress use during the 1990s to balance the federal budget and spur economic growth?
- ☐ How did American culture and demographics further change during the 1990s?
- ☐ What happened on September 11, 2001? Why did it happen?
- ☐ What policy events from the 1980s and 1990s paved the way for the September 11th attacks?
- ☐ What were America's responses to the September 11th attacks, both militarily and at home?

Lesson 3 | Twenty-First Century America

- ☐ Why did the United States invade Iraq?
- ☐ What roles did the defense industry and neoconservative policy have in the start and in the long-term goal of the Iraq War?

- ☐ What role did de-Ba'athification and the discharge of the Iraqi Army have in the course of the war in Iraq?
- ☐ What was fighting like in Iraq after the initial invasion?
- ☐ How did smartphones and social media change the flow of information, the economy, and communication in the United States?
- ☐ What caused the 2008 housing market collapse?
- ☐ How did Congress's response to the 2008 financial crisis help or hinder economic recovery?
- ☐ How did ISIS come into existence and overrun much of Iraq, Syria, and Libya?

Name_____

Date_____

Test — Recent American History

Unit 8

TIMELINE

Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

1975-1976	_____	A. Dissolution of the Soviet Union
1978-1979	_____	B. Afghanistan War
1980	_____	C. Iranian Revolution
1979-1981	_____	D. Iran hostage crisis
1985-1987	_____	E. Great Recession
1989	_____	F. Fall of the Berlin Wall
1990-1991	_____	G. Reunification of Vietnam
1991	_____	H. Iran-Contra Affair
2001	_____	I. Housing market collapse
2001-2002	_____	J. Ronald Reagan elected president
2003-2021	_____	K. Iraq War
2008	_____	L. 9/11 attacks
2008-2009	_____	M. Gulf War

GEOGRAPHY & PLACES

Answer the following questions based on readings, class notes, and the Cold War map below.

1. What was the name of South Vietnam's capital that fell in 1975, marking the true end of the Vietnam War?

2. What body of water is the namesake of the 1991 war that followed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait?
3. What was the name of the Iraqi city the United States invaded in April 2003?

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks.

4. President George W. Bush declared the _____ in response to the September 11th attacks.
5. President _____ exuded a sense of calm and competence during the post-Watergate uncertainty and upheaval, and thus helped to alleviate Americans' high distrust in public figures.
6. The _____ was a foreign policy created in the late 1970s aimed at defending the United States' security interests in the Persian Gulf region.
7. President George W. Bush's administration left a lasting impact on public K-12 education via the passage of the _____ in 2001.
8. The potential presence of _____ in Iraq played a significant role in the United States' decision to invade the country in 2003.
9. The _____ was a major legislative focus of President Barack Obama's first term in office.
10. After Mikhail Gorbachev was named premier of the Soviet Union in 1985, he aimed to restructure its political and economic systems, largely through the two policies of _____ and _____.
11. _____ famously used a PR strategy called "triangulation" during his presidency to claim many policy successes.

12. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan introduced the _____ in order to restore the American economy.
13. _____ was president of Iraq during the U.S. invasion in 2003.
14. _____ was a major economic problem throughout the 1970s, caused by the presence of inflation and flat economic growth.
15. The Great Recession of 2008 began with a widespread housing crisis fueled by the large number of _____ present in the real estate and financial systems.
16. In 1991, the United States successfully fought the _____ in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait the same year.
17. President Reagan's actions in response to the _____ of 1983 demonstrated his resolve to aggressively confront the Soviet Union, even against substantial opposition.
18. _____ was a whistleblower responsible for leaking a large amount of highly classified information from the National Security Agency in 2009.
19. President _____ narrowly emerged victorious in the controversial 2000 presidential election over his Democratic opponent, Al Gore.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker/author.

20. "Mr. Gorbachev, _____!" —Ronald Reagan, Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate
21. "The era of big government is over." — _____

22. “_____ is never more than one generation away from extinction. We didn’t pass it to our children through _____. It must be fought for, protected, and handed on for them to do the same.” —Ronald Reagan
23. “The most terrifying words in the English language are: I’m from _____ and I’m _____.” —Ronald Reagan
24. “[T]here is a new _____ that demands absolute allegiance. If you do not _____ its language, perform its _____, _____ its mantras, and follow its _____, then you will be censored, banished, blacklisted, persecuted, and punished.” —_____, Remarks at Mt. Rushmore

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

25. The 1980 presidential debates between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan

26. The heroic deeds of passengers on Flight 93

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

27. What caused stagflation during the 1970s?

28. What role did the Supreme Court play in changing the culture of the 1970s?

29. Who made up the Reagan coalition that led to his 1980 election victory?

30. How did Ronald Reagan's economic policies foster a stronger economy during the 1980s?

31. How did the policies and words of the Reagan administration successfully confront the Soviet Union?

32. Who were the Chinese protesting in Tiananmen Square? What happened?

33. Why did the United States fight the Gulf War? What was the outcome?
34. How did American jobs and businesses change during the 1990s and early 2000s, especially in small towns, the “Rust Belt,” and the “Sun Belt”?
35. How did American culture and demographics further change during the 1990s?
36. What happened on September 11, 2001? Why did it happen?
37. What were America’s responses to the above event, both militarily and at home?
38. Why did the United States invade Iraq?
39. What roles did the defense industry and neoconservative policy have in the start of and in the long-term goals of the Iraq War?
40. What was fighting like in Iraq after the initial invasion?
41. What caused the 2008 housing market collapse?
42. How did Congress’ response to the 2008 financial crisis help or hinder economic recovery?

Writing Assignment — Recent American History

Unit 8

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write an essay of 500–800 words answering the following question:

Following the fall of the Soviet Union, how did American foreign policy shift from its Cold War principles to respond to the problems of the contemporary world?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Ronald Reagan

Republican National Committee (RNC)

George W. Bush

Barack Obama

Donald Trump

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

First Inaugural Address

SPEECH

January 20, 1981

U.S. Capitol Building | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

In the midst of rising hostilities between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the actor-turned-politician Ronald Reagan ran a robust campaign against incumbent Jimmy Carter. Reagan won the election with the most electoral votes against any incumbent in U.S. history.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What problems in America does Reagan address?
2. What solutions to these problems does he propose?
3. Who are the “heroes” that Reagan mentions and to whom do they belong?
4. What is the relationship between the government and the people?
5. Where is the inauguration held and why is the location important?

Ronald Reagan. “First Inaugural Address (1981)”. January 20, 1981. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/first-inaugural-address-6/>.

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Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Bush, Vice President Mondale, Senator Baker, Speaker O'Neill, Reverend Moomaw, and my fellow citizens: To a few of us here today, this is a solemn and most momentous occasion; and yet, in the history of our Nation, it is a commonplace occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority
5 as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place as it has for almost two centuries and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every-4-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process, you have shown a
10 watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other, and I thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our Republic.

The business of our nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an
15 economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift, and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, causing human misery and
20 personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades, we have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children's future for the
25 temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals.

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You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time. Why, then, should we think that collectively, as a nation, we are not bound by that same limitation?

5 We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding—we are going to begin to act, beginning today.

The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks, or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we, as Americans, have the capacity now, as we have had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.

10 In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.

15 From time to time, we have been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. But if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable, with no one group singled out to pay a higher price.

20 We hear much of special interest groups. Our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries or ethnic and racial divisions, and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and our factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we are sick—professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies, and truckdrivers. They are, in short, “We the people,” this breed called Americans.

25 Well, this administration’s objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunity for all Americans, with no barriers born of bigotry or

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discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All must share in the productive work of this “new beginning” and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our
5 system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America at peace with itself and the world.

So, as we begin, let us take inventory. We are a nation that has a government—not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the Earth. Our Government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and
10 reverse the growth of government which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people. All of us need to be
15 reminded that the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government.

Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it is not my intention to do away with government. It is, rather, to make it work—work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother
20 it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

If we look to the answer as to why, for so many years, we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on Earth, it was because here, in this land, we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any
25 other place on Earth. The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel and are proportionate to the intervention and intrusion in our lives that result from unnecessary and excessive growth of government. It is time for us to realize that we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We are not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage, and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope.

We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say that we are in a time when there are no heroes just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter—and they are on both sides of that counter. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They are individuals and families whose taxes support the Government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

I have used the words “they” and “their” in speaking of these heroes. I could say “you” and “your” because I am addressing the heroes of whom I speak—you, the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen, and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they are sick, and provide opportunities to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well, the answer is an unequivocal and emphatic “yes.” To paraphrase Winston Churchill, I did not take the oath I have just

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taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy.

5 In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow—measured in inches and feet, not miles—but we will progress. Is it time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles, there will be no compromise.

10 On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans, “Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of.... On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions upon which rests the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves.”

15 Well, I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for ourselves, our children and our children's children.

20 And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty, for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

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As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it—now or ever.

5 Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.

10 Above all, we must realize that no arsenal, or no weapon in the arsenals of the world, is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

15 I am told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day, and for that I am deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each Inauguration Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer.

This is the first time in history that this ceremony has been held, as you have been told, on this West Front of the Capitol. Standing here, one faces a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

20 Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man: George Washington, Father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. Off to one side, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence.

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And then beyond the Reflecting Pool the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

5 Beyond those monuments to heroism is the Potomac River, and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery with its row on row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom.

10 Each one of those markers is a monument to the kinds of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, The Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam.

15 Under one such marker lies a young man—Martin Treptow—who left his job in a small town barber shop in 1917 to go to France with the famed Rainbow Division. There, on the western front, he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire.

We are told that on his body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading, “My Pledge,” he had written these words: “America must win this war. Therefore, I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone.”

20 The crisis we are facing today does not require of us the kind of sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. It does require, however, our best effort, and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds; to believe that together, with God’s help, we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us.

25 And, after all, why shouldn’t we believe that? We are Americans. God bless you, and thank you.

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate

SPEECH

June 12, 1987

Brandenburg Gate | West Berlin, Germany

BACKGROUND

President Reagan delivered this speech alongside the Berlin Wall. The wall was erected in 1961 in order to divide democratic and communist Europe.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why have American presidents chosen to speak in Berlin?
2. What is the Marshall plan?
3. What differences does Reagan note about life under democracy and life under communism?
4. What does Reagan demand from General Secretary Gorbachev? Why?

Ronald Reagan. "Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin". Presidential Message, June 12, 1987. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/speech-at-brandenburg-gate/>

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. . . Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the city hall. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

- 5 We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. . . .

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic, south, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers.

- 10 Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same – still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon
15 the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

- . . . Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope,
20 even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

- In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State – as you've been told – George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall plan. Speaking
25 precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

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In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: “The Marshall plan is helping here to strengthen the free world.” A strong, free world in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium – virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle . . .

. . . From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. . .

In the 1950’s, Khrushchev predicted: “We will bury you.” But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind – too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control. Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and

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openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace.

5 There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent – and I pledge to you my country’s efforts to help overcome these burdens. . . .

10 In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete. Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create
15 a safer, freer world.

And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. . . .

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Remarks at Moscow State University

SPEECH

May 31, 1988

Moscow State University | Moscow, Russia

BACKGROUND

President Reagan delivered this address to students at Moscow State University in Russia, standing under a bust of Vladimir Lenin. His speech was also broadcast across the Soviet Union, making him the first U.S. president to address the Soviet people directly.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What bloodless revolution does Reagan speak of?
2. What is the key to freedom?
3. Why is government planning of the economy a poor substitute for individualism?
4. What is the “standard by which governments are measured?”
5. What progress has Reagan seen between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and what does he hope to see in the future?

Ronald Reagan. “Remarks at Moscow State University”. Presidential Message, May 31, 1988. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/remarks-at-moscow-state-university/>.

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...Thank you, Rector Logunov, and I want to thank all of you very much for a very warm welcome. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, and I want to thank you all for turning out. I know you must be very busy this week, studying and taking your final examinations. So, let me just say zhelayu yam uspekha [I wish you success]...

- 5 Let me say it's also a great pleasure to once again have this opportunity to speak directly to the people of the Soviet Union. Before I left Washington, I received many heartfelt letters and telegrams asking me to carry here a simple message, perhaps, but also some of the most important business of this summit: It is a message of peace and good will and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples.
- 10 As you know, I've come to Moscow to meet with one of your most distinguished graduates. In this, our fourth summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we're getting to know each other well. Our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day, issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a
- 15 little time to talk to you much as I would to any group of university students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today but of the possibilities of tomorrow.

- Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, quietly sweeping the globe without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter
- 20 old assumptions, and reshape our lives. It's easy to underestimate because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called the technological or information revolution, and as its emblem, one might take the tiny silicon chip, no bigger than a fingerprint. One of these chips has more computing power than a roomful of old-style computers.

- 25 As part of an exchange program, we now have an exhibition touring your country that shows how information technology is transforming our lives—replacing manual labor with robots, forecasting weather for farmers, or mapping the genetic code of DNA for

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medical researchers. These microcomputers today aid the design of everything from houses to ears to spacecraft; they even design better and faster computers. They can translate English into Russian or enable the blind to read or help Michael Jackson produce on one synthesizer the sounds of a whole orchestra. Linked by a network of satellites and fiber-optic cables, one individual with a desktop computer and a telephone commands resources unavailable to the largest governments just a few years ago.

Like a chrysalis, we're emerging from the economy of the Industrial Revolution—an economy confined to and limited by the Earth's physical resources—into, as one economist titled his book, "The Economy in Mind," in which there are no bounds on human imagination and the freedom to create is the most precious natural resource. Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire. In the new economy, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We're breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man creates his own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we're returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the book of Genesis in the Bible: In the beginning was the spirit, and it was from this spirit that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

But progress is not foreordained. The key is freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this university, Mikhail Lomonosov, knew that. "It is common knowledge," he said, "that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." You know, one of the first contacts between your country and mine took place between Russian and American explorers. The Americans were members of Cook's last voyage on an expedition searching for an Arctic passage; on the island of Unalaska, they came upon

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the Russians, who took them in, and together with the native inhabitants, held a prayer service on the ice.

The explorers of the modern era are the entrepreneurs, men with vision, with the courage to take risks and faith enough to brave the unknown. These entrepreneurs and their small enterprises are responsible for almost all the economic growth in the United States. They are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college students, no older than you, in the garage behind their home. Some people, even in my own country, look at the riot of experiment that is the free market and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many do, particularly the successful ones; often several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they'll tell you it's all that they learned in their struggles along the way; yes, it's what they learned from failing. Like an athlete in competition or a scholar in pursuit of the truth, experience is the greatest teacher.

And that's why it's so hard for government planners, no matter how sophisticated, to ever substitute for millions of individuals working night and day to make their dreams come true. The fact is, bureaucracies are a problem around the world. There's an old story about a town—it could be anywhere—with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good-for-nothing, but he somehow had always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman got up and said to him: "There is a folk legend here where I come from that when a baby is born, an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman. If he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you so that you should sit there for so long and do nothing." [Laughter]

We are seeing the power of economic freedom spreading around the world. Places such as the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax agricultural policies in the subcontinent mean that in some years India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most

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exciting are the winds of change that are blowing over the People's Republic of China, where one-quarter of the world's population is now getting its first taste of economic freedom. At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age. In Latin America in the 1970's, only a third of the population lived under democratic government; today over 90 percent does. In the Philippines, in the Republic of Korea, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth. Democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

...Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections...Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you'll see dozens of churches, representing many different beliefs—in many places, synagogues and mosques—and you'll see families of every conceivable nationality worshipping together. Go into any schoolroom, and there you will see children being taught the Declaration of Independence, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights—among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that no government can justly deny; the guarantees in their Constitution for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion. Go into any courtroom, and there will preside an independent judge, beholden to no government power. There every defendant has the right to a trial by a jury of his peers, usually 12 men and women—common citizens; they are the ones, the only ones, who weigh the evidence and decide on guilt or innocence. In that court, the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and the word of a policeman or any official has no greater legal standing than the word of the accused. Go to any university campus, and there you'll find an open, sometimes heated discussion of the problems in American society and what can be done to correct them. Turn on the television, and you'll see the legislature conducting the business of government right there before the camera, debating and voting on the legislation that will become the law of the land. March in any demonstration, and there are many of them; the people's right of assembly is guaranteed in the Constitution and protected by the police. Go into any union hall, where the members know their right to strike is protected by law. As a matter of fact, one of the many jobs I had before this one was being

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president of a union, the Screen Actors Guild. I led my union out on strike, and I'm proud to say we won.

But freedom is more even than this. Freedom is the right to question and change the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. It is the understanding that allows us to recognize shortcomings and seek solutions. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by the experts, and watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to dream—to follow your dream or stick to your conscience, even if you're the only one in a sea of doubters. Freedom is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every individual life is infinitely precious, that every one of us put on this world has been put there for a reason and has something to offer.

America is a nation made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to you are more than ones of good feeling; they're ties of kinship. In America, you'll find Russians, Armenians, Ukrainians, peoples from Eastern Europe and Central Asia. They come from every part of this vast continent, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each cultural heritage is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives. Recently, a few individuals and families have been allowed to visit relatives in the West. We can only hope that it won't be long before all are allowed to do so and Ukrainian-Americans, Baltic-Americans, Armenian-Americans can freely visit their homelands, just as this Irish-American visits his.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth. Because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. "Reason and experience," said George Washington in his Farewell Address, "both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle. And it is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government." Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government limited,

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unintrusive; a system of constraints on power to keep politics and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after
5 all, needs to tell the land of Dostoyevski about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinski and Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of the Uzbek man of letters Alisher Navoi about beauty and heart? The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. Let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom. It comes, not from the literature of America, but from this
10 country, from one of the greatest writers of the 20th century, Boris Pasternak, in the novel “Dr. Zhivago.” He writes: “I think that if the beast who sleeps in man could be held down by threats—any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death—then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But this is just the point—what has for centuries raised
15 man above the beast is not the cudgel, but an inward music—the irresistible power of unarmed truth.”

...Today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union. We watch and we hope as we see positive changes taking place. There are some, I know, in your society who fear that change will bring only disruption and
20 discontinuity, who fear to embrace the hope of the future—sometimes it takes faith...

...But change would not mean rejection of the past. Like a tree growing strong through the seasons, rooted in the Earth and drawing life from the Sun, so, too, positive change must be rooted in traditional values—in the land, in culture, in family and community—and it must take its life from the eternal things, from the source of all life, which is faith.
25 Such change will lead to new understandings, new opportunities, to a broader future in which the tradition is not supplanted but finds its full flowering. That is the future beckoning to your generation.

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At the same time, we should remember that reform that is not institutionalized will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A bird on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. And that is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have spoken of how important it is to institutionalize change—to put guarantees on reform. And we've been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world: the Berlin Wall. It's time to remove the barriers that keep people apart.

I'm proposing an increased exchange program of high school students between our countries...Nothing would please us more than for the Soviet people to get to know us better and to understand our way of life.

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together. The INF treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington and whose instruments of ratification we will exchange tomorrow—the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. And just 16 days ago, we saw the beginning of your withdrawal from Afghanistan, which gives us hope that soon the fighting may end and the healing may begin and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

...Nations do not distrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. Peace between nations must be an enduring goal, not a tactical stage in a continuing conflict.

...People do not make wars; governments do. And no mother would ever willingly sacrifice her sons for territorial gain, for economic advantage, for ideology. A people free to choose will always choose peace.

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Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists. After a colonial revolution with Britain, we have cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations. After a terrible Civil War between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany and one
5 with Japan, but now the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan are two of our closest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as a sign of strain, but they're the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more than in my
10 lifetime to see American and Soviet diplomats grappling with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and growth.

And as important as these official people-to-people exchanges are, nothing would please me more than for them to become unnecessary, to see travel between East and West
15 become so routine that university students in the Soviet Union could take a month off in the summer and, just like students in the West do now, put packs on their backs and travel from country to country in Europe with barely a passport check in between. Nothing would please me more than to see the day that a concert promoter in, say, England could call up a Soviet rock group, without going through any government
20 agency, and have them playing in Liverpool the next night. Is this just a dream? Perhaps, but it is a dream that is our responsibility to have come true.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence
25 yearn to break free. I am reminded of the famous passage near the end of Gogol's "Dead Souls." Comparing his nation to a speeding troika, Gogol asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "There was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvelous sound."

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We do not know what the conclusion will be of this journey, but we're hopeful that the promise of reform will be fulfilled. In this Moscow spring, this May 1988, we may be allowed that hope: that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoy's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be
5 allowed to hope that the marvelous sound of a new openness will keep rising through, ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much, and da blagoslovit vas gospod—God bless you.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Contract with America

PARTY PLATFORM

September 27, 1994

BACKGROUND

This document was released during the mid-term elections of 1994 to explain what the Republicans would do if they gained control of Congress. The Republican party would go on to win fifty-four seats to gain control of the House of Representatives for the first time in forty years.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does the Republican Party seek to do with this contract?
2. What are the eight reforms proposed that are “aimed at restoring the faith and trust of the American people in their government?”
3. What will the 104th Congress do in its first 100 days?

Republican National Committee. “Contract with America”. Platform, September 27, 1994. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/contract-with-america-2/>.

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As Republican members of the House of Representatives and as citizens seeking to join that body we propose not just to change its policies, but even more important, to restore the bonds of trust between the people and their elected representatives.

5 That is why, in this era of official evasion and posturing, we offer instead a detailed agenda for national renewal, a written commitment with no fine print.

10 This year's election offers the chance, after four decades of one-party control, to bring to the House a new majority that will transform the way Congress works. That historic change would be the end of government that is too big, too intrusive, and too easy with the public's money. It can be the beginning of a Congress that respects the values and shares the faith of the American family.

Like Lincoln, our first Republican president, we intend to act "with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right." To restore accountability to Congress. To end its cycle of scandal and disgrace. To make us all proud again of the way free people govern themselves.

15 On the first day of the 104th Congress, the new Republican majority will immediately pass the following major reforms, aimed at restoring the faith and trust of the American people in their government:

- ☐ FIRST, require all laws that apply to the rest of the country also apply equally to the Congress;
- ☐ SECOND, select a major, independent auditing firm to conduct a comprehensive audit of Congress for waste, fraud, or abuse;
- ☐ THIRD, cut the number of House committees, and cut committee staff by one-third;
- ☐ FOURTH, limit the terms of all committee chairs;
- ☐ FIFTH, ban the casting of proxy votes in committee;

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- ☐ SIXTH, require committee meetings to be open to the public;
- ☐ SEVENTH, require a three-fifths majority vote to pass a tax increase;
- ☐ EIGHTH, guarantee an honest accounting of our federal budget by implementing zero base-line budgeting.

Thereafter, within the first one hundred days of the 104th Congress, we shall bring to the House floor the following bills, each to be given full and open debate, each to be given a clear and fair vote and each to be immediately available this day for public inspection and scrutiny.

1. The Fiscal Responsibility Act: A balanced budget/tax limitation amendment and a legislative line-item veto to restore fiscal responsibility to an out-of-control Congress, requiring them to live under the same budget constraints as families and businesses.
2. The Taking Back Our Streets Act: An anticrime package including stronger truth-in-sentencing, “good faith” exclusionary rule exemptions, effective death penalty provisions, and cuts in social spending from this summer’s “crime” bill to fund prison construction and additional law enforcement to keep people secure in their neighborhoods and kids safe in their schools.
3. The Personal Responsibility Act: Discourage illegitimacy and teen pregnancy by prohibiting welfare to minor mothers and denying increased AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] for additional children while on welfare, cut spending for welfare programs, and enact a tough two-years-and-out provision with work requirements to promote individual responsibility.
4. The Family Reinforcement Act: Child support enforcement, tax incentives for adoption, strengthening rights of parents in their children’s education, stronger child pornography laws, and an elderly dependent care tax credit to reinforce the central role of families in American society.

5. The American Dream Restoration Act: A \$500 per child tax credit, begin repeal of the marriage tax penalty, and creation of American Dream Savings Accounts to provide middle-class tax relief.
6. The National Security Restoration Act: No U.S. troops under UN command and restoration of the essential parts of our national security funding to strengthen our national defense and maintain our credibility around the world.
7. The Senior Citizens Fairness Act: Raise the Social Security earnings limit which currently forces seniors out of the workforce, repeal the 1993 tax hikes on Social Security benefits and provide tax incentives for private long-term care insurance to let older Americans keep more of what they have earned over the years.
8. The Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act: Small business incentives, capital gains cut and indexation, neutral cost recovery, risk assessment/cost-benefit analysis, strengthening the Regulatory Flexibility Act and unfunded mandate reform to create jobs and raise worker wages.
9. The Common Sense Legal Reform Act: “Loser pays” laws, reasonable limits on punitive damages, and reform of product liability laws to stem the endless tide of litigation.
10. The Citizen Legislature Act: A first-ever vote on term limits to replace career politicians with citizen legislators.

Further, we will instruct the House Budget Committee to report to the floor and we will work to enact additional budget savings, beyond the budget cuts specifically included in the legislation described above, to ensure that the federal budget deficit will be less than it would have been without the enactment of these bills.

Respecting the judgment of our fellow citizens as we seek their mandate for reform, we hereby pledge our names to this Contract with America.

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH

Address to a Joint Session of Congress

SPEECH

September 20, 2001
U.S. Congress | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

After the terrorist group al Qaeda launched attacks on the United States, resulting in about 3,000 deaths, President George W. Bush called a joint session of Congress to explain to them and the American people how the United States would respond.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How has the world come together in the days following 9/11?
2. What came under attack on 9/11?
3. What is al Qaeda and what does it stand for?
4. What demands does the United States place on the nations of the world?
5. What office does President Bush create?
6. What kind of war does the U.S. seek to fight and how will it accomplish this goal?
7. What outcome does President Bush hope to see after the U.S.'s war on terror?

George W. Bush. "Address to a Joint Session of Congress". Speech, September 20, 2001. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/address-to-a-joint-session-of-congress/>.

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Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans:

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

- 5 We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground—passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.

- 10 We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers—in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.

My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union—and it is strong.

- 15 Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.

- 20 I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing “God Bless America.” And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering \$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military.

Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country.

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And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

5 We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.

10 Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause—so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity of purpose with America. Thank you for coming, friend.

15 On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars—but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war—but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks—but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day—and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

20 Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

25 Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world—and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

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The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics—a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists’ directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and
5 civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader—a person named Osama bin Laden—are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to
10 camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda’s vision for
15 the world. Afghanistan’s people have been brutalized—many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan—after all, we are currently its
20 largest source of humanitarian aid—but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban:
25 Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close

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immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

- 5 These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

- I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those
10 who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them.

- Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until
15 every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber—a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

- 20 They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

- These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and
25 forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

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We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions—by abandoning every value except the will to power—they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history’s unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command—every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war—to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

10 This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen.

15 It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, 20 any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities 25 affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me—the Office of Homeland Security.

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And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend—Pennsylvania’s Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows.

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers.

And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I’ve called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud.

This is not, however, just America’s fight. And what is at stake is not just America’s freedom. This is the world’s fight. This is civilization’s fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded—with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America’s side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, cannot only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what—we’re not going to allow it.

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Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here.

- 5 We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

- 10 I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

- 15 I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today.

- 20 And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

- 25 Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together.

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Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency.

- 5 We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike.

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work.

- 10 Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City.

- 15 After all that has just passed—all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them—it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

- 20 Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom—the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time—now depends on us. Our nation—this generation—will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our
25 efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.

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It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came—where we were and
5 what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that
10 does not end.

I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear,
15 justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice—assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

20 Thank you.

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA

Address at Cairo University

SPEECH

June 4, 2009

Major Reception Hall, Cairo University | Cairo, Egypt

BACKGROUND

When Barack Obama was campaigning for the presidency in 2008, he promised the world that he would address Muslims from a Muslim capital shortly after being elected, with the aim of resolving tensions between the United States and Islam.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What are the principles shared by the United States and Islam?
2. What are the issues that President Obama seeks to address?
3. What is the President's "first duty?"
4. What are the human rights that ought to be upheld by every nation?
5. What religious books does Obama quote?

Barack Obama. "Address at Cairo University". Presidential Message, June 04, 2009. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/address-at-cairo-university-2/>.

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... I've come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition. Instead, they overlap and share common principles – principles of justice and progress, tolerance and the dignity of all human beings. . . .

... [H]uman history has often been a record of nations and tribes and, yes, religions subjugating one another in pursuit of their own interests. Yet in this new age, such attitudes are self-defeating. Given our interdependence, any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail. . . .

... [L]et me speak as clearly and as plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.

The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms. In Ankara, I made clear that America is not, and never will be, at war with Islam. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security, because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children. And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people. . . .

[The President next discussed Palestine, and nuclear proliferation.]

The fourth issue that I will address is democracy. . . . No system of government can or should be imposed by one nation on any other.

That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people. Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people. America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed, confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice, government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people, the freedom to live as you choose. These are not just American ideas, they are human rights. And that is why we will support them everywhere.

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Now, there is no straight line to realize this promise, but this much is clear: Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful, and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away. America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And
5 we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments, provided they govern with respect for all their people.

This last point is important, because there are some who advocate for democracy only when they're out of power. Once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others. So no matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single
10 standard for all who would hold power. You must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.

The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom. Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country. That is the spirit we need today. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the
20 mind and the heart and the soul. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it's being challenged in many different ways. . . .

The sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights. I know – [applause] – I know, and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue. I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less
25 equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality. And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well educated are far more likely to be prosperous. . . .

I am convinced that our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons. Our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity, men and women, to reach
30 their full potential. I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in

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order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles. But it should be their choice. And that is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls and to help young women pursue employment through microfinancing that helps people live their dreams.

- 5 Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity. I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory. The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence into the home. Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and change in communities. In all nations, including America, this change can bring fear. Fear that
10 because of modernity, we lose control over our economic choices, our politics, and, most importantly, our identities, those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.

- But I also know that human progress cannot be denied. There need not be contradictions between development and tradition. Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their
15 economies enormously while maintaining distinct cultures. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.

[. . .]

- 20 I know there are many, Muslim and non-Muslim, who question whether we can forge this new beginning. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division and to stand in the way of progress. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort, that we are fated to disagree and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. There's so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years. But if we
25 choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward. And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith in every country: You, more than anyone, have the ability to reimagine the world, to remake this world. . . .

- . . . It's easier to start wars than to end them. It's easier to blame others than to look inward. It's easier to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share. But we
30 should choose the right path, not just the easy path. There's one rule that lies at the heart

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of every religion, that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. This truth transcends nations and peoples, a belief that isn't new, that isn't black or white or brown, that isn't Christian or Muslim or Jew. It's a belief that pulsed in the cradle of civilization and that still beats in the hearts of billions around the world. It's a faith in other people, and it's what brought me here today. We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.

The Holy Koran tells us: "O mankind! We have created you male and a female, and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another." The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace." The Holy Bible tells us: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God." The people of the world can live together in peace. We know that is God's vision. Now that must be our work here on Earth.

Thank you, and may God's peace be upon you.

PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP

Remarks to the People of Poland

SPEECH

July 6, 2017

Krasinski Square | Warsaw, Poland

BACKGROUND

Early in his presidency, President Trump visited Poland and delivered a speech in front of the Warsaw Uprising Monument at Krasinski Square that set the tone internationally for his time in office.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the main international threat to Western Civilization?
2. What threat to Western Civilization is “firmly within our control”?
3. What is the democratic foundation that Poland and the United States have in common?
4. What was the significance of the Jerusalem Avenue Passage during the Warsaw Uprising?
5. Where does “the fight for the West” begin?

Donald Trump. “Remarks by President Trump to the People of Poland”. Presidential Message, July 06, 2017. From The White House Archives. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-people-poland/>.

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...We've come to your nation to deliver a very important message: America loves Poland, and America loves the Polish people.

The Poles have not only greatly enriched this region, but Polish-Americans have also greatly enriched the United States, and I was truly proud to have their support in the 2016
5 election.

It is a profound honor to stand in this city, by this monument to the Warsaw Uprising, and to address the Polish nation that so many generations have dreamed of: a Poland that is safe, strong, and free.

10 President Duda and your wonderful First Lady, Agata, have welcomed us with the tremendous warmth and kindness for which Poland is known around the world. Thank you. My sincere — and I mean sincere — thanks to both of them. And to Prime Minister Syzdllo, a very special thanks also.

We are also pleased that former President Lech Walesa, so famous for leading the Solidarity Movement, has joined us today ...

15 On behalf of all Americans, let me also thank the entire Polish people for the generosity you have shown in welcoming our soldiers to your country. These soldiers are not only brave defenders of freedom, but also symbols of America's commitment to your security and your place in a strong and democratic Europe.

20 We are proudly joined on stage by American, Polish, British, and Romanian soldiers. Thank you. Thank you. Great job.

President Duda and I have just come from an incredibly successful meeting with the leaders participating in the Three Seas Initiative. To the citizens of this great region, America is eager to expand our partnership with you. We welcome stronger ties of trade and commerce as you grow your economies. And we are committed to securing your access to

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alternate sources of energy, so Poland and its neighbors are never again held hostage to a single supplier of energy.

Mr. President, I congratulate you, along with the President of Croatia, on your leadership of this historic Three Seas Initiative. Thank you.

- 5 This is my first visit to Central Europe as President, and I am thrilled that it could be right here at this magnificent, beautiful piece of land. It is beautiful. Poland is the geographic heart of Europe, but more importantly, in the Polish people, we see the soul of Europe. Your nation is great because your spirit is great and your spirit is strong.

- 10 For two centuries, Poland suffered constant and brutal attacks. But while Poland could be invaded and occupied, and its borders even erased from the map, it could never be erased from history or from your hearts. In those dark days, you have lost your land but you never lost your pride.

- 15 So it is with true admiration that I can say today, that from the farms and villages of your countryside to the cathedrals and squares of your great cities, Poland lives, Poland prospers, and Poland prevails.

Despite every effort to transform you, oppress you, or destroy you, you endured and overcame. You are the proud nation of Copernicus — think of that — Chopin, Saint John Paul II. Poland is a land of great heroes. And you are a people who know the true value of what you defend.

- 20 The triumph of the Polish spirit over centuries of hardship gives us all hope for a future in which good conquers evil, and peace achieves victory over war.

- 25 For Americans, Poland has been a symbol of hope since the beginning of our nation. Polish heroes and American patriots fought side by side in our War of Independence and in many wars that followed. Our soldiers still serve together today in Afghanistan and Iraq, combatting the enemies of all civilization.

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For America's part, we have never given up on freedom and independence as the right and destiny of the Polish people, and we never, ever will.

Our two countries share a special bond forged by unique histories and national characters. It's a fellowship that exists only among people who have fought and bled and
5 died for freedom.

The signs of this friendship stand in our nation's capital. Just steps from the White House, we've raised statues of men with names like Pułaski and Kościuszko. The same is true in Warsaw, where street signs carry the name of George Washington, and a monument stands to one of the world's greatest heroes, Ronald Reagan.

10 And so I am here today not just to visit an old ally, but to hold it up as an example for others who seek freedom and who wish to summon the courage and the will to defend our civilization. The story of Poland is the story of a people who have never lost hope, who have never been broken, and who have never, ever forgotten who they are.

... This is a nation more than one thousand years old. Your borders were erased for more
15 than a century and only restored just one century ago.

In 1920, in the Miracle of Vistula, Poland stopped the Soviet army bent on European conquest. Then, 19 years later in 1939, you were invaded yet again, this time by Nazi Germany from the west and the Soviet Union from the east. That's trouble. That's tough.

20 Under a double occupation the Polish people endured evils beyond description: the Katyn forest massacre, the occupations, the Holocaust, the Warsaw Ghetto and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the destruction of this beautiful capital city, and the deaths of nearly one in five Polish people. A vibrant Jewish population — the largest in Europe — was reduced to almost nothing after the Nazis systematically murdered millions of Poland's Jewish citizens, along with countless others, during that brutal occupation.

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In the summer of 1944, the Nazi and Soviet armies were preparing for a terrible and bloody battle right here in Warsaw. Amid that hell on earth, the citizens of Poland rose up to defend their homeland. I am deeply honored to be joined on stage today by veterans and heroes of the Warsaw Uprising.

- 5 We salute your noble sacrifice and we pledge to always remember your fight for Poland and for freedom. Thank you. Thank you.

This monument reminds us that more than 150,000 Poles died during that desperate struggle to overthrow oppression.

- 10 From the other side of the river, the Soviet armed forces stopped and waited. They watched as the Nazis ruthlessly destroyed the city, viciously murdering men, women, and children. They tried to destroy this nation forever by shattering its will to survive.

But there is a courage and a strength deep in the Polish character that no one could destroy. The Polish martyr, Bishop Michael Kozal, said it well: “More horrifying than a defeat of arms is a collapse of the human spirit.”

- 15 Through four decades of communist rule, Poland and the other captive nations of Europe endured a brutal campaign to demolish freedom, your faith, your laws, your history, your identity — indeed the very essence of your culture and your humanity. Yet, through it all, you never lost that spirit. Your oppressors tried to break you, but Poland could not be broken.

- 20 And when the day came on June 2nd, 1979, and one million Poles gathered around Victory Square for their very first mass with their Polish Pope, that day, every communist in Warsaw must have known that their oppressive system would soon come crashing down. They must have known it at the exact moment during Pope John Paul II’s sermon when a million Polish men, women, and children suddenly raised their voices in a single prayer. A
25 million Polish people did not ask for wealth. They did not ask for privilege. Instead, one million Poles sang three simple words: “We Want God.”

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In those words, the Polish people recalled the promise of a better future. They found new courage to face down their oppressors, and they found the words to declare that Poland would be Poland once again.

5 As I stand here today before this incredible crowd, this faithful nation, we can still hear those voices that echo through history. Their message is as true today as ever. The people of Poland, the people of America, and the people of Europe still cry out “We want God.”

10 Together, with Pope John Paul II, the Poles reasserted their identity as a nation devoted to God. And with that powerful declaration of who you are, you came to understand what to do and how to live. You stood in solidarity against oppression, against a lawless secret police, against a cruel and wicked system that impoverished your cities and your souls. And you won. Poland prevailed. Poland will always prevail.

15 You were supported in that victory over communism by a strong alliance of free nations in the West that defied tyranny. Now, among the most committed members of the NATO Alliance, Poland has resumed its place as a leading nation of a Europe that is strong, whole, and free.

A strong Poland is a blessing to the nations of Europe, and they know that. A strong Europe is a blessing to the West and to the world. One hundred years after the entry of American forces into World War I, the transatlantic bond between the United States and Europe is as strong as ever and maybe, in many ways, even stronger.

20 This continent no longer confronts the specter of communism. But today we’re in the West, and we have to say there are dire threats to our security and to our way of life. You see what’s happening out there. They are threats. We will confront them. We will win. But they are threats.

25 We are confronted by another oppressive ideology — one that seeks to export terrorism and extremism all around the globe. America and Europe have suffered one terror attack after another. We’re going to get it to stop.

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During a historic gathering in Saudi Arabia, I called on the leaders of more than 50 Muslim nations to join together to drive out this menace which threatens all of humanity. We must stand united against these shared enemies to strip them of their territory and their funding, and their networks, and any form of ideological support that they may have. While we will
5 always welcome new citizens who share our values and love our people, our borders will always be closed to terrorism and extremism of any kind.

We are fighting hard against radical Islamic terrorism, and we will prevail. We cannot accept those who reject our values and who use hatred to justify violence against the innocent.

10 Today, the West is also confronted by the powers that seek to test our will, undermine our confidence, and challenge our interests. To meet new forms of aggression, including propaganda, financial crimes, and cyberwarfare, we must adapt our alliance to compete effectively in new ways and on all new battlefields.

We urge Russia to cease its destabilizing activities in Ukraine and elsewhere, and its support
15 for hostile regimes — including Syria and Iran — and to instead join the community of responsible nations in our fight against common enemies and in defense of civilization itself.

Finally, on both sides of the Atlantic, our citizens are confronted by yet another danger — one firmly within our control. This danger is invisible to some but familiar to the Poles: the
20 steady creep of government bureaucracy that drains the vitality and wealth of the people. The West became great not because of paperwork and regulations but because people were allowed to chase their dreams and pursue their destinies.

Americans, Poles, and the nations of Europe value individual freedom and sovereignty. We must work together to confront forces, whether they come from inside or
25 out, from the South or the East, that threaten over time to undermine these values and to erase the bonds of culture, faith and tradition that make us who we are. If left unchecked,

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these forces will undermine our courage, sap our spirit, and weaken our will to defend ourselves and our societies.

But just as our adversaries and enemies of the past learned here in Poland, we know that these forces, too, are doomed to fail if we want them to fail. And we do, indeed, want them
5 to fail. They are doomed not only because our alliance is strong, our countries are resilient, and our power is unmatched. Through all of that, you have to say everything is true. Our adversaries, however, are doomed because we will never forget who we are. And if we don't forget who we are, we just can't be beaten. Americans will never forget. The nations of Europe will never forget. We are the fastest and the greatest community. There is nothing
10 like our community of nations. The world has never known anything like our community of nations.

We write symphonies. We pursue innovation. We celebrate our ancient heroes, embrace our timeless traditions and customs, and always seek to explore and discover brand-new frontiers.

15 We reward brilliance. We strive for excellence, and cherish inspiring works of art that honor God. We treasure the rule of law and protect the right to free speech and free expression.

We empower women as pillars of our society and of our success. We put faith and family, not government and bureaucracy, at the center of our lives. And we debate everything. We
20 challenge everything. We seek to know everything so that we can better know ourselves.

And above all, we value the dignity of every human life, protect the rights of every person, and share the hope of every soul to live in freedom. That is who we are. Those are the priceless ties that bind us together as nations, as allies, and as a civilization.

What we have, what we inherited from our — and you know this better than anybody, and
25 you see it today with this incredible group of people — what we've inherited from our

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ancestors has never existed to this extent before. And if we fail to preserve it, it will never, ever exist again. So we cannot fail.

5 This great community of nations has something else in common: In every one of them, it is the people, not the powerful, who have always formed the foundation of freedom and the cornerstone of our defense. The people have been that foundation here in Poland — as they were right here in Warsaw — and they were the foundation from the very, very beginning in America.

10 Our citizens did not win freedom together, did not survive horrors together, did not face down evil together, only to lose our freedom to a lack of pride and confidence in our values. We did not and we will not. We will never back down.

As long as we know our history, we will know how to build our future. Americans know that a strong alliance of free, sovereign and independent nations is the best defense for our freedoms and for our interests. That is why my administration has demanded that all members of NATO finally meet their full and fair financial obligation.

15 As a result of this insistence, billions of dollars more have begun to pour into NATO. In fact, people are shocked. But billions and billions of dollars more are coming in from countries that, in my opinion, would not have been paying so quickly.

20 To those who would criticize our tough stance, I would point out that the United States has demonstrated not merely with words but with its actions that we stand firmly behind Article 5, the mutual defense commitment.

Words are easy, but actions are what matters. And for its own protection — and you know this, everybody knows this, everybody has to know this — Europe must do more. Europe must demonstrate that it believes in its future by investing its money to secure that future.

25 That is why we applaud Poland for its decision to move forward this week on acquiring from the United States the battle-tested Patriot air and missile defense system — the best

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anywhere in the world. That is also why we salute the Polish people for being one of the NATO countries that has actually achieved the benchmark for investment in our common defense. Thank you. Thank you, Poland. I must tell you, the example you set is truly magnificent, and we applaud Poland. Thank you.

- 5 We have to remember that our defense is not just a commitment of money, it is a commitment of will. Because as the Polish experience reminds us, the defense of the West ultimately rests not only on means but also on the will of its people to prevail and be successful and get what you have to have. The fundamental question of our time is whether the West has the will to survive. Do we have the confidence in our values to defend them
- 10 at any cost? Do we have enough respect for our citizens to protect our borders? Do we have the desire and the courage to preserve our civilization in the face of those who would subvert and destroy it?

- We can have the largest economies and the most lethal weapons anywhere on Earth, but if we do not have strong families and strong values, then we will be weak and we will not
- 15 survive. If anyone forgets the critical importance of these things, let them come to one country that never has. Let them come to Poland. And let them come here, to Warsaw, and learn the story of the Warsaw Uprising.

- When they do, they should learn about Jerusalem Avenue. In August of 1944, Jerusalem Avenue was one of the main roads running east and west through this city, just as it is
- 20 today.

- Control of that road was crucially important to both sides in the battle for Warsaw. The German military wanted it as their most direct route to move troops and to form a very strong front. And for the Polish Home Army, the ability to pass north and south across that street was critical to keep the center of the city, and the Uprising itself, from being split
- 25 apart and destroyed.

Every night, the Poles put up sandbags amid machine gun fire — and it was horrendous fire — to protect a narrow passage across Jerusalem Avenue. Every day, the enemy forces

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knocked them down again and again and again. Then the Poles dug a trench. Finally, they built a barricade. And the brave Polish fighters began to flow across Jerusalem Avenue. That narrow passageway, just a few feet wide, was the fragile link that kept the Uprising alive.

- 5 Between its walls, a constant stream of citizens and freedom fighters made their perilous, just perilous, sprints. They ran across that street, they ran through that street, they ran under that street — all to defend this city. “The far side was several yards away,” recalled one young Polish woman named Greta. That mortality and that life was so important to her. In fact, she said, “The mortally dangerous sector of the street was soaked in the
- 10 blood. It was the blood of messengers, liaison girls, and couriers.”

- Nazi snipers shot at anybody who crossed. Anybody who crossed, they were being shot at. Their soldiers burned every building on the street, and they used the Poles as human shields for their tanks in their effort to capture Jerusalem Avenue. The enemy never ceased its relentless assault on that small outpost of civilization. And the Poles never ceased its
- 15 defense.

The Jerusalem Avenue passage required constant protection, repair, and reinforcement, but the will of its defenders did not waver, even in the face of death. And to the last days of the Uprising, the fragile crossing never, ever failed. It was never, ever forgotten. It was kept open by the Polish people.

- 20 The memories of those who perished in the Warsaw Uprising cry out across the decades, and few are clearer than the memories of those who died to build and defend the Jerusalem Avenue crossing. Those heroes remind us that the West was saved with the blood of patriots; that each generation must rise up and play their part in its defense — and that every foot of ground, and every last inch of civilization, is worth defending with your life.
- 25 Our own fight for the West does not begin on the battlefield — it begins with our minds, our wills, and our souls. Today, the ties that unite our civilization are no less vital, and demand no less defense, than that bare shred of land on which the hope of Poland once

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totally rested. Our freedom, our civilization, and our survival depend on these bonds of history, culture, and memory.

And today as ever, Poland is in our heart, and its people are in that fight. Just as Poland could not be broken, I declare today for the world to hear that the West will never, ever be
5 broken. Our values will prevail. Our people will thrive. And our civilization will triumph.

Thank you. So, together, let us all fight like the Poles — for family, for freedom, for country, and for God.

Thank you. God Bless You. God bless the Polish people. God bless our allies. And God bless the United States of America.

10 Thank you. God bless you. Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP

Remarks at Mount Rushmore

SPEECH

July 3, 2020

Mount Rushmore | Keystone, South Dakota

BACKGROUND

President Trump stopped at Mount Rushmore for an Independence Day celebration while campaigning for reelection in 2020. He used the opportunity to condemn what he saw as sources of political and cultural division, to honor American historical figures, and to highlight traditional American values.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Who does President Trump pay tribute to?
2. What does 1776 represent?
3. What stories does Trump tell of American history?
4. What dangers threaten the principles and spirit of the United States, according to Trump?
5. What will the American legacy be?

Donald Trump. "Remarks by President Trump at South Dakota's 2020 Mount Rushmore Fireworks Celebration | Keystone, South Dakota". Presidential Message, July 03, 2020. From The White House Archives.
<https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-south-dakotas-2020-mount-rushmore-fireworks-celebration-keystone-south-dakota/>.

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...As we begin this Fourth of July weekend, the First Lady and I wish each and every one of you a very, very Happy Independence Day. Thank you.

Let us show our appreciation to the South Dakota Army and Air National Guard, and the U.S. Air Force for inspiring us with that magnificent display of American air power, and of course, our gratitude, as always, to the legendary and very talented Blue Angels. Thank you very much.

Let us also send our deepest thanks to our wonderful veterans, law enforcement, first responders, and the doctors, nurses, and scientists working tirelessly to kill the virus. They're working hard. I want to thank them very, very much...

...There could be no better place to celebrate America's independence than beneath this magnificent, incredible, majestic mountain and monument to the greatest Americans who have ever lived.

Today, we pay tribute to the exceptional lives and extraordinary legacies of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Teddy Roosevelt. I am here as your President to proclaim before the country and before the world: This monument will never be desecrated, these heroes will never be defaced, their legacy will never, ever be destroyed, their achievements will never be forgotten, and Mount Rushmore will stand forever as an eternal tribute to our forefathers and to our freedom.

We gather tonight to herald the most important day in the history of nations: July 4th, 1776. At those words, every American heart should swell with pride. Every American family should cheer with delight. And every American patriot should be filled with joy, because each of you lives in the most magnificent country in the history of the world, and it will soon be greater than ever before.

Our Founders launched not only a revolution in government, but a revolution in the pursuit of justice, equality, liberty, and prosperity. No nation has done more to advance the human condition than the United States of America. And no people have done more to promote human progress than the citizens of our great nation.

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It was all made possible by the courage of 56 patriots who gathered in Philadelphia 244 years ago and signed the Declaration of Independence. They enshrined a divine truth that changed the world forever when they said: "...all men are created equal."

5 These immortal words set in motion the unstoppable march of freedom. Our Founders boldly declared that we are all endowed with the same divine rights — given [to] us by our Creator in Heaven. And that which God has given us, we will allow no one, ever, to take away — ever.

1776 represented the culmination of thousands of years of western civilization and the triumph not only of spirit, but of wisdom, philosophy, and reason.

10 And yet, as we meet here tonight, there is a growing danger that threatens every blessing our ancestors fought so hard for, struggled, they bled to secure.

Our nation is witnessing a merciless campaign to wipe out our history, defame our heroes, erase our values, and indoctrinate our children.

15 Angry mobs are trying to tear down statues of our Founders, deface our most sacred memorials, and unleash a wave of violent crime in our cities. Many of these people have no idea why they are doing this, but some know exactly what they are doing. They think the American people are weak and soft and submissive. But no, the American people are strong and proud, and they will not allow our country, and all of its values, history, and culture, to be taken from them.

20 One of their political weapons is "Cancel Culture" — driving people from their jobs, shaming dissenters, and demanding total submission from anyone who disagrees. This is the very definition of totalitarianism, and it is completely alien to our culture and our values, and it has absolutely no place in the United States of America. This attack on our liberty, our magnificent liberty, must be stopped, and it will be stopped very quickly. We
25 will expose this dangerous movement, protect our nation's children, end this radical assault, and preserve our beloved American way of life.

In our schools, our newsrooms, even our corporate boardrooms, there is a new far-left fascism that demands absolute allegiance. If you do not speak its language, perform its

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rituals, recite its mantras, and follow its commandments, then you will be censored, banished, blacklisted, persecuted, and punished. It's not going to happen to us.

Make no mistake: this left-wing cultural revolution is designed to overthrow the American Revolution. In so doing, they would destroy the very civilization that rescued billions from
5 poverty, disease, violence, and hunger, and that lifted humanity to new heights of achievement, discovery, and progress.

To make this possible, they are determined to tear down every statue, symbol, and memory of our national heritage.

...That is why I am deploying federal law enforcement to protect our monuments, arrest
10 the rioters, and prosecute offenders to the fullest extent of the law.

I am pleased to report that yesterday, federal agents arrested the suspected ringleader of the attack on the statue of Andrew Jackson in Washington, D.C. and, in addition, hundreds more have been arrested.

Under the executive order I signed last week — pertaining to the Veterans' Memorial
15 Preservation and Recognition Act and other laws — people who damage or deface federal statues or monuments will get a minimum of 10 years in prison. And obviously, that includes our beautiful Mount Rushmore.

Our people have a great memory. They will never forget the destruction of statues and monuments to George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, abolitionists, and
20 many others.

The violent mayhem we have seen in the streets of cities that are run by liberal Democrats, in every case, is the predictable result of years of extreme indoctrination and bias in education, journalism, and other cultural institutions.

Against every law of society and nature, our children are taught in school to hate their own
25 country, and to believe that the men and women who built it were not heroes, but that they were villains. The radical view of American history is a web of lies — all perspective is removed, every virtue is obscured, every motive is twisted, every fact is distorted, and every

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flaw is magnified until the history is purged and the record is disfigured beyond all recognition.

This movement is openly attacking the legacies of every person on Mount Rushmore. They defile the memory of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt. Today, we will set
5 history and history's record straight.

Before these figures were immortalized in stone, they were American giants in full flesh and blood, gallant men whose intrepid deeds unleashed the greatest leap of human advancement the world has ever known. Tonight, I will tell you and, most importantly, the youth of our nation, the true stories of these great, great men.

10 From head to toe, George Washington represented the strength, grace, and dignity of the American people. From a small volunteer force of citizen farmers, he created the Continental Army out of nothing and rallied them to stand against the most powerful military on Earth.

15 Through eight long years, through the brutal winter at Valley Forge, through setback after setback on the field of battle, he led those patriots to ultimate triumph. When the Army had dwindled to a few thousand men at Christmas of 1776, when defeat seemed absolutely certain, he took what remained of his forces on a daring nighttime crossing of the Delaware River.

20 They marched through nine miles of frigid darkness, many without boots on their feet, leaving a trail of blood in the snow. In the morning, they seized victory at Trenton. After forcing the surrender of the most powerful empire on the planet at Yorktown, General Washington did not claim power, but simply returned to Mount Vernon as a private citizen.

25 When called upon again, he presided over the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, and was unanimously elected our first President. When he stepped down after two terms, his former adversary King George called him "the greatest man of the age." He remains first in our hearts to this day. For as long as Americans love this land, we will honor and cherish the father of our country, George Washington. He will never be removed, abolished, and most of all, he will never be forgotten.

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Thomas Jefferson — the great Thomas Jefferson — was 33 years old when he traveled north to Pennsylvania and brilliantly authored one of the greatest treasures of human history, the Declaration of Independence. He also drafted Virginia's constitution, and conceived and wrote the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, a model for our cherished First Amendment.

After serving as the first Secretary of State, and then Vice President, he was elected to the Presidency. He ordered American warriors to crush the Barbary pirates, he doubled the size of our nation with the Louisiana Purchase, and he sent the famous explorers Lewis and Clark into the west on a daring expedition to the Pacific Ocean.

He was an architect, an inventor, a diplomat, a scholar, the founder of one of the world's great universities, and an ardent defender of liberty. Americans will forever admire the author of American freedom, Thomas Jefferson. And he, too, will never, ever be abandoned by us.

Abraham Lincoln, the savior of our union, was a self-taught country lawyer who grew up in a log cabin on the American frontier.

The first Republican President, he rose to high office from obscurity, based on a force and clarity of his anti-slavery convictions. Very, very strong convictions.

He signed the law that built the Transcontinental Railroad; he signed the Homestead Act, given to some incredible scholars — as simply defined, ordinary citizens free land to settle anywhere in the American West; and he led the country through the darkest hours of American history, giving every ounce of strength that he had to ensure that government of the people, by the people, and for the people did not perish from this Earth.

He served as Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces during our bloodiest war, the struggle that saved our union and extinguished the evil of slavery. Over 600,000 died in that war; more than 20,000 were killed or wounded in a single day at Antietam. At Gettysburg, 157 years ago, the Union bravely withstood an assault of nearly 15,000 men and threw back Pickett's charge.

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Lincoln won the Civil War; he issued the Emancipation Proclamation; he led the passage of the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery for all time and ultimately, his determination to preserve our nation and our union cost him his life. For as long as we live, Americans will uphold and revere the immortal memory of President Abraham Lincoln.

- 5 Theodore Roosevelt exemplified the unbridled confidence of our national culture and identity. He saw the towering grandeur of America's mission in the world and he pursued it with overwhelming energy and zeal.

- As a Lieutenant Colonel during the Spanish-American War, he led the famous Rough Riders to defeat the enemy at San Juan Hill. He cleaned up corruption as Police
10 Commissioner of New York City, then served as the Governor of New York, Vice President, and at 42 years old, became the youngest-ever President of the United States.

- He sent our great new naval fleet around the globe to announce America's arrival as a world power. He gave us many of our national parks, including the Grand Canyon; he oversaw the construction of the awe-inspiring Panama Canal; and he is the only person ever
15 awarded both the Nobel Peace Prize and the Congressional Medal of Honor. He was American freedom personified in full. The American people will never relinquish the bold, beautiful, and untamed spirit of Theodore Roosevelt.

- No movement that seeks to dismantle these treasured American legacies can possibly have a love of America at its heart. Can't have it. No person who remains quiet at the
20 destruction of this resplendent heritage can possibly lead us to a better future.

The radical ideology attacking our country advances under the banner of social justice. But in truth, it would demolish both justice and society. It would transform justice into an instrument of division and vengeance, and it would turn our free and inclusive society into a place of repression, domination, and exclusion.

- 25 They want to silence us, but we will not be silenced.

...We will state the truth in full, without apology: We declare that the United States of America is the most just and exceptional nation ever to exist on Earth.

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We are proud of the fact that our country was founded on Judeo-Christian principles, and we understand that these values have dramatically advanced the cause of peace and justice throughout the world.

We know that the American family is the bedrock of American life.

- 5 We recognize the solemn right and moral duty of every nation to secure its borders. And we are building the wall.

We remember that governments exist to protect the safety and happiness of their own people. A nation must care for its own citizens first. We must take care of America first. It's time.

- 10 We believe in equal opportunity, equal justice, and equal treatment for citizens of every race, background, religion, and creed. Every child, of every color — born and unborn — is made in the holy image of God.

We want free and open debate, not speech codes and cancel culture.

We embrace tolerance, not prejudice.

- 15 We support the courageous men and women of law enforcement. We will never abolish our police or our great Second Amendment, which gives us the right to keep and bear arms.

We believe that our children should be taught to love their country, honor our history, and respect our great American flag.

- 20 We stand tall, we stand proud, and we only kneel to Almighty God.

This is who we are. This is what we believe. And these are the values that will guide us as we strive to build an even better and greater future.

- 25 Those who seek to erase our heritage want Americans to forget our pride and our great dignity, so that we can no longer understand ourselves or America's destiny. In toppling the heroes of 1776, they seek to dissolve the bonds of love and loyalty that we feel for our country, and that we feel for each other. Their goal is not a better America, their goal is the end of America.

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In its place, they want power for themselves. But just as patriots did in centuries past, the American people will stand in their way — and we will win, and win quickly and with great dignity.

We will never let them rip America's heroes from our monuments, or from our hearts. By tearing down Washington and Jefferson, these radicals would tear down the very heritage for which men gave their lives to win the Civil War; they would erase the memory that inspired those soldiers to go to their deaths, singing these words of the Battle Hymn of the Republic: "As He died to make men Holy, let us die to make men free, while God is marching on."

They would tear down the principles that propelled the abolition of slavery in America and, ultimately, around the world, ending an evil institution that had plagued humanity for thousands and thousands of years. Our opponents would tear apart the very documents that Martin Luther King used to express his dream, and the ideas that were the foundation of the righteous movement for Civil Rights. They would tear down the beliefs, culture, and identity that have made America the most vibrant and tolerant society in the history of the Earth.

My fellow Americans, it is time to speak up loudly and strongly and powerfully and defend the integrity of our country.

It is time for our politicians to summon the bravery and determination of our American ancestors. It is time. It is time to plant our flag and protect the greatest of this nation, for citizens of every race, in every city, and every part of this glorious land. For the sake of our honor, for the sake of our children, for the sake of our union, we must protect and preserve our history, our heritage, and our great heroes.

Here tonight, before the eyes of our forefathers, Americans declare again, as we did 244 years ago: that we will not be tyrannized, we will not be demeaned, and we will not be intimidated by bad, evil people. It will not happen.

We will proclaim the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, and we will never surrender the spirit and the courage and the cause of July 4th, 1776.

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Upon this ground, we will stand firm and unwavering. In the face of lies meant to divide us, demoralize us, and diminish us, we will show that the story of America unites us, inspires us, includes us all, and makes everyone free.

We must demand that our children are taught once again to see America as did Reverend
5 Martin Luther King, when he said that the Founders had signed “a promissory note” to every future generation. Dr. King saw that the mission of justice required us to fully embrace our founding ideals. Those ideals are so important to us — the founding ideals. He called on his fellow citizens not to rip down their heritage, but to live up to their heritage.

10 Above all, our children, from every community, must be taught that to be American is to inherit the spirit of the most adventurous and confident people ever to walk the face of the Earth.

Americans are the people who pursued our Manifest Destiny across the ocean, into the uncharted wilderness, over the tallest mountains, and then into the skies and even into the
15 stars.

We are the country of Andrew Jackson, Ulysses S. Grant, and Frederick Douglass. We are the land of Wild Bill Hickock and Buffalo Bill Cody. We are the nation that gave rise to the Wright Brothers, the Tuskegee Airmen, Harriet Tubman, Clara Barton, Jesse Owens, George Patton — General George Patton — the great Louie Armstrong, Alan Shepard, Elvis
20 Presley, and Mohammad Ali. And only America could have produced them all. No other place.

We are the culture that put up the Hoover Dam, laid down the highways, and sculpted the skyline of Manhattan. We are the people who dreamed a spectacular dream — it was called: Las Vegas, in the Nevada desert; who built up Miami from the Florida marsh; and who
25 carved our heroes into the face of Mount Rushmore.

Americans harnessed electricity, split the atom, and gave the world the telephone and the Internet. We settled the Wild West, won two World Wars, landed American astronauts on the Moon — and one day very soon, we will plant our flag on Mars.

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We gave the world the poetry of Walt Whitman, the stories of Mark Twain, the songs of Irving Berlin, the voice of Ella Fitzgerald, the style of Frank Sinatra, the comedy of Bob Hope, the power of the Saturn V rocket, the toughness of the Ford F-150, and the awesome might of the American aircraft carriers.

5 Americans must never lose sight of this miraculous story. You should never lose sight of it, because nobody has ever done it like we have done it. So today, under the authority vested in me as President of the United States, I am announcing the creation of a new monument to the giants of our past. I am signing an executive order to establish the National Garden of American Heroes, a vast outdoor park that will feature the statues of
10 the greatest Americans to ever live.

From this night and from this magnificent place, let us go forward united in our purpose and re-dedicated in our resolve. We will raise the next generation of American patriots. We will write the next thrilling chapter of the American adventure. And we will teach our children to know that they live in a land of legends, that nothing can stop them,
15 and that no one can hold them down. They will know that in America, you can do anything, you can be anything, and together, we can achieve anything.

Uplifted by the titans of Mount Rushmore, we will find unity that no one expected; we will make strides that no one thought possible. This country will be everything that our citizens have hoped for, for so many years, and that our enemies fear — because we will never forget
20 that American freedom exists for American greatness. And that's what we have: American greatness.

Centuries from now, our legacy will be the cities we built, the champions we forged, the good we did, and the monuments we created to inspire us all.

My fellow citizens: America's destiny is in our sights. America's heroes are embedded in
25 our hearts. America's future is in our hands. And ladies and gentlemen: the best is yet to come.

This has been a great honor for the First Lady and myself to be with you. I love your state. I love this country. I'd like to wish everybody a very happy Fourth of July. To all, God bless

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you, God bless your families, God bless our great military, and God bless America. Thank you very much.

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