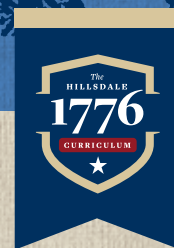


GRADES
6-8

GRADES 6-8 | 1492-PRESENT



Hillsdale College K-12 Curriculum

American History

COMPLETE LESSON PLANS

MIDDLE SCHOOL

American History

8 units | 45-50-minute classes

OVERVIEW

Unit 1 | The British Colonies of North America

28-32 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 Founding

32-36 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

30-34 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

29-33 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

19-22 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

27-31 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

21-24 classes

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

40–50-minute classes | 28–32 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

LESSON 1	The Lands, Waters, and Peoples of America	4–5 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1492–1630 Exploration and Settlement	5–6 classes	p. 14
LESSON 3	1630–1732 The Colonies in Profile	4–5 classes	p. 25
LESSON 4	1607–1763 Major Events in the Colonies	9–10 classes	p. 34
APPENDIX A	Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment		p. 41
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources		p. 53

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

ONLINE COURSES | [Online.Hillsdale.edu](https://online.hillsdale.edu)

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

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

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

Letter to King Ferdinand II, Christopher Columbus
The Mayflower Compact
“A Modell of Christian Charity,” John Winthrop
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

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND QUIZZES

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

4–5 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages xiii-xv, 1-3
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages xi–xiv, 2–7
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 1–7

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 1 and 2
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 1

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages xiii-xv and 1-3 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Topographic Geography

Atlantic Ocean	Lake Ontario
Caribbean Sea	Niagara River
San Salvador	Niagara Falls
Bahamas	Lake Erie
Puerto Rico	Cape Cod
St. Lawrence River	Nantucket
Appalachian Mountains	Long Island
Green Mountains	Manhattan Island
Lake Champlain	Hudson River
Adirondack Mountains	Catskill Mountains
Finger Lakes	Allegheny River

Allegheny Mountains
 District of Columbia
 Potomac River
 Chesapeake Bay
 James River
 Blue Ridge Mountains
 Shenandoah Valley
 Outer Banks
 Great Smoky Mountains
 Gulf of Mexico
 Mississippi River
 Mississippi Delta
 Lake Pontchartrain
 Ohio River
 Ohio River Valley
 Detroit/St. Clair Rivers
 Lake St. Clair
 Lake Huron
 Lake Michigan
 Straits of Mackinac
 Michigan's Lower Peninsula
 Michigan's Upper Peninsula
 Lake Superior
 Great Lakes
 Cumberland Gap
 49th Parallel

Great Plains
 Missouri River
 Rio Grande
 Rocky Mountains
 Continental Divide
 Yellowstone National Park
 Old Faithful
 Great Salt Lake
 Oklahoma Panhandle
 Texas Panhandle
 Colorado River
 Grand Canyon
 Gadsden Purchase
 Puget Sound
 Columbia River
 Mount St. Helens
 San Francisco Bay
 Sierra Nevada
 Death Valley
 Mojave Desert
 Pacific Ocean
 Yukon River
 Mount McKinley/Denali
 Bering Sea
 Bering Strait
 Hawaiian Islands

Political Geography

Virginia, Richmond
 Massachusetts, Boston
 New Hampshire, Concord
 Maryland, Annapolis
 Connecticut, Hartford
 Rhode Island, Providence
 Delaware, Dover
 North Carolina, Raleigh
 South Carolina, Columbia
 New Jersey, Trenton
 New York, Albany
 Pennsylvania, Harrisburg
 Georgia, Atlanta
 Washington, District of Columbia
 Vermont, Montpelier
 Kentucky, Frankfort
 Tennessee, Nashville
 Ohio, Columbus

Louisiana, Baton Rouge
 Indiana, Indianapolis
 Mississippi, Jackson
 Illinois, Springfield
 Alabama, Montgomery
 Maine, Augusta
 Missouri, Jefferson City
 Arkansas, Little Rock
 Michigan, Lansing
 Florida, Tallahassee
 Texas, Austin
 Iowa, Des Moines
 Wisconsin, Madison
 California, Sacramento
 Minnesota, St. Paul
 Oregon, Salem
 Kansas, Topeka
 West Virginia, Charleston

Nevada, Carson City
 Nebraska, Lincoln
 Colorado, Denver
 North Dakota, Bismarck
 South Dakota, Pierre
 Montana, Helena
 Washington, Olympia
 Idaho, Boise
 Wyoming, Cheyenne
 Utah, Salt Lake City
 Oklahoma, Oklahoma City

New Mexico, Santa Fe
 Arizona, Phoenix
 Alaska, Juneau
 Hawaii, Honolulu
 New England Region
 Mid-Atlantic Region
 Southern Region
 Midwest Region
 Great Lakes States
 Southwestern Region
 Pacific Northwest Region

Terms and Topics

glaciers	Adena
continental shelf	urban
land bridge	cities
Mayas	suburbs
Aztecs	towns
Incas	rural
Hopewell	

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

- How would you 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?
- 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. The goal is to make sure students are aware of these landmarks 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.
- 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.
- Explain how America is and always has been a land of immigrants. Even those who would be considered the indigenous or “native” peoples of both North and South America likely migrated from northeast Asia. Settlements and even great cities of Central and South America emerged in following years as migration resulted in people spreading over the land of the Western Hemisphere.

- Show the range of different Western Hemisphere civilizations through the millennia prior to Christopher Columbus, including their ways of life, customs, and beliefs. 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 (teacher created).

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

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.1

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Volume 1, Pages xiii-xv, 1-3

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What is one reason why the author thinks people must study history?
2. Name one major settlement in the Americas prior to European discovery.
3. Who was Leif Eriksson?
4. How did Native Americans first come to the Americas?

Lesson 2 — Exploration and Settlement

1492–1630

5–6 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages 3–11, 15–25
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 7–13, 20–28
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 7–9, 13–14, 20–22, 24–25, 27–28

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 2
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 2

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 3–11 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 15–25 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: 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	Virginia
San Salvador/Watling Island	Roanoke
"The New World"	Chesapeake Bay
La Florida	Jamestown
St. Augustine	Cape Cod

Plymouth
Massachusetts Bay

Boston

Persons

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

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

Terms and Topics

Silk Road
Renaissance
humanism
cavel
merchants
nation-states
Niña, Pinta, and Santa María
Taíno
“Indians”
conquistadors
Columbian Exchange
smallpox
mercantilism
joint-stock companies
Virginia Company
indentured servants

Powhatan
“Starving Time”
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 King Ferdinand II, Christopher Columbus
The Mayflower Compact
“A Modell of Christian Charity,” John Winthrop

To Know by Heart

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

Timeline

Oct. 12, 1492	Columbus lands on San Salvador Island
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
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
- The voyage of the *Mayflower*
- 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?
- 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 was England's approach to settlement different from that of other countries?
- 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?
- 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 short 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. 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 1: Tell of the founding and early years of either Jamestown, Plymouth, or Massachusetts Bay (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Taken together, how do the foundings of Jamestown, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay all demonstrate the principle and practice of self-government (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.2

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 2
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 3-11

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one motivation for European exploration in the late 1400s?
2. What is one way that Europe was changing in the 1400s?
3. Which country got a head start on exploration, especially along the African coast?
4. Which Italian sailor successfully petition Spain to finance his voyage across the Atlantic?
5. What did this sailor believe he had found?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.3

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 2
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 15-25

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which country did England defeat on the high seas in 1588, allowing England to be more deliberate about settling the New World?
2. What was England's first successful colony in North America?
3. Who settled at Plymouth?
4. What legal agreement—named after a ship—proved an early example of social contract and self-government in the British colonies?
5. Who famously described the civilization the Puritans were establishing as a “city upon a hill”?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 1 — Formative Quiz 1

Covering Lessons 1–2
10–15 minutes

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

1. What resources and advantages does this land afford for the flourishing of a developed civilization?
2. Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?
3. What events “unsettled” European civilization and influenced the decision to explore the seas beyond Europe?
4. How was England’s approach to settlement different from that of other countries?
5. What motivated the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth? What were their goals?

Lesson 3 — The Colonies in Profile

1630–1732

4–5 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages 25–27
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 25–30
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 22–23

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 2
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 2

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 25–27 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate 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	Hudson River
Maryland	New York
Connecticut	Pennsylvania
Rhode Island	Philadelphia
Delaware	Georgia
Carolina	New England Colonies
New Jersey	Middle Colonies

Southern Colonies
West Indies

The Congo
Gold Coast

Persons

Lord Baltimore
Roger Williams
Henry Hudson
Peter Stuyvesant

William Penn
James Oglethorpe
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
slave ships
Middle Passage
Deism
individualism
aristocracy

Primary Sources

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

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

- Roger Williams's statements and efforts to establish religious toleration in Rhode Island
- 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
- 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

- How may the English approach to settlement and colonization be best described?
- In what ways did different groups of European settlers see the New World as a place of opportunity and restoration?
- 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 colonial economies vary from region to region?
- 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?
- What were the chief characteristics of the "American" colonists? What gave them these characteristics?
- How were the colonies' leading citizens 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 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, 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 of all Africans taken 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 not much different from slavery in its practice, 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 1: Explain how lifestyle varied between colonies (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the origins of slavery, the transatlantic slave trade, and slavery in the New World (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.4

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 25-27

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the name of the main religious group in Pennsylvania, founded by one of their members, William Penn?

2. Which colony was founded as a place for those who could not repay their debts to begin life anew?

3. Which colony was originally founded for Catholics, but quickly became majority Protestant?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 1 — Formative Quiz 2

Covering Lesson 3

10–15 minutes

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

1. In what ways did different groups of European settlers see the New World as a place of opportunity and restoration?
2. What were the roles of literacy and learning among the colonists?
3. What are the origins of slavery in world history?
4. How did slavery gradually expand and become sanctioned in law?
5. How were the colonies' leading citizens distinct from the aristocracies of Europe?

Lesson 4 — Major Events in the Colonies

1607–1763

9–10 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages 12–14, 28–36
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 14–20, 31–42
<i>A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 15–19, 29–32

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 2 and 3
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lectures 2 and 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, Volume 1, pages 12–14 and 28–36, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate excerpts from John Locke’s *Second Treatise of Government* and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Appalachian Mountains	Mississippi River
Allegheny Mountains	New Orleans
Ohio River Valley	Quebec
The Great Lakes	Montreal
Canada	Duquesne
St. Lawrence River	

Persons

Thomas Hobbes
 John Locke
 Jonathan Edwards
 George III

William Pitt
 George Washington
 Benjamin Franklin

Terms and Topics

King Philip's 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
Poor Richard's Almanac
 French and Indian War
 Iroquois Confederacy
 Battle of Jumonville Glen
 Albany Congress
 Fort Duquesne
 Treaty of Paris

Primary Sources

Magna Carta
 English Bill of Rights
Second Treatise of Government, John Locke

To Know by Heart

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."
- "Speak not evil of the absent for it is unjust."
- "Use no Reproachfull Language against any one neither Curse nor Revile."

Timeline

1688	Glorious Revolution; English Bill of Rights
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?
- 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?
- 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?
- 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 excerpts from the Magna Carta and the English Bill of Rights to show that there is a long history of understanding that a “fundamental law” exists, and that regardless of particular political institutions (such as the King or Parliament), that fundamental law grants rights and liberties.
- 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—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.
- 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.
- Explore with students how 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.
- 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. 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. 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 the major events and ideas that influenced American colonists' views of government (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Tell the story of the French and Indian War (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 1.5

The British Colonies of North America | Lesson 4
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 12-14 and 28-36

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What major disruption in Europe would have a significant influence on the future British colonies in North America?
2. Name one major event from the 1600s in England that the author mentions.
3. How was George Washington involved in the French and Indian War?
4. What was the Great Awakening about?
5. What was the Enlightenment about?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Unit 1 Test — Study Guide

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

Oct. 12, 1492	Columbus lands on San Salvador Island
1607	Jamestown settled
1619	Africans disembark at Jamestown; first meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses
1620	Pilgrims settle Plymouth
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	Plymouth	The Great Lakes
San Salvador/Watling's Island	Massachusetts Bay	Canada
"The New World"	Boston	Mississippi River
La Florida	New England Colonies	New Orleans
St. Augustine	Middle Colonies	Quebec
Virginia	Southern Colonies	Montreal
Roanoke	Appalachian Mountains	Duquesne
Jamestown	Allegheny Mountains	
	Ohio River Valley	

PERSONS

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

Leif Erikson	John Rolfe	Thomas Hobbes
Ferdinand and Isabella	William Bradford	John Locke
Christopher Columbus	Massasoit	Jonathan Edwards
Ponce de Leon	John Winthrop	George III
Amerigo Vespucci	Roger Williams	George Washington
John Smith	William Penn	Benjamin Franklin
Pocahontas	James Oglethorpe	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

glaciers	tobacco	chattel slavery
land bridge	House of Burgesses	Middle Passage
Hopewell	Pilgrims	Deism
urban	<i>Mayflower</i>	individualism
rural	commoner	aristocracy
Silk Road	religious freedom	King Philip's War
nation-states	state of nature	English Civil War
<i>Niña, Pinta, and Santa María</i>	social contract	The Enlightenment
Taíno	self-government	Glorious Revolution
"Indians"	Wampanoag	English Bill of Rights
conquistadors	Puritans	"salutary neglect"
Columbian Exchange	public education	representation
smallpox	Fundamental Orders	The Great Awakening
joint-stock companies	of Connecticut	French and Indian War
Virginia Company	religious freedom	Albany Congress
indentured servants	colonial assemblies	Fort Duquesne
Powhatan	militia	Treaty of Paris
"Starving Time"	Triangle Trade	

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 Mayflower Compact
 "A Modell of Christian Charity," John Winthrop
 Magna Carta
 English Bill of Rights
Second Treatise of Government, John Locke

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be third grade 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
- 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?
- 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?

Lesson 2 | Exploration and Settlement

- 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"?
- 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?
- 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

- 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 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 indentured servitude? How is it similar to and different from slavery?
- What are the origins of slavery in world history?
- 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?
- 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

- 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?
- 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?
- 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

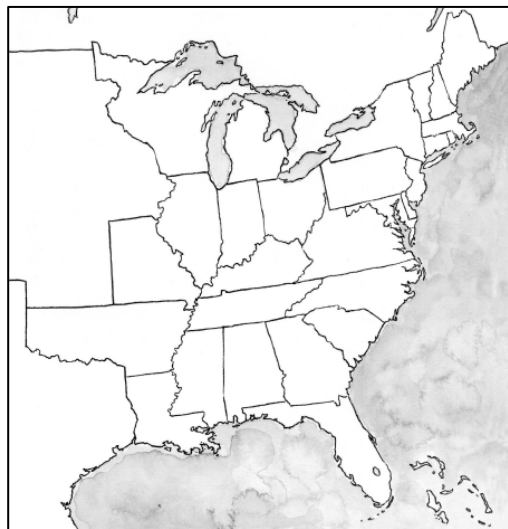
Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

Oct. 12, 1492 _____
 1607 _____
 1619 _____
 1620 _____
 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. The French and Indian War
- G. The Great Awakening

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Label with dots and/or circle:
- Jamestown
 - Plymouth
 - Boston
 - Appalachian Mountains
 - Ohio River Valley
 - The Great Lakes
 - Mississippi River
 - New Orleans
 - Quebec
 - Montreal
 - Duquesne



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

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank.

2. England’s first attempt at establishing a permanent settlement in North America was the _____ in present-day North Carolina. The experiment failed, however, when the colony disappeared without a trace four years into its existence.

3. 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 _____'s successful cultivation of tobacco, which was exported to Europe at a great profit.
4. Not tolerated in England, the _____ were dismissed on a religious journey to Virginia under the leadership of William Bradford. Instead of settling in Virginia, however, they landed far to the north on the North American coast at Cape Cod and established _____
5. 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.
6. Pennsylvania was named after its founder, _____, who intended the colony to be a haven for Quakers and a place that would tolerate different religions.
7. John Calvert, Lord of Baltimore, Ireland, founded _____ as a refuge for persecuted Catholics from England. Quickly, however, Catholics found themselves in a minority.
8. 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.
9. 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 _____.
10. 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 _____.
11. 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.
12. 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 Bill of Rights, which concluded the Glorious Revolution, the colonists drew many ideas and much language from these principal English legal precedents.

13. The philosophy of the British Enlightenment thinker _____ defined an increasingly popular idea in England and in the colonies: that of a social contract 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.
14. 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.
15. Irish Member of Parliament Edmund Burke captured the idea that England's relative neglect of the colonies contributed to the colonists' successful governance of themselves in the phrase _____.
16. As the population of the colonies doubled every generation, westward expansion 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 _____ Mountains known as the Ohio River Valley.
17. _____ began his career as a surveyor from Virginia. 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.
18. 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 Albany Congress under the direction of the accomplished printer, thinker, statesman, and inventor from Philadelphia named _____. 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.

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

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

19. Christopher Columbus's various interactions with Native Americans.

20. An account of the “Starving Time” at Jamestown.

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.

21. Where did the indigenous peoples of North and South America come from? How do we believe they came?

22. What motivated the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth? What were their goals?

23. Why did the Pilgrims draft and sign the Mayflower Compact?

24. What are the origins of slavery in world history?

25. What was it like to be an African on the Middle Passage and then a slave in the New World?

26. What did the colonists learn from the English Civil War?

27. What is “salutary neglect”? In what senses were the colonists neglected and how was this neglect actually beneficial to them?

28. What were the causes of the French and Indian War?

29. 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 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

What are the most important historical moments or ideas in the history of the thirteen colonies, from the founding of Jamestown through the French and Indian War?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Christopher Columbus

The Pilgrims

John Winthrop

William Penn

First Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly

John of England

Parliament of England

John Locke

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 "Española." 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.

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-

10 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 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. What are the work, end, and means of the Massachusetts Bay Colony?
3. 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;

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 ...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, 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

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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 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
5 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 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
10 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 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
15 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 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
20 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 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
25 whom we have lived...

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

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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 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
5 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 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
10 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.

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
15 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 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
20 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 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
25 enemies; when he shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding 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

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open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's 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.

- 5 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, 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,*
- 10 *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 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
- 15 cleaving to Him, for He is our life and our prosperity.

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; 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 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 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, 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 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).

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 shall have its rights undiminished, and its liberties unimpaired. That we wish this so to be
10 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
15 person to whom we have assigned them. If we have given or sold to anyone the 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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- 5 (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.
- 10 (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.
- 15 (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...
- 20 (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.

- 5 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 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 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...
- 10
- 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 unanimous verdict of the whole twenty-five, whether these were all present or some of those summoned were unwilling or unable to appear.
- 20

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 party, anything by which any part of these concessions or liberties might be revoked or
- 25

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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.

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;

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
5 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
10 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
15 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
20 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
25 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....

UNIT 2**The American Founding**

1763–1789

40-50-minute classes | 32-36 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

LESSON 1	1763–1776	Self–Government or Tyranny	9-10 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1776	The Declaration of Independence	4-5 classes	p. 14
LESSON 3	1776–1783	The War of Independence	6-7 classes	p. 21
LESSON 4	1783–1789	The United States Constitution	9-10 classes	p. 28
APPENDIX A	Study Guides, Tests, and Writing Assignment			p. 39
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 63

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 Glorious Cause, Robert Middlekauff

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
Civil Rights in American History
Introduction to the Constitution
Constitution 101
The Federalist Paper

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic, H.A. Guerber
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Short History of the American Revolution, James Stokesbury

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

"Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!," Patrick Henry
Common Sense, Thomas Paine
Declaration of Independence, Draft
Declaration of Independence
Resignation Speech, George Washington
The United States Constitution
The Bill of Rights

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND QUIZZES

Lesson 1 — Self-Government or Tyranny

1763–1776

9-10 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 Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1
Primary Sources

Chapter 5
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 42–48
Pages 68–80
Pages 29–43

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 3

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, chapter 5, and 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
Philadelphia
Independence Hall

Lexington and Concord
Fort Ticonderoga

Persons

George III
Charles Townshend
George Washington
John Hancock

Crispus Attucks
Paul Revere
Samuel Adams
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
 Stamp Act
 Sons of Liberty
 mob
 tar and feather
 Declaratory Act
 Townshend Acts
 non-importation agreements

Boston Massacre
 Committees of Correspondence
 Boston Tea Party
 Intolerable Acts
 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

“Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!” Patrick Henry
Common Sense, Thomas Paine

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
 Non-importation 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
- Boston Massacre
- John Adams fairly representing the British soldiers after the Boston Massacre Boston Tea Party
- Boston Tea Party
- Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death!" speech
- Paul Revere's Ride
- 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 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 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?
- To what extent were Americans justified in claiming the rights of Englishmen?
- 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? How did John Adams successfully preserve the rule of law?
- Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do (5 actions)?
- How did the Continental Congress respond to the Coercive (Intolerable) Acts?

- 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?
- To what extent was the American Revolution not made but prevented? To what extent was it revolutionary?
- 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.
- 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.

- 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.
- Read aloud with students Patrick Henry's "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!" Speech.
- 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 the key questions and moments between 1763 and 1776 that led the colonists to declare independence (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain how the Americans believed they were preserving self-government against British tyranny (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 2.1

The American Founding | Lesson 1
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Chapter 5

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What mountain range did the Royal Proclamation of 1763 attempt to prevent the colonists from crossing?
2. To whom did the Quartering Act force the colonial legislatures to provide lodging and food?
3. What did the Declaratory Act declare about Parliament's authority over the colonists?
4. What did a group of colonists dump into Boston Harbor in 1773 that resulted in a tyrannical retaliation by the British?
5. Name one of the battles you read about that occurred prior to the Declaration of Independence?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 2 — Formative Quiz 1

Covering Lesson 1
10-15 minutes

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

1. Why had the colonies been mostly left to their own devices? Why was this “neglect” “salutary”?
2. What did the Stamp Act do? Why did this act in particular undermine the principle of self-government and consent?
3. Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do?
4. In which ways did Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
5. Which 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

1776

4-5 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

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 48–51

The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic

Pages 81–82

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: 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 and of Nature's
 God
 self-evident
 natural rights
 equality
 unalienable
 liberty
 license

pursuit of happiness
 consent of the governed
 list of grievances
 slavery
 self-government
 representation
 Liberty Bell

Primary Sources

Declaration of Independence, First Draft
 Declaration of Independence

To Know by Heart

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

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

- 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 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 it mean to say that men are “endowed by their creator” with the rights?
- What does “unalienable” mean?
- 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 obligated—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?
- In which ways did Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and 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 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?
- 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 (1–2 paragraphs).

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

Assignment 3: Explain why the Americans believed they had more than “light and transient” causes to justify their revolution (1–2 paragraphs).

Lesson 3 — The War of Independence

1776–1783

6-7 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 Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1
Primary Sources

Chapter 6
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Short History of the American Revolution
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 52–58
Pages 83–102
As helpful
Pages 63–68

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 4

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, chapter 6, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Delaware River
Saratoga
Fort West Point

Valley Forge
Yorktown

Persons

George Washington
Phillis Wheatley
John Adams
Abigail Adams
Ethan Allen

Henry Knox
John Paul Jones
Horatio Gates
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 Yorktown
Newburgh Conspiracy
American Cincinnatus
Treaty of Paris

Primary Sources

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*
Yankee-Doodle, first stanza

Timeline

(1775) 1776–1783	War of Independence
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed
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

Images

Historical figures
Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
Depictions of figures at various scenes, 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)

Images and uniforms of British and American officers and soldiers

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- The fates of the signers of the Declaration of Independence
- David Bushnell's submarine attack
- Maryland 400 and the Battle of Brooklyn
- Retreat from Manhattan
- 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 on horseback at the Battle of Monmouth
- The playing of the "World Turned Upside Down" after Yorktown (possibly legend)
- Washington's dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- George III's comments on Washington resigning his command (possibly legend)
- Washington's resignation

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- 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: Bunker Hill, Trenton, and Yorktown?
- Why was the situation so dire in winter 1776?
- Why was the Battle of Saratoga so significant? What did the Americans gain from its 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 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?
- 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 moto was “E Pluribus Unum.” What does that mean?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The American Revolution was truly a “David and Goliath” clash: a fledging 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.

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 (2–3 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 2.2

The American Founding | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Chapter 6

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one disadvantage that the United States had in the Revolutionary War?
2. What was one advantage that the United States had in the Revolutionary War?
3. Who was the general of the Continental Army?
4. Which country allied with the Americans following the Battle of Saratoga?
5. What was the final major battle of the war in which the Americans defeated the British and General Charles Cornwallis surrendered?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 2 — Formative Quiz 2

Covering Lesson 3
10-15 minutes

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

1. What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
2. Why was the situation so dire in winter 1776?
3. What happened at Valley Forge over the winter of 1777–78?
4. What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
5. What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris?

Lesson 4 — The United States Constitution

1783–1789

9-10 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 Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1
Primary Sources

Chapters 7 and 8
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 58–78
Pages 103–108
Pages 56–89

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 Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, chapter 7, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, chapter 8, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Northwest Territory
Philadelphia

Independence Hall

Persons

James Madison
 Gouverneur Morris
 James Wilson
 George Washington

Alexander Hamilton
 John Jay
 Publius
 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
 natural rights
 equality
 consent of the governed
 self-government
 faction
 majority tyranny
 ambition
 representation
 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
 budget
 impeachment
 executive powers
 Electoral College
 cabinet
 Commander-in-Chief
 veto power
 judicial powers
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

Primary Sources

The United States Constitution
 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

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

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

First Amendment

Second Amendment

Timeline

1781	Articles of Confederation take effect
September 17, 1787	Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
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

- 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?
- Which 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?
- 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
 - faction
 - majority tyranny
 - republicanism
- What were the major disagreements at the Constitutional Convention?
- What are the various ways that the Constitution addresses the issue of faction?
- 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?
- 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?
- 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 were the different views towards the Constitution during the ratification debate?
- What do each of the following amendments in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why: 1st, 2nd, 9th, and 10th?
- 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 separate American Civics lessons. 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* for the teacher as well as the Bill of Rights for the students 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 separate civics lessons.

- 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.
- Revisit the structure of the Articles of Confederation and the issues that emerged under such a structure during the War of Independence, 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.
- Share with students the main arguments in *Federalist* 9, 10, and 51. These key documents should afford the teacher 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.
- 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.
- Note the belief of many Founders, based on the evidence at the time, that slavery was naturally on the way to extinction. Public opinion had steadily grown against it; the principles of the Declaration of Independence and Revolution would continue to be a force toward realizing equality; and the Constitution had further restricted slavery, permitted further restrictions by holding the union together, and kept slavery on its path to extinction.
- 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: Explain what separation of powers and federalism each are and how they guard against the tendency governments to use power to become tyrannical (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 3: Explain why the Framers believed it should be relatively difficult to change the Constitution. Explain why they made an exception by including the Bill of Rights as the first ten amendments (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 2.3

The American Founding | Lesson 4
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Chapter 7

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Are we sure that the band at Yorktown played “The World Turned Upside Down”?
2. What was the name of the first constitution and government under which the United States attempted to govern itself?
3. The Northwest Ordinance prohibited what from the territories of what is now much of the Great Lakes region of the Midwest?
4. What did the farmer and war veteran Daniel Shays do?
5. In which city did delegates meet to draft a new Constitution?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 2.4

The American Founding | Lesson 4
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Chapter 8

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who presided over the Constitutional Convention?
2. Who was known as “the Father of the Constitution”?
3. Although the convention was held in secrecy, how do we know so much about what happened?
4. Which powerful new office was created in the Constitution?
5. The compromise between representation by population or representation by state that decided to do both through a two-house Congress is known as the _____ Compromise.

APPENDIX A

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

Unit 2 | Test 1 — Study Guide

Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

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	Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

Boston	Independence Hall	Ticonderoga
Philadelphia	Lexington and Concord	

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
George Washington	Benjamin Franklin	Thomas Paine
John Hancock	Patrick Henry	Thomas Jefferson
Crispus Attucks	John Adams	Henry Knox
Paul Revere	Abigail Adams	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

salutary neglect	Sons of Liberty	Intolerable Acts
self-government	mob	Minutemen
representation	tar and feather	Second Continental Congress
French and Indian War	Declaratory Act	Continental Army
Proclamation of 1763	Boston Massacre	Olive Branch Petition
Stamp Act	Boston Tea Party	

Laws of Nature and of
Nature's God
self-evident
natural rights

equality
unalienable
liberty
pursuit of happiness

consent of the governed
slavery
Patriot/Revolutionary
Tory/Loyalist

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

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.

Common Sense, Thomas Paine
Declaration of Independence

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

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson up through 1776
- Boston Massacre
- Boston Tea Party
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston

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 is self-government? In what ways was the colonists’ freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
- 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)?
- 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

- 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 is liberty according to the Founders?
- 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 obligated—to do if the government fails or violates its purpose?
- 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?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 2 | Test 1 — The American Founding

Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

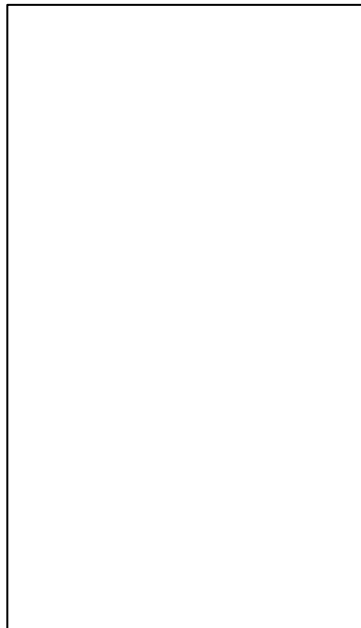
TIMELINE

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

1754–63	_____	A. Battles of Lexington & Concord and Bunker Hill
1763	_____	B. Boston Massacre
1770	_____	C. Boston Tea Party
1773	_____	D. Declaration of Independence signed
1774	_____	E. French and Indian War
1775	_____	F. Intolerable Acts
July 4, 1776	_____	G. Proclamation Line

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 & Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, and Philadelphia.



Map courtesy of *A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| A. Benjamin Franklin | E. First Continental Congress | J. salutary neglect |
| B. Boston Massacre | F. Intolerable Acts | K. Sons of Liberty |
| C. Boston Tea Party | G. Lexington and Concord | L. Thomas Jefferson |
| D. Declaration of Independence | H. Patrick Henry | M. Thomas Paine |
| | I. Proclamation Line | |
3. After acquiring lands from France following the French and Indian War, many British colonists hoped they would finally be able to settle further westward. In order to avoid additional conflict with the Native Americans and the related expenses of defense, the British enacted the _____ which declared that no American was allowed to move west of the Appalachians, and those already there must move back east.
 4. This action by the British signaled the end of _____, or the tradition of allowing the colonists to govern themselves largely independent of Parliament that had made the colonists practiced in self-government.
 5. In 1774, Parliament passed the Sugar Act. It did not create a new tax; rather it halved the previous sugar tax but, for the first time, actually tried to enforce it. No group found these new taxes so disagreeable as the _____ led by Samuel Adams in Boston.
 6. In 1770, British redcoats, abused and provoked by a mob, fired on a crowd of civilians. Though judged in court to be innocent of any wrong-doing, the event known as the _____ changed public opinion and increased the tension between the British and the British colonists.
 7. Tensions had seemed to ease by late 1773. But by then the British Parliament had granted the East India Trading Company a monopoly for selling tea in the American colonies. In response to yet another piece of British legislation not consented to by the colonial assemblies, colonists threw three shiploads of tea into Boston harbor in an event today known as the _____.
 8. Parliament responded to this event by passing a series of acts known as the _____ Acts. These acts included closing Boston harbor and, perhaps most alarmingly, disbanding the colonial government in Massachusetts. These actions, moreover, were to be enforced by sending more armed soldiers and the British navy to the colonies.
 9. Delegates from twelve colonies assembled at the _____ in response to these extraordinary acts of Parliament.
 10. The final push for Revolution came in the years of 1775 and 1776. In April of 1775, the first shots of the war were fired in the battles of _____ when British soldiers attempted to seize a colonial armory, officially beginning a revolution many were still trying to avoid.

11. Following these battles, _____ gave a rousing speech in the Virginia House of Burgesses crying the words, “Give me liberty! Or give me death!”
12. Public opinion shifted sharply against the British in early 1776 when _____ published *Common Sense* in January of that year.
13. The rejection of offers of conciliation and the news that the British had hired Hessian mercenaries against their own people led delegates to the Second Continental Congress to vote for and sign the _____ to dissolve the “political bands” connecting the American states with Great Britain.
14. This document was written by a committee composed of _____, John Adams, and its main author, _____.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

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

15. Bunker Hill

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words using the correct letters and identify the source.

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| A. abolish | E. governments | I. secure |
| B. destructive | F. happiness | J. self-evident |
| C. equal | G. liberty | K. truths |
| D. governed | H. life | L. unalienable rights |

16. “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: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

17. Tell the story of the Boston Massacre.
18. Tell the story of the battles of Lexington and Concord.

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.

19. What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists' freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?

20. What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament's actions?

21. What are "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God"?

22. What is a "self-evident" truth?

23. What does it mean that "all men are created equal"?

24. What is the purpose of government?

25. 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?

Unit 2 | Test 2 — Study Guide

Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

Lesson 4 | The Constitution

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

(1775) 1776–1783	War of Independence
1775	Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed
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	Fort Ticonderoga	Yorktown
Philadelphia	Delaware River	Northwest Territory
Independence Hall	Saratoga	
Lexington and Concord	Valley Forge	

PERSONS

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

George III	Horatio Gates	Charles Cornwallis
George Washington	George Rogers Clark	Alexander Hamilton
Benjamin Franklin	Marquis de Lafayette	James Madison
John Adams	Baron von Steuben	John Jay
Ethan Allen	Nathanael Greene	Publius
Henry Knox	Benedict Arnold	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

Patriot/Revolutionary	Father of the Constitution	executive powers
Tory/Loyalist	Constitution	Electoral College
Articles of Confederation	faction	Commander-in-Chief
Continental Army	majority tyranny	veto power
privateer	republicanism	judicial powers
Brown Bess Musket	extended sphere	judicial review
volley	federalism	amendment
mercenary	limited government	<i>The Federalist</i>
Hessians	enumerated powers	Anti-Federalists
Betsy Ross Flag	separation of powers	Bill of Rights
Yankee Doodle	checks and balances	freedom of religion
guerilla warfare	Virginia Plan	free exercise
French Treaty of Alliance	New Jersey Plan	establishment clause
Newburgh Conspiracy	Great Compromise	freedom of speech
American Cincinnatus	Three-Fifths Compromise	freedom of the press
Treaty of Paris	legislative power	right to assembly
debt cancellation laws	Congress	right to bear arms
Shays' Rebellion	bicameralism	due process
Northwest Ordinance	House of Representatives	
Constitutional Convention	Senate	

MAJOR CONFLICTS

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

Lexington & Concord	New York	Yorktown
Fort Ticonderoga	Trenton	
Bunker Hill	Saratoga	

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 United States Constitution
The Bill of Rights

TO KNOW BY HEART

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

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

“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

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

First Amendment

Second Amendment

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- Biography of George Washington between 1776 and 1789
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston
- 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
- Washington’s resignation
- 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

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

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

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
 - faction
 - majority tyranny
 - 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?
- 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?
- 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?
- 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, 9th, and 10th?
- To whom are elected officials and the Constitution itself ultimately subject?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 2 | Test 2 — The American Founding

Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

Lesson 4 | The Constitution

TIMELINE

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

(1775) 1776–83 War of Independence

1775 _____

July 4, 1776 _____

1776 (Christmas) _____

1777 _____

1777–78 _____

1781 _____

1783 _____

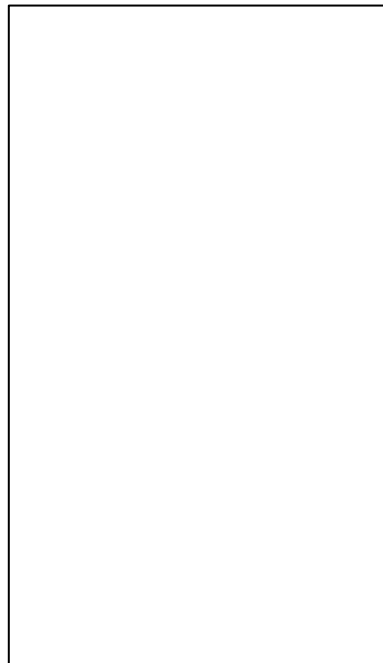
Sept. 17, 1787 _____

1789 _____

- A. Battle of Saratoga
- B. Battle of Trenton
- C. Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
- D. Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
- E. Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
- F. Constitution takes effect; Washington inaugurated
- G. Declaration of Independence signed
- H. Treaty of Paris
- I. Winter quarters at Valley Forge

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

- Label with dots the locations of Trenton, Saratoga, Valley Forge, and Yorktown.



Map courtesy of *A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| A. Articles of Confederation | G. federalism | M. separation of powers |
| B. Baron von Steuben | H. Federalists | N. Shays' Rebellion |
| C. bicameral | I. Newburgh Conspiracy | O. slavery |
| D. Bill of Rights | J. Northwest Ordinance | P. Yorktown |
| E. Constitutional Convention | K. Patriots | |
| F. Continental Army | L. Presidency | |
2. The United States of America at the beginning of the War for Independence were far from a united people. Two groups existed in the country: Tories who remained loyal to the King, and _____ who fought for the cause of independence.
 3. The American forces, known as the _____, consisted of a variety of militia and other enlistments who were often poorly supplied and rarely paid. Due to the miserable conditions, it was no surprise that 20% of the men deserted the army each winter and went home.
 4. Throughout the course of the war, the Americans were aided by a number of persons. Among these pro-American Europeans was the Prussian drill officer, the _____ who provided the American army with professional training at Valley Forge.
 5. In October of 1781, the British General Cornwallis found himself surrounded by the French Navy on the waters and 17,000 French and American troops on land in the Battle of _____. The surrender of 8,000 British troops convinced the British to make peace.
 6. After the final battle of the war but prior to formal peace being arranged, unrest in the Continental Army almost led to an overthrow of the Congress. This movement towards overthrow was called the _____, and was only ended by a dramatic officer's meeting called by George Washington.
 7. One of the greatest acts passed in America's first government was the _____ which banned slavery in the territories and promoted religion and knowledge through a system of public supported schools.
 8. Amidst the war, the founders had formed the _____ which established the first American government. It lacked, however, any real executive power and thus floundered throughout its ten years of existence.
 9. In 1786, an American Revolution veteran led an uprising of farmers against banks which were foreclosing homes and imprisoning debtors. The initial inability of the government to put down what was known as _____ led many founders to believe the government needed serious revisions.

10. In 1787, delegates appointed by state legislatures met in Philadelphia at the _____ to revise the existing government. The delegates opted instead to begin from scratch and worked to draft a new Constitution.
11. An important principle of the Constitution was the _____ where power is divided between three branches of government that then have the ability to check and balance each other, thus preventing the accumulation of power in one person or branch, what some founders called the very definition of tyranny.
12. Power was also divided between national, state, and local governments, a system known as _____, which again prevented power from being dangerously centralized.
13. At this convention, delegates had to compromise on several points. One of which, known as the Great Compromise, created a _____ legislature, one house of which determined representation by state population while the other gave each state equal representation.
14. Major additions to the government formed by the Constitution was a united and energetic executive branch called the _____ and an independent judiciary called the Supreme Court.
15. While the Constitution compromised on the issue of _____ in the Constitution, the Constitution place new national restrictions on slavery while still preserving the Union, which many abolitionists believed would be the only way to end the institution.
16. Those who supported the ratification of the Constitution were called _____ while those who were opposed were known as Anti-Federalists.
17. Although the Founders included many measures intended to prevent national government tyranny, many states demanded the first Congress pass a _____ which explicitly lists the rights belonging to citizens that government may not infringe upon.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

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

18. Saratoga

19. Yorktown

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words using the correct letters and identify the source.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| A. assemble | D. Justice | G. press |
| B. Blessings of Liberty | E. more perfect Union | H. religion |
| C. Constitution | F. People | I. speech |

20. “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: _____

21. “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: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

22. Tell the story of Washington’s Crossing of the Delaware.

23. Tell the story of the winter quarters at Valley Forge.

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.

24. What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the War of Independence?

25. What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?

26. What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?

27. What did *The Federalist* argue about human nature and majority tyranny?

28. Why did the Founders expect that slavery would eventually die out?

29. What does the Second Amendment in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why?

30. What does the Ninth Amendment in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why?

Unit 2 | Writing Assignment — The American Founding

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

How and on what principles was America founded?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Patrick Henry

Thomas Paine

Thomas Jefferson

The Second Continental Congress

George Washington

The American People

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), 108-110.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

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.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

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

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

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?

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

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. What event has convinced Paine of the necessity of independence?
2. Why does Paine criticize the protection that Great Britain provided the American colonies?
3. How does the colonies' connection to Great Britain negatively impact the colonists economically?
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).

ANNOTATIONS

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.

ANNOTATIONS

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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 necessaries 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 account*; but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from those who had no quarrel with us
20 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 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...

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of present sorrow; the evil is 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
5 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 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
10 be exposed to the fury of both armies...

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 pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and
15 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 negative over the whole legislation of this Continent. And as he hath shown himself such an
20 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 leave to; and is there any man so unwise as not to see, that (considering what has happened)
25 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

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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 on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would
5 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
10 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
15 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
20 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
25 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

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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 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 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,

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 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 empowered by the people, 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 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

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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 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.

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 ~~begun 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.~~

20 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.

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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» jurisdiction over ~~these our states~~ «us». We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our
 5 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

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 con-
nection which may heretofore have subsided between us and the people or parliament of
5 Great Britain: and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent
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
10 full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce & to do all
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. How are all men equal?
3. From where comes their rights?
4. What is the reason why people create governments?
5. From where comes a government's powers?
6. 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.

7. Although governments should not be changed for small reasons, when should the people change them?
8. Against which person does the Declaration of Independence level its charges?
9. To whom do the representatives appeal for the justness of their intentions?
10. By whose authority do the representatives declare independence?
11. What do each of the representatives pledge to one another?

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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, un-
30 less suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

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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.

5 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.

10 He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

15 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.

20 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.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

25 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.

30 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.

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:

5

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

10

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

15

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

20

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:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

25

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

30

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

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He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and 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 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.

10 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.

15 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.

20 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
25 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, in Peace Friends.

30

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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 and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent

5 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 Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance

10 on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Georgia

Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton

15

North Carolina

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn

South Carolina

20 Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton

Maryland

Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton

25 Virginia

George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton

Pennsylvania

30 Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross

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Delaware

Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean

New York

5 William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris

New Jersey

Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark

10 New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts

John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry

15

Rhode Island

Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery

Connecticut

20 Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott

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.

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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, increases 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, 1931-44), 284-285.

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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 superintendance 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.

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.

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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
10 Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the 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
5 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.

10 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
15 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 increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his
20 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
25 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 Bank-
 ruptcies 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 notwithstand-
20 ing.

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

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 FitzSimons, 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
5 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.

10 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 na-
15 ture 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

20 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.

25

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 of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number
 20 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

5 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.

10 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 15 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.

20 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 25 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.

ANNOTATIONS

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.

25

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

- 15 Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election 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.

25

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.

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

40-50-minute classes | 30-34 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

LESSON 1	1789–1801	The New Government	6-7 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1801–1815	Prospects, Uncertainties, and War	6-7 classes	p. 16
LESSON 3	1815–1829	The American Way	6-7 classes	p. 24
LESSON 4	1829–1848	Manifest Destiny	8-9 classes	p. 33
APPENDIX A	Study Guides, Tests, and Writing Assignment			p. 43
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 63

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.

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](https://online.hillsdale.edu)

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay
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 Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

Thanksgiving Proclamation, George Washington
Letter to the Hebrew Congregation, George Washington
Farewell Address, George Washington
Monroe Doctrine, James Monroe
Address to the People of the United States, John Ross
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson
"The Great Nation of Futurity," John Louis O'Sullivan

**LESSON PLANS,
ASSIGNMENTS,
AND QUIZZES**

Lesson 1 — The New Government

1789–1801

6–7 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1</i>	Pages 85–100
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 78–90
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 85–92, 121–123
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 47–51

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 5 and 6
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1*, pages 85–93, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1*, pages 93–100, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

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
New Orleans	Northwest Territory

Persons

George Washington
John Adams
Thomas Jefferson
Alexander Hamilton

James Madison
Eli Whitney
Citizen Genêt
John Jay

Terms and Topics

Bill of Rights
Father of Our Country
cabinet
bureaucracy
treasury
silver dollar
credit
tariff
national bank
Whiskey Rebellion
French Revolution
attorney general
original jurisdiction

appellate jurisdiction
Jay's Treaty
Fugitive Slave Law
cotton gin
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
Farewell Address, George Washington

To Know by Heart

“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
1789	Elections held; First Congress convened; George Washington inaugurated; French Revolution begins
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
- 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?
- 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 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?
- 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 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:

- 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.

- 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.
- 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.
- 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 the main ideas in George Washington’s Farewell Address (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain how America navigated its relationships with Great Britain and France during the French Revolution (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 3: Explain the competing visions for the kind of economy and country America should become according to Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton (1–2 paragraphs).

Lesson 2 — Prospects, Uncertainties, and War

1801–1815

6–7 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1</i>	Pages 100–118
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 90–104
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 92, 106–111
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 51, 63–65

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 6
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lectures 5 and 7

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1*, pages 100–108, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1*, pages 108–118, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

Virginia	Missouri River
Monticello	Lake Erie
Barbary Coast	Lake Champlain
Tripoli	Washington, DC
Louisiana Territory	Louisiana
St. Louis	

Persons

Thomas Jefferson	Sacagawea
Alexander Hamilton	James Madison
Aaron Burr	Tecumseh
John Marshall	Oliver Perry
Napoleon Bonaparte	Francis Scott Key
Meriwether Lewis	Andrew Jackson
William Clark	

Terms and Topics

Federalists	impressment
Democratic-Republicans	Embargo Act of 1807
<i>Marbury v. Madison</i>	Battle of Tippecanoe
judicial review	War of 1812
“unconstitutional”	Thames Campaign
Louisiana Purchase	USS <i>Constitution</i>
Napoleonic Wars	Battle of Lake Erie
Corps of Discovery	Burning of Washington
Barbary Pirates	Hartford Convention
US Marine Corps	Battle of Horseshoe Bend
Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves of 1807	Battle of New Orleans

To Know by Heart

“The Defense of Ft. McHenry,” first stanza

Timeline

1800	Thomas Jefferson elected
1803	US purchases the Louisiana Territory from Napoleonic France
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, and James Madison
- Thomas Jefferson’s walk to and from his inauguration
- 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
- 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
- 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—
 unbeknownst to the battle participants

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the major actions and characteristics of Thomas Jefferson’s presidency?
- 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*?
- 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.
- Teach students about *Marbury v. Madison*. 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. 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.
- Ask students to identify and compare the various advantages and disadvantages of each side at the outset of the War of 1812 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 the 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 main policy accomplishments of the Jefferson administration (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the story of the War of 1812 (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 3.3

The Early Republic | Lesson 2
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 100-108

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the “revolution of 1800”?
2. In what city did Thomas Jefferson deliver his first inaugural address?
3. Which president was the first to embrace his role as the leader of his party?
4. What Supreme Court decision established the power of judicial review?
5. Which party dominated the judicial system during much of America’s early history under the Constitution?

Lesson 3 — The American Way

1815–1829

6–7 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages 118–127, 132–138, 151–158
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 104–112, 117–126, 139–146
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 111–115, 118–119, 123–124, 129–132, 145–156
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 64–66, 74–75, 86–87

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 7 and 8
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 118–127, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 132–138, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, Volume 1, pages 151–158, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

Florida Territory	Mexico
New Spain	Tejas

Deep South
Maine

Missouri

Persons

James Monroe
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”
49th Parallel
immigration
Erie Canal
railroad
steamship
steel-cast plow
mechanical reaper
Second Great Awakening
Evangelism
Catholics
Mormonism

American System
McCulloch v. Maryland
slave trade
cotton gin
King Cotton
Missouri Compromise
36° 30' line
Monroe Doctrine
Corrupt Bargain
populist
Democratic Party

Primary Sources

Monroe Doctrine, James Monroe

To Know by Heart

“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
1820	Missouri Compromise
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,
and telegraph
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, 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
- 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
- Margaret Bayard Smith’s account of the inauguration of Andrew Jackson

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- 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 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?
- What did the Monroe Doctrine state?
- 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 were Alexis de Tocqueville’s major observations about democracy in America?
- 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.
- 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 and discuss its text with the class.
- 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, discuss with students the main ideas of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. 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.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the different factors that led to America's economic growth and westward expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain how slavery changed and expanded during the early nineteenth century and how this shaped debates over slavery (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 3.6

The Early Republic | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Pages 132-138

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Unitarianism was the dominant religion of the elites in which New England state?
2. What was the Second Great Awakening?
3. Why was upstate New York called the “burned-over district”?
4. Who was Charles Grandison Finney?
5. What religion did Joseph Smith found?

Lesson 4 — Manifest Destiny

1829–1848

8–9 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition</i> , Volume 1	Pages 127–131, 138–150, 158–168
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 112–117, 126–127, 129–138, 146–156
<i>A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 114–115, 120–121, 124–125, 132–136, 140, 143–144, 157–161
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 67, 75–77, 87–88, 94–95

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 7, 8, and 9
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lectures 5, 6, and 7

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, Volume 1, pages 127–131 and 158–162 and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, Volume 1, pages 138–141 and 163–166, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, Volume 1, pages 142–150 and 166–168, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

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

Texas
Goliad
Republic of Texas
Oklahoma Territory
Oregon Country

Rio Grande
Seneca Falls
California Territory
New Mexico Territory

Persons

Henry Clay
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
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
Nat Turner Rebellion
gag rule
“positive good”
compact theory
“state sovereignty”
“We the People”
Nullification Crisis
Bank of the United States
Worcester v. Georgia
Indian Removal Act
Cherokee
Trail of Tears
The Alamo
Texas Revolution
Second Party System

immigration
temperance
abolitionism
Underground Railroad
personal liberty laws
Transcendentalism
manifest destiny
pioneer
49th Parallel
Aroostook War
Morse code
annexation
Spot Resolutions
Mexican-American War
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Mexican Cession

Primary Sources

Address to the People of the United States, John Ross
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson
“The Great Nation of Futurity,” John Louis O’Sullivan

To Know by Heart

“Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!” —1844 Democratic slogan

“Marines’ Hymn”

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, Sam Houston, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and James Polk
- 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
- Accounts of the Battle of the Alamo
- William Coodey’s account of the start of the Trail of Tears
- Accounts of traveling the Oregon Trail
- The sudden illness and death of William Henry Harrison
- The feud between John Tyler and Henry Clay
- 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?
- 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 policies were adopted concerning Native Americans during the 1820s and 1830s?
- 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?
- 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 carried 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.
- 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. 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. Calhoun explicitly rejected the American founding principles as captured in the Declaration of Independence.
- 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.
- 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 and discuss with students John Ross's address regarding the Indian Removal Bill. Additionally, spend time teaching about efforts to maintain Native American heritage, such as how Sequoyah and the Cherokee sought to preserve their culture.
- 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. Also 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 way ways in which Andrew Jackson sought to champion the interests of the common man (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the causes of the Mexican-American War, why the United States won, and the effects of the peace treaty (1–2 paragraphs).

APPENDIX A

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

Unit 3 | Test 1 — Study Guide

Lesson 1 | The New Government

Lesson 2 | Prospects, Uncertainties, and War

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

1787	Constitutional Convention
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

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

New York City	Washington, DC	Louisiana Territory
Federal Hall	Executive Mansion	St. Louis
Philadelphia	Northwest Territory	Missouri River
New Orleans	Barbary Coast	

PERSONS

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

George Washington	Eli Whitney	Sacagawea
John Adams	Aaron Burr	Tecumseh
Thomas Jefferson	John Marshall	Oliver Perry
Alexander Hamilton	Meriwether Lewis	Francis Scott Key
James Madison	William Clark	Andrew Jackson

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

Federalists	Louisiana Purchase	impressment
Democratic-Republicans	Corps of Discovery	Embargo Act of 1807
<i>Marbury v. Madison</i>	Barbary Pirates	USS <i>Constitution</i>
judicial review	international slave trade	Burning of Washington

Hartford Convention

Treaty of Ghent

MAJOR CONFLICTS

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

Battle of Tippecanoe

Battle of Lake Erie

Battle of New Orleans

Thames Campaign

Battle of Horseshoe Bend

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 the Hebrew Congregation, George Washington

Farewell Address, George Washington

TO KNOW BY HEART

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

“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

“The Marines’ Hymn”

“The Defense of Ft. McHenry,” first stanza

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and John Marshall
- The travels of Citizen Genêt in the United States
- The death of George Washington
- Biographies and the roles of Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and James Madison
- Aaron Burr killing Alexander Hamilton in a duel
- William Henry Harrison’s account of Tecumseh

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 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?
- What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.
- What were the respective positions of the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans on the issues facing the country by the late 1790s?
- What risks emerged as the result of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions?

Lesson 2 | Prospects, Uncertainties, and War

- What were the major actions and characteristics of Thomas Jefferson's presidency?
- 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*?
- 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?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 3 | Test 1 — The Early Republic

Lesson 1 | The New Government

Lesson 2 | Prospects, Uncertainties, and War

TIMELINE

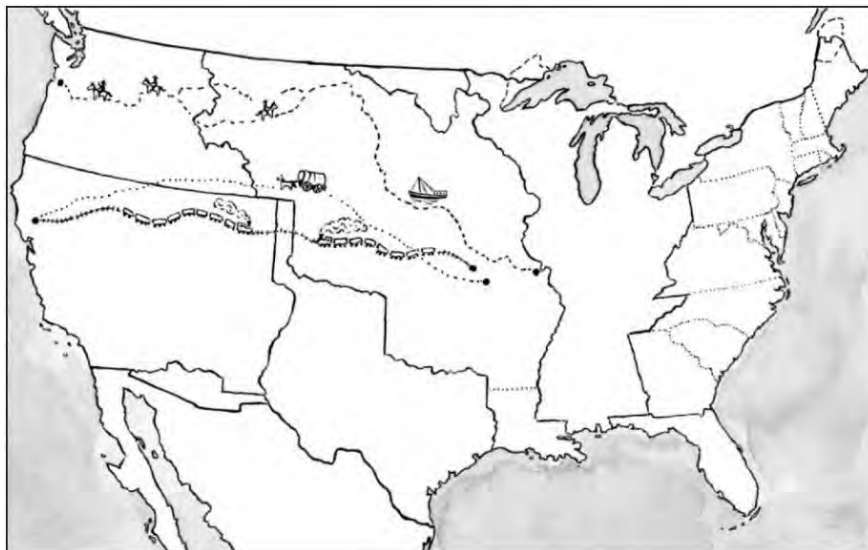
Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

- | | | |
|---------|-------|---|
| 1787 | _____ | A. Battle of New Orleans |
| 1789 | _____ | B. Constitutional Convention |
| 1800 | _____ | C. Elections held; First Congress convened; George Washington inaugurated; French Revolution begins |
| 1803 | _____ | D. Thomas Jefferson elected |
| 1812–15 | _____ | E. US purchases the Louisiana Territory from Napoleonic France |
| 1815 | _____ | F. 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 York City | D. Washington, DC | G. St. Louis |
| B. Philadelphia | E. Northwest Territory | H. Missouri River |
| C. New Orleans | F. Louisiana Territory | |



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

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. Alexander Hamilton | F. Ghent | K. Philadelphia |
| B. Barbary Pirates | G. international slave trade | L. Sacagawea |
| C. Democratic-Republicans | H. judicial review | M. Washington |
| D. Embargo Act | I. Meriwether Lewis | |
| E. Federalists | J. New York City | |
- _____ was instrumental in setting out an economic plan to restore the credit of the United States and spur its industrial potential. He was killed in a duel with Aaron Burr in 1804.
 - The first party system in American history pitted the more democratic, agrarian, and pro-French _____ against the more nationally-focused, industry-friendly, and pro-British _____.
 - America's three capitals under the Constitution were, in order, _____, _____, and the new capital carved from land donated by Virginia and Maryland along the Potomac River and whose architecture was meant to model the ancient Roman Republic: the city of _____ in the federal District of Columbia.
 - Under President Thomas Jefferson, the US Navy that John Adams had commissioned was used to fight the _____ in the Mediterranean Sea, putting an end to tribute payments by the United States.
 - Outlined in the decision *Marbury v. Madison*, the power for the judicial branch to judge the constitutionality of an act of the Congress, the President, or a state is called _____.
 - Having completed the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France, Thomas Jefferson sent his secretary _____ and his army friend William Clark on a surveying and scientific trip through the vast new lands, aided by the Native American guide, _____.
 - In 1807 Congress passed and President Thomas Jefferson signed into law an act to ban the _____, thus banning the practice at the first opportunity provided by the US Constitution.
 - The _____ was passed to cut off trade with Great Britain, in an effort to stop British impressment of US sailors. The economic harm from the measure diminished Thomas Jefferson's popularity in the final year of his presidency.

10. During the War of 1812, leaders in New England met at the _____ to discuss the possibility of seceding from the United States over its conflict with Great Britain.
11. The Treaty of _____ largely restored pre-war boundaries while solidifying America's claims to western territories, allowing the United States to focus on domestic issues in the coming decades.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

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

12. Battle of Lake Erie

13. Battle of New Orleans

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words using the correct letters and identify the source.

- | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------|
| A. country | D. Marine | G. sea |
| B. freedom | E. Montezuma | H. title |
| C. honor | F. right | I. Tripoli |

“From the Halls of _____
 To the shores of _____;
 We fight our _____’s battles
 In the air, on land, and _____;
 First to fight for _____ and _____
 And to keep our _____ clean;
 We are proud to claim the _____
 Of United States _____.

Source: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

14. The death of George Washington

15. William Henry Harrison’s account of Tecumseh

Unit 3 | Test 2 — Study Guide

Lesson 3 | The American Way

Lesson 4 | Manifest Destiny

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

1816	James Monroe elected
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.

Florida Territory	Missouri	Rio Grande
Mexico	Goliad	California Territory
Tejas	Republic of Texas	New Mexico Territory
Deep South	Oklahoma Territory	
Maine	Oregon Country	

PERSONS

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

James Monroe	Sam Houston	Frederick Douglass
Henry Clay	Antonio López	Levi and Catharine Coffin
John C. Calhoun	de Santa Anna	Harriet Tubman
John Quincy Adams	Davy Crockett	James Polk
Andrew Jackson	Sequoyah	Abraham Lincoln
Alexis de Tocqueville	William Henry Harrison	John Frémont
Stephen F. Austin	John Tyler	
William Lloyd Garrison	Elizabeth Cady Stanton	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

The Virginia Dynasty	Nat Turner Rebellion	abolitionism
“Era of Good Feelings”	“state sovereignty”	Underground Railroad
49th Parallel	“We the People”	personal liberty laws
immigration	Nullification Crisis	Transcendentalism
Second Great Awakening	Bank of the United States	manifest destiny
Missouri Compromise	Trail of Tears	annexation
36° 30' line	The Alamo	Spot Resolutions
Monroe Doctrine	Texas Revolution	Mexican-American War
Democratic Party	Second Party System	Mexican Cession
spoils system	temperance	

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.

Monroe Doctrine, James Monroe
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson

TO KNOW BY HEART

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

“America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.” —Alexis de Tocqueville

“Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!” —1844 Democratic slogan

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- Biographies and the roles of Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- Accounts 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
- Accounts of the Battle of the Alamo
- Accounts of the start of the Trail of Tears
- Accounts of traveling the Oregon Trail

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

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

Lesson 3 | The American Way

- 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?
- How did Henry Clay change American politics?
- What did the Monroe Doctrine state?
- What did Andrew Jackson mean by “democracy”?
- Why did Andrew Jackson promote the common man?
- What were Alexis de Tocqueville’s major observations about democracy in America?

Lesson 4 | Manifest Destiny

- 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 policies were adopted concerning Native Americans during the 1820s and 1830s?
- 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 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?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 3 | Test 2 — The Early Republic

Lesson 3 | The American Way

Lesson 4 | Manifest Destiny

TIMELINE

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

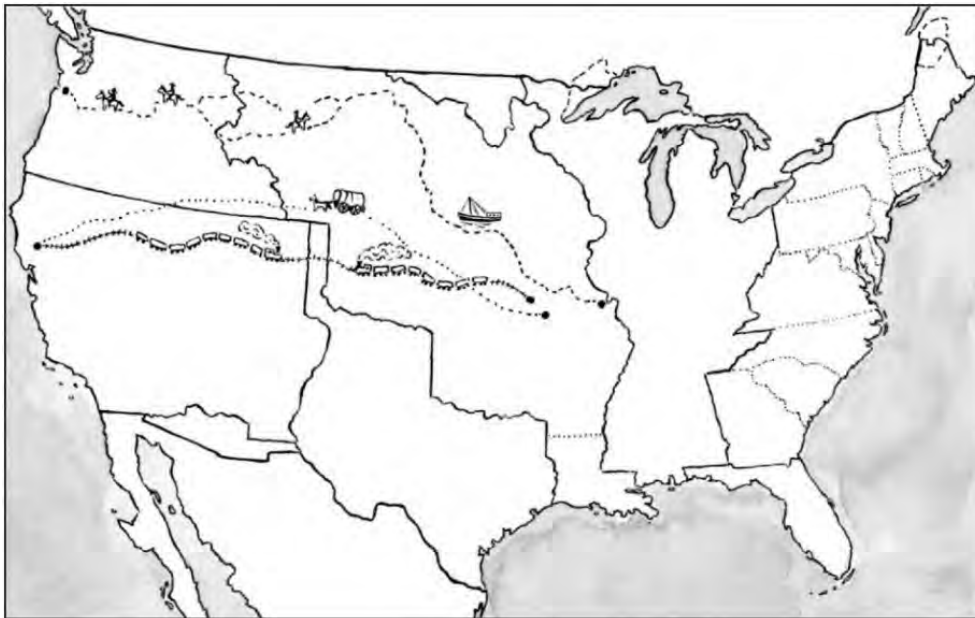
1816 _____
 1820 _____
 1828 _____
 1836 _____
 1845 _____
 1846–48 _____

- A. Andrew Jackson elected
- B. James Monroe elected
- C. Mexican-American War
- D. Missouri Compromise
- E. Texas independence
- F. US annexes Texas

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Mark the location of each place on the map using dots, circling, and the corresponding letters:

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| A. Mexico | D. Republic of Texas | G. Rio Grande |
| B. Deep South | E. Oklahoma Territory | H. California Territory |
| C. Missouri | F. Oregon Country | |



Map courtesy of A Student Workbook for Land of Hope.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. Abraham Lincoln | F. John Quincy Adams | K. Second Great Awakening |
| B. Alamo | G. Manifest Destiny | L. Stephen F. Austin |
| C. Bank of the United States | H. Mexican Cession | M. Trail of Tears |
| D. Era of Good Feeling | I. Monroe Doctrine | N. Underground Railroad |
| E. Henry Clay | J. Nat Turner Rebellion | O. William Henry Harrison |
2. The years immediately following the War of 1812 under the new president James Monroe were known as the _____ since peace returned and it looked as though America could focus on developing further economically and settling westward.
 3. The most significant cultural development during the early 1800s, especially on the frontier, was the _____, which saw the emergence of new Christian zeal and denominations.
 4. The _____ warned European powers not to begin new colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Though in practice unenforceable, good timing gave the policy a semblance of success.
 5. The US Congress was in essence governed by the leadership of _____, “The “Great Compromiser,” who helped work out three agreements that would preserve the Union, beginning with the Missouri Compromise.
 6. Out of vitriol regarding the result of the Election of 1824, Andrew Jackson and the new Democratic Party relentlessly undermined and attacked every action of President _____, who up to that point had been revered for his service to his nation.
 7. After the slave uprising known as _____, many Southern states hardened their position on slavery, thus intensifying the divisions in the country.
 8. 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.
 9. Following treaties made under the Indian Removal Act, US troops forced Native Americans to western reservations in horrid conditions, resulting in widespread death in what is known as the _____.
 10. The part of New Spain and then Mexico known as Texas was settled by Americans led by _____ and the Old Three Hundred group of settlers.

11. The defeat of holdout Texans at the Battle of the _____ under Mexican leader Antonio López de Santa Anna became a rallying cry in the Texas Revolution and elicited the public support of many Americans.
12. Running with the slogan “Old Tippecanoe and Tyler Too”, the frontier general _____ died only a month into office, leaving John Tyler as president, who frequently clashed with his fellow Whigs in Congress.
13. The network of escape routes, safe houses, and abolitionist conductors known as the _____ was one of the courageous ways in which escaped slaves and abolitionists freed African Americans from slavery.
14. The belief that the United States was destined to spread throughout North America, bringing her democratic ideas with her while taking advantage of economic opportunities, was labeled _____ by a newspaper in the 1840s.
15. Asserting that the president purposefully provoked Mexican aggression, 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.
16. The Mexican-American War resulted in the _____, in which America received much of what is now the western United States.

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words using the correct letters and identify the source.

- | | |
|------------|----------|
| A. America | C. good |
| B. ceases | D. great |

17. “America is great because _____ is _____, and if America ever _____ to be good, America will cease to be _____.”

Source: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

18. Tell the biography of Andrew Jackson

19. Tell the biography of Frederick Douglass

20. Tell the story of the 1831–32 slavery debate in the Virginia General Assembly

Unit 3 | Writing Assignment — The Early Republic

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

Which events and policies were most significant for helping the United States grow in prosperity, size, and opportunity between 1791 and 1848?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

George Washington

James Monroe

John Ross

Andrew Jackson

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.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

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

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

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.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

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.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

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.

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON**To the People of America**

LETTER EXCERPTS

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.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

...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....

...[Y]ou 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 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

George Washington, "Farewell Address," 19 September 1796, in *George Washington: A Collection*, ed. W. B. Allen (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1988), 512–17.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution 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
5 every Individual to obey the established Government....

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.

10 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
15 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
20 competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

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.

25 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

ANNOTATIONS

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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.

5 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
10 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
15 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
20 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 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
25 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.

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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....

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
5 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....

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
10 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

James Monroe, Annual Message, December 2, 1823, *Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 1st session, Senate Journal*, 12-19.

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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
5 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
10 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
15 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,
20 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....

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,
25 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.

5 But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously 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 Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be
10 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....

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

... 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
5 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
10 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
15 hunt on these lands, nor even enter the country without a passport; and gave a solemn guaranty of all Cherokee 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.

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.

The Cherokees have always fulfilled their engagements. . . .

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
5 against intruders. Our only request is that these treaties may be fulfilled, and these laws 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
10 various Indian nations, to which it has become assigned. They would regard us as intruders 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
15 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 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
20 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. . . .

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
25 streams, and our beautiful forests? No. We are still firm. We intend still to cling with our 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)**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 to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to 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, 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 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

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.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

these just principles.

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 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 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 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 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 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.

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

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 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 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—

John Louis O’Sullivan, “The Great Nation of Futurity,” *The United States Democratic Review* (6 November 1839): 426-30.

"The Great Nation of Futurity"
John Louis O'Sullivan

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of "peace and good will amongst men." . . .

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
5 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—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
10 history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man—the immutable truth 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
15 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

40-50-minute classes | 29-33 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

LESSON 1	1848–1854	The Expansion of Slavery	6-7 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1854–1861	Toward Civil War	6-7 classes	p. 15
LESSON 3	1861–1865	The Civil War	9-10 classes	p. 20
LESSON 4	1865–1877	Reconstruction	4-5 classes	p. 30
APPENDIX A	Study Guides, Tests, and Writing Assignment			p. 37
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 59

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

Battle Cry of Freedom, James McPherson

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

Reconstruction, Allen Guelzo

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

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic, H.A. Guerber
A Short History of the Civil War, James Stokesbury

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 1, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Frederick Douglass
Peoria Speech on the Kansas–Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln
“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln
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
13th Amendment
14th Amendment
15th Amendment
Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZZES

Lesson 1 — The Expansion of Slavery

1848–1854

6-7 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 Young Reader’s Edition
Primary Sources

Chapters 19 and 20
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 156–162
Pages 150–159
Pages 157–162

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Civil Rights in American History
Constitution 101

Lecture 9
Lecture 3
Lecture 6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, chapters 19 (second half) and 20, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate excerpts from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Mason–Dixon Line
Mexico

California
Kansas–Nebraska Territory

Persons

Henry Clay
 John C. Calhoun
 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

“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
 Kansas–Nebraska Act
 popular sovereignty

Primary Sources

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Frederick Douglass
 Peoria speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln

To Know by Heart

“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 to Harriet Beecher Stowe upon their meeting

Timeline

1846–48	Mexican–American War
1849	California Gold Rush
1850	Compromise of 1850
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
 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
- Frederick Douglass's letter to Harriet Tubman, 1868

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?
- What was John C. Calhoun's idea that slavery was a "positive good"?
- How would Frederick Douglass have replied to John C. Calhoun's assertions?
- 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?
- Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for southern states?
- What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Was it really a "compromise"? Why or why not?
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.

- 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. 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.
- 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 discuss 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.
- 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 the expansion of slavery became a major political issue following the Mexican–American War (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the biography of one of the following: Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, or Abraham Lincoln (2–3 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The American Civil War | Lesson 1
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Chapters 19 and 20

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. The acquisition of western lands following the war with Mexico and the discovery of gold in which present-day state 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 happened in the Kansas Territory following the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
4. Which party was created to oppose the expansion of slavery into the territories?
5. Who reentered politics in order to oppose Stephen Douglas' idea of letting voters decide about expanding slavery in the territories?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 4 — Formative Quiz 1

Covering Lesson 1
10-15 minutes

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

1. What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution was adopted, 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"?
3. What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Was it really a "compromise"? Why or why not?
4. How did the Underground Railroad work?
5. What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Where did the idea come from and why?

Lesson 2 — Toward Civil War

1854–1861

6-7 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how Abraham Lincoln and the new Republican Party’s opposition to the expansion of slavery led Southern 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 Young Reader’s Edition
Primary Sources

Chapter 20
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 162–173
Pages 160–169
Pages 163–181

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Civil Rights in American History
Constitution 101

Lecture 9
Lecture 3
Lecture 6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read and annotate Lincoln’s “House Divided” speech and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate Lincoln’s First inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Kansas–Nebraska Territory
Harpers Ferry

Fort Sumter

Persons

Abraham Lincoln
Frederick Douglass
Franklin Pierce

Stephen Douglas
James Buchanan
John Brown

Terms and Topics

Kansas–Nebraska Act	Lincoln–Douglas Debates
Bleeding Kansas	objective truth
a house divided	“don’t care,” “I care not”
popular sovereignty	moral relativism
Democratic Party	majority tyranny
Republican Party	”apple and frame” metaphor
<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>	Wilberforce University

Primary Sources

“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln
 “Fragment on the Constitution and Union,” Abraham Lincoln
 First inaugural address, 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
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 Brown’s letter to his pastor, 1859, and last words before execution
- 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?
- 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?
- 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 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?
- 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 was 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:

- 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. 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.
- 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.
- Teach students about the arguments in the Seventh Lincoln-Douglas Debate and discuss them 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 Abraham Lincoln's "Fragment on the Constitution and Union." Help students understand the arguments with respect to the American founding and 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 believed Americans must defend the principles of America by preventing the spread of slavery (1 paragraph).

Assignment 2: Retell the story of how Abraham Lincoln successfully became president and how this led to the outbreak of the Civil War (1–2 paragraphs).

Lesson 3 — The Civil War

1861–1865

9-10 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 Young Reader's Edition
Primary Sources

Chapters 21 and 22
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Short History of the Civil War
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 173–189
Pages 170–195
As helpful
Pages 179–187

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
Constitution 101

Lecture 10
Lecture 7

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, chapter 21, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition*, chapter 22, and 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
Union

Confederacy
Richmond

West Virginia
Border States

Appomattox Court House
Ford's Theatre

Persons

Abraham Lincoln
Jefferson Davis
Robert E. Lee
George McClellan
Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson
Clara Barton

Ulysses S. Grant
William Tecumseh Sherman
Martin Delany
Robert Gould Shaw
John Wilkes Booth

Terms and Topics

secession
"states' rights"
Confederate States of America
railroads
minié ball
Army of the Potomac
Army of Northern Virginia
American Red Cross
Anaconda Plan
Battle of First Manassas/Bull Run
ironclads
USS *Monitor**
CSS *Virginia*

trench warfare
Peninsula Campaign
abolition
Battle of Antietam
Battle of Fort Wagner
Battle of Vicksburg
Battle of Gettysburg
Pickett's Charge
54th Massachusetts Regiment
Peace Democrats
scorched earth warfare
Sherman's "March to the Sea"
Siege of Richmond

Primary Sources

Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln
Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln
Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

To Know by Heart

"Battle Hymn of the Republic," first stanza — Julia Ward Howe
Gettysburg Address — Abraham Lincoln
"So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." — William Tecumseh Sherman telegram announcing the fall of Atlanta to Abraham Lincoln
"O Captain! My Captain!" — Walt Whitman

*A previous version referred to the USS *Merrimack* instead of the USS *Monitor*.

Timeline

1860	Abraham Lincoln elected; South Carolina and six states secede
1861–65	Civil War
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter
September 22, 1862	Abraham Lincoln announces the Emancipation Proclamation
1863	Emancipation Proclamation takes effect
July 1–3, 1863	Battle of Gettysburg
1864 (Fall)	Fall of Atlanta
1864	Abraham Lincoln reelected
April 9, 1865	Robert E. Lee surrenders at Appomattox
April 14–15, 1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president

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 denial of Abraham Lincoln's offer to command the Union forces
- How Stonewall Jackson got his nickname
- Battle of the ironclads
- William Child's letter to his wife after the Battle of Antietam, 1862
- Clara Barton's letter to her cousin, Vira, December 1862
- The killing of Stonewall Jackson by friendly fire
- John Burrill's letter from Gettysburg to his fiancée, Ell, 1863
- Fighting at Little Round Top and Pickett's Charge
- George Pickett's letter from Gettysburg to his fiancée, La Salle Corbell, 1863
- The writing and delivery of the Gettysburg Address
- 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

- 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 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 each of the following battles begin, what happened in them, and what was their significance: Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Sherman's March to the Sea?
- 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?
- What was General Lee's strategic purpose for taking the war north, into Pennsylvania?
- 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?
- 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. 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. *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.
- 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 expanded the purposes of the Civil War from preserving the Union and preventing the spread of slavery to abolishing slavery itself (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Recite by heart the Gettysburg Address.

Assignment 3: Retell the history of the Civil War (3–4 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The American Civil War | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Chapter 21

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Why was it important that the South fired the first shots of the Civil War?
2. For which reasons did the Union have the overall advantage at the beginning of the war?
3. What was the “Anaconda plan” that Union General Winfield Scott developed (named after the tropical snake that strangled its prey to death)?
4. Name one Confederate general you read about and one Union general you read about (besides Winfield Scott).
5. What was the name of the order given by President Lincoln that freed the slaves in the rebelling states?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The American Civil War | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Chapter 22

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which Confederate general was killed by his own soldiers when they mistook him for an enemy?
2. Which famous and bloody battle in Pennsylvania marked a defeat for the Confederacy that stopped their incursion into Union territory?
3. Who was the key Union general Lincoln found to lead successfully the Union armies from 1864 onward?
4. What did General William Tecumseh Sherman do in Georgia?
5. What happened on April 14, 1865 (Good Friday), at Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 4 — Formative Quiz 2

Covering Lesson 3
10-15 minutes

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

1. What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
2. What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg in the Virginia and Maryland theatre of war?
3. How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
4. Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?
5. 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

1865–1877

4-5 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 for 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 Young Reader's Edition
Primary Sources

Chapters 23 and 24
See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope
The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 190–204
Pages 196–202
Pages 188–199

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 Young Reader's Edition*, chapters 23 and 24, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Former Confederacy

Persons

Andrew Johnson
Thaddeus Stevens
Hiram Revels
Ulysses S. Grant

Elijah McCoy
Lewis Howard Latimer
Rutherford B. Hayes

Terms and Topics

Reconstruction	Ku Klux Klan
Radical Republicans	lynching
freedmen	Ku Klux Klan Acts
13th, 14th, 15th Amendments	Transcontinental Railroad
military districts	Seward's Folly
Freedmen's Bureau	Crédit Mobilier Scandal
impeachment	Panic of 1873
sharecropping	Jim Crow
black codes	Compromise of 1877
scalawags and carpetbaggers	

Primary Sources

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

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
- 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

- 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?
- What did a Confederate state have to do in order to be readmitted fully in to 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?
- 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 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.
- 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: Compared to Abraham Lincoln's plans for Reconstruction, explain the ways in which Reconstruction was successful and the ways in which it was not successful (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the civil rights realizations Republicans achieved for freedmen during Reconstruction and the injustices that they were subject to both during and after Reconstruction in the former confederate states (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The American Civil War | Lesson 4
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Chapters 23 and 24

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. In general, what was Abraham Lincoln's plan and tone for Reconstruction?
2. What was the relationship like between President Andrew Johnson and the Republicans? Why?
3. Name one of the things that the three Reconstruction amendments (13th, 14th, and 15th) did?
4. Which military hero was president during much of Reconstruction?
5. What kinds of unjust things happened during and after Reconstruction?

APPENDIX A

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

Study Guide — Unit 4, Test 1

Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

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
1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

California	Fort Sumter	Border States
Kansas–Nebraska Territory	Union	
Harpers Ferry	Confederacy	

PERSONS

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

John C. Calhoun	Harriet Beecher Stowe	Stephen Douglas
Abraham Lincoln	Harriet Tubman	Dred Scott
Frederick Douglass	William Lloyd Garrison	James Buchanan
Sojourner Truth	Franklin Pierce	John Brown

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

“positive good”	<i>Frederick Douglass</i>	popular sovereignty
antebellum	<i>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</i>	Democratic Party
secession	Underground Railroad	Republican Party
Compromise of 1850	Kansas–Nebraska Act	<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>
Fugitive Slave Law	popular sovereignty	Lincoln–Douglas Debates
abolitionism	Bleeding Kansas	“don’t care”
<i>Narrative of the Life of</i>	“a house divided”	moral relativism

majority tyranny
“apple and frame” Metaphor

states’ rights

Confederate States of
America

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
“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln
“Fragment on the Constitution and Union,” Abraham Lincoln
First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

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
“A house divided against itself cannot stand.” — Abraham Lincoln

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade 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 and its surrender

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 Southern states? What was a slave auction like?
- 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?

- 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 John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
- Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for Southern states?
- What were the two most controversial parts of the Compromise of 1850? What were their effects?
- 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

- 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?
- Why did Lincoln see the question of the morality of slavery to be at the heart of America's founding?
- 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?

Name _____

Date _____

The American Civil War — Test 1

Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

TIMELINE

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

1846–48 _____

1849 _____

1854 _____

1860 _____

April 12, 1861 _____

A. Attack on Fort Sumter

B. California Gold Rush

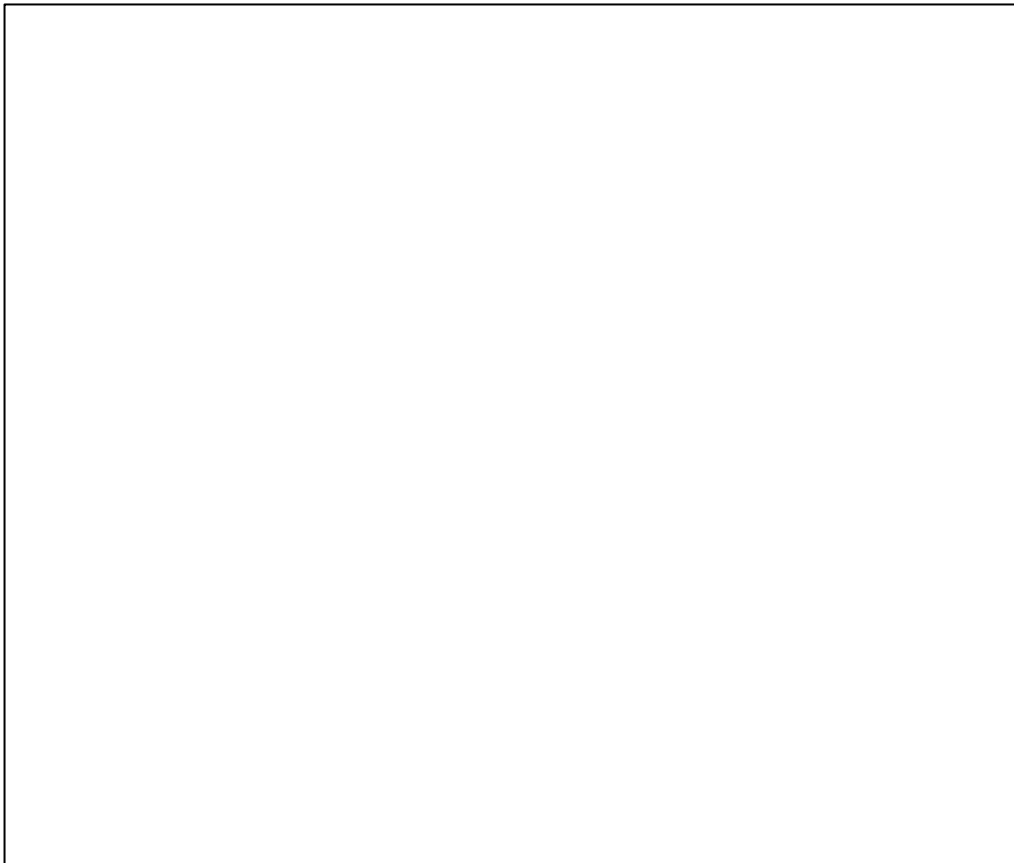
C. Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes

D. Kansas–Nebraska Act; Republican Party founded

E. Mexican–American War

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Outline and label the Union states, border states, and Confederate states.



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

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Border | E. Frederick Douglass | J. popular sovereignty |
| B. Compromise of 1850 | F. Fugitive Slave Law | K. Republican Party |
| C. <i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i> | G. Harriet Tubman | L. South Carolina |
| D. Fort Sumter | H. John Brown | M. <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> |
| | I. Kansas-Nebraska | |

- Henry Clay helped orchestrate the passage of the _____, a package of five separate bills which relieved tensions between the North and South over the slavery issue.
- Included in this package was the _____ which required Northerners to actively assist in capturing runaway slaves, thus stirring the ire of many in the north.
- In the years leading up to the Civil War, various abolitionists worked and wrote against slavery, such as the escaped slave turned writer _____, newspaperman William Lloyd Garrison, and Harriet Beecher Stowe whose book, _____, did much to reveal the horrors of slavery to Northerners and shift public opinion into action.
- Escaped slave _____ was one of the main conductors on the Underground Railroad that led slaves to freedom in the North and Canada.
- Congressman Stephen Douglas, who desired to be the new 'Great Compromiser,' pushed for a new approach to slavery in the West: _____. This approach regarded slavery as a morally neutral practice and allowed each state to decide for themselves if it was permissible within its borders.
- The infamous _____ Act of 1854 contradicted the Missouri Compromise and set up Kansas as a real battleground over the issue of slavery in what became known as "Bleeding Kansas." It was in response to this act that Abraham Lincoln returned to politics.
- In 1854, former Whigs, Free Soilers, and abolitionists formed the new _____ with the purpose of actively standing against the expansion of slavery.
- The Supreme Court asserted in the case _____ that slaves had no rights as written in the Constitution and that slavery could not be prevented from spreading throughout the Union.
- In 1859, the abolitionist _____ attempted to lead a southern slave insurrection. His efforts were cut short when he was cornered and captured at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.
- In response to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, _____ decided to secede from the Union, followed by a host of southern states, though by the time Lincoln was inaugurated in March 1861, no violence had broken out.

12. Part of Lincoln's First inaugural address was an attempt to keep Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, called the _____ States, loyal to the Union. If these states had seceded, it would have been likely that the South would have had enough strength to win the war.
13. The first shots of the war were fired on the federal fort in Charleston Harbor called _____. Thus did war begin between the Union and the Confederacy.

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

14. "_____ makes a man unfit to be a _____." — Frederick Douglass
15. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." — _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

16. Childhood biography of Abraham Lincoln
17. The first shots fired on Fort Sumter and its surrender

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.

18. What had been the Constitution's framers' general prediction about the future of slavery?

19. What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution was adopted, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?

20. How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?

21. Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for Southern states?

22. 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?

23. 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?

24. Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his "apple of gold, frame of silver" metaphor.

25. What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his First Inaugural Address?

Study Guide — Unit 4, Test 2

Lesson 3 | The Civil War
Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

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 14–15, 1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president
1865–77	Reconstruction
1877	Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes president

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

Fort Sumter	Richmond	Appomattox Court House
Union	West Virginia	Ford's Theatre
Confederacy	Border States	Former Confederacy

PERSONS

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

Abraham Lincoln	Clara Barton	Andrew Johnson
Jefferson Davis	Ulysses S. Grant	Hiram Revels
Robert E. Lee	William Tecumseh Sherman	Ulysses S. Grant
George McClellan	Robert Gould Shaw	Rutherford B. Hayes
Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson	John Wilkes Booth	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

states' rights	minié ball	ironclads
Confederate States of America	Army of the Potomac	USS <i>Monitor</i>
	Army of Northern Virginia	CSS <i>Virginia</i>

abolition	Military Districts	Ku Klux Klan Acts
Pickett's Charge	Freedmen's Bureau	Transcontinental Railroad
54th Massachusetts	sharecropping	Crédit Mobilier Scandal
Sherman's "March to the Sea"	black codes	Jim Crow
Reconstruction	scalawags and carpetbaggers	Compromise of 1877
Radical Republicans	Ku Klux Klan	
freedmen	lynching	

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	Fredericksburg and	Gettysburg
Shiloh	Chancellorsville	Sherman's "March to the Sea"
Peninsula Campaign	Fort Wagner	
Antietam	Vicksburg	

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.

Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln
 Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln
 Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln
 Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

TO KNOW BY HEART

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

Gettysburg Address — Abraham Lincoln
 "So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." — William Tecumseh Sherman telegram announcing the fall of Atlanta to Abraham Lincoln
 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 3rd grade students.

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

Abraham Lincoln's cabinet meeting regarding dealing with the south just hours before his assassination
 Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent killing of John Wilkes Booth
 The swearing in of Hiram Revels to the US Senate

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

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

Lesson 3 | The Civil War

- What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his First inaugural address?
- 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?
- 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?
- What did a Confederate state have to do to be readmitted fully in to 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?
- 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 _____

The American Civil War — Test 2

Lesson 3 | The Civil War
Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

TIMELINE

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

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------|---|
| 1860 | _____ | A. Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president |
| 1861–65 | _____ | B. Abraham Lincoln reelected |
| April 12, 1861 | _____ | C. Attack on Fort Sumter |
| 1863 | _____ | D. Battle of Gettysburg |
| July 1–3, 1863 | _____ | E. Civil War |
| 1864 | _____ | F. Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes president |
| April 14–15, 1865 | _____ | G. Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes |
| 1865–77 | _____ | H. Emancipation Proclamation takes effect |
| 1877 | _____ | I. Reconstruction |

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Label Fort Sumter, Washington, DC, Richmond, Vicksburg, and Gettysburg.



Map courtesy of *A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. 54 th Massachusetts | F. Jim Crow | K. Robert E. Lee |
| B. Appomattox Court House | G. minie ball | L. sharecropping |
| C. black codes | H. Pickett's Charge | M. Ulysses S. Grant |
| D. Ford's Theatre | I. railroads | N. William Tecumseh Sherman |
| E. ironclads | J. Reconstruction | |
- One great advantage to the North was in its number of _____, which allowed for the faster deployment of soldiers, shipping of supplies, and industrial output.
 - Gunshot wounds were so gruesome and limb-endangering due to the _____, a conical round that shattered bones and left a larger exit wound than entrance resulting in the Civil War's high amputation rate.
 - The Civil War was the first war which not only saw widespread use of breech-loaded weapons but also the first _____ ships, the first battle of which was fought between the USS *Monitor* and the CSS *Virginia* in the James River.
 - The bloodiest and most pointless attack of the Battle of Gettysburg was the last attack on July 3rd, called _____ in which over 1,000 Confederate soldiers were killed as they attempted to take the Union position on Cemetery Ridge.
 - The most famous of the United States Colored Troops regiments was the _____ Regiment, which fought bravely in their tragic attack on Fort Wagner in South Carolina.
 - Having graduated 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," outweighed his belief that secession was unconstitutional.
 - 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 Theatre garnered him a promotion to General-in-Chief of the Union forces.
 - The colleague of Ulysses S. Grant, _____ 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." Like Grant, he hated war, but wanted the citizens to feel the effects of war (short of hurting them physically) and so hasten peace. Nonetheless, his tactics through Georgia escalated the bitterness between the north and south.
 - The bloodiest conflict in American history ended after four years when General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General Grant's Army of the Potomac at _____ in Virginia on April, 9th, 1865.

11. On the night of April 14th at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C., actor and Southern sympathizer _____ shot Abraham Lincoln, who died the next morning, just six days after the war ended.
12. The era known as _____ witnessed the realization of many civil rights for freedmen and the efforts and resources of Northern Republicans to protect them, such as through Constitutional Amendments, civil rights acts, and the Ku Klux Klan Act.
13. Although slaves were freed following the Civil War, many Southern governments tried to limit their rights through _____.
14. Since there was so little non-agrarian work in the south, plantation owners often left freedmen no choice but to resort to _____, where the plantation owner would lease the freedmen a share of his land to grow crops in exchange for a majority share of the crops that were grown.
15. With the sudden end of Reconstruction in 1877, injustices returned to African Americans in the South in an era characterized by segregation and discrimination in laws known as _____.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

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

16. Antietam

17. Gettysburg

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

18. "...and that government of the _____

Source and Speaker – _____

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

Source – _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

20. Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House

21. Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent killing of his assassin

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.

22. 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?

23. What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?

24. What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?

25. How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation

26. What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?

27. Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, what did each do?

28. What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13th Amendment?

29. What happened in the election of 1876 and subsequent compromise of 1877?

30. What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the South, 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 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

What did President Abraham Lincoln argue about the principles of America, the practice of slavery, and the Civil War?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Frederick Douglass

Abraham Lincoln

The American People

E.D. Estillette

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 feel about being free in the North?

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 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 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....

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 Louden Slater's Hill, I was conducted by 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 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.

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

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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, 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
5 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 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.

10 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 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
15 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 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
20 hope of being free, I have no doubt but that I should have killed myself, or done something 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
25 in getting clear, or if a slave killed his master, set fire to a barn, or did any thing very wrong 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

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I was satisfied that it was something they wanted me to know very little about. After a patient waiting, I got one of our city papers, containing 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 *abolitionist*, 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 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 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 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 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 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

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the names of these letters, and for what they were intended when placed upon a piece of 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
5 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 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
10 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 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
15 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 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.
20 But, by this time, I began to want to live upon free land as well as with Freeland; and I was 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
25 something. I therefore re solved that 1835 should not pass without witnessing an attempt, 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

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with thoughts of freedom. I bent myself to devising ways and means for our escape, and 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 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 succeeded 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 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 im agined—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 free dom –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 over taken, and torn to pieces by the fangs of the terrible bloodhound. We were stung by

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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 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.

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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.

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 common consent, at the head of the whole affair. The responsibility of success or failure lay heavily upon me. 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 overwhelmed 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, "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 white men were on horseback, and the colored ones were walking behind, as if tied. I

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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, 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. 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 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 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 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.

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

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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 was you that put it into the heads of Henry and John to run away. But for you, you long-
5 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, just at the moment he was about carrying his proposal into effect, his aid was needed in
10 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.

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
15 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 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 under-
20 went 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; 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
25 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. 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.

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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 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
5 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. 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
10 while, if we were only in their hands.....

I Now come to that part of my life during which I planned, and finally succeeded in making, my escape from slavery. But before narrating any of the peculiar circumstances, I deem it 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,
15 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 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
20 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 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
25 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 the hazard of closing the slightest avenue by which a brother slave might clear himself of the chains and fetters of slavery.

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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 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 towards enlightening the slave, whilst they do much towards enlightening 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 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, 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....

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 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

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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 deed 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
5 a slave forever. I could not hope to get off with any thing less than the severest punishment, 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 blessedness of freedom, were perpetually before me. It was life and death with me. But I remained firm, and, according to my resolution, on the
10 third day of September, 1838, I left my chains, and succeeded in reaching New York without 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
15 been able to answer the question with any satisfaction to myself. It was a moment of the 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 ;
20 and I was again seized with a feeling of great insecurity and loneliness. I was yet liable to be 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 to un-
25 fold 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

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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" (1854) in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953) pp. 248–283.

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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.

10 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....

20 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:

25 “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.

5 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....

10 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,
15 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
20 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
25 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....

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)

To the Illinois Republican Party Convention

SPEECH EXCERPTS

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 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," June 16, 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.

15 Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the 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*....

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
20 the third point gained.

The *working* points of that machinery are:

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First, that no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave can ever be a *citizen* of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

5 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."

Secondly, that "subject to the Constitution of the United States," neither *Congress* nor a *Territorial Legislature* can exclude slavery from any United States territory.

10 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.

15 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.

20 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 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* whether slavery is voted *down* or voted *up*.

This shows exactly where we now are; and *partially* also, whither we are tending....

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We can not absolutely *know* that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. 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
5 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 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
10 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....

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

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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.

On the Constitution and Union
Abraham Lincoln

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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 EXCERPTS

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 "the only substantial dispute," and what are its possible resolutions as Lincoln sees them?

Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address—Final Text," March 4, 1861, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 4, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 262–71.

Fellow citizens of the United States:

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

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this, and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves, and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter 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 be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section, as to another.

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

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

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the 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 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 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,

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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....

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

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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....

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well*, upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied, hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

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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 touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

10

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," January 1, 1863, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 6, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 28–30.

The Emancipation Proclamation
Abraham Lincoln

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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.

30

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.

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," November 19, 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.

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
10 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," March 4, 1865, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 8, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 332–33.

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.

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.

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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.

The House Joint Resolution proposing the 13th amendment to the Constitution, January 31, 1865; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

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

The House Joint Resolution proposing the 14th amendment to the Constitution, June 16, 1866; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

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.

The House Joint Resolution proposing the 15th amendment to the Constitution, December 7, 1868; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

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 compelled to find an employer, or leave the town within twenty-four hours. The lessor or
5 furnishers 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

40-50-minute classes | 19-22 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

LESSON 1	1877–1901	The Gilded Age	7-8 classes	p. 6
LESSON 2	1901–1914	The Progressive Era	6-7 classes	p. 18
LESSON 3	1914–1919	The Great War	6-7 classes	p. 28
APPENDIX A	Study Guides, Tests, and Writing Assignment			p. 38
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 58

Why Teach the Turn of the Century

There perhaps has 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](https://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

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay
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 Young Reader's Edition, 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

“The Presidency,” Theodore Roosevelt
“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

7-8 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

<i>Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2</i>	Chapters 1-4
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 205–239
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 200–208, 211–217, 234–236
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 120–123, 125–127, 142–143

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 12-13
<i>Civil Rights in American History</i>	Lectures 5-6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 1, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 2, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapters 3-4, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Pittsburgh	Montana
Great Lakes	Washington
Ellis Island	Idaho
Alaska	Wyoming
North Dakota	Utah
South Dakota	Hawaiian Islands

Spain
Cuba
Puerto Rico
Santiago Bay

San Juan Hill
Philippines
Manila Bay
China

Persons

Mark Twain
Thomas Edison
Cornelius Vanderbilt
Andrew Carnegie
John D. Rockefeller
J. Pierpont Morgan
Samuel Gompers
Booker T. Washington
George Washington Carver

George Armstrong Custer
Sitting Bull
Rutherford B. Hayes
James A. Garfield
Grover Cleveland
William Jennings Bryan
William McKinley
Theodore Roosevelt

Terms and Topics

Homestead Act
railroads
Transcontinental Railroad
industrialization
patent
steel
self-made man
coal
oil refining
Standard Oil Co.
mass production
division of labor
monopoly
“captains of industry”
“robber barons”
philanthropy
urbanization
immigration
pollution

Tuskegee Institute
Plessy v. Ferguson
frontier
Battle of Little Bighorn
political boss
labor unions
Populist Party
bimetallism
Cross of Gold
social gospel
*The Influence of Sea Power
upon History*
USS *Maine*
yellow journalism
Spanish-American War
Rough Riders
Philippine-American War
Open Door Policy

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
- “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 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?
- 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?
- 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?
- 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?
- How did the idea of a more active foreign policy and imperialism contend with the American Founding and foreign policy precedent?
- 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 the nations of Europe and of 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 (1-2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the extent to which American foreign policy under William McKinley both departed from and held to America's traditional stance toward international affairs (1 paragraph).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 1, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol. 2, Chapter 1

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. According to the book, what was the purpose of the Grand Review of the Union Armies in 1865?
2. What was America's first "big business?"
3. In 1879, who had control of 90% of the nation's oil refining capacity?
4. Who was the man so powerful that even the American economy was dependent on him during the turn of the century?
5. What was a consequence of the standardization of time zones in post-Civil War America?

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 1, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol. 2, Chapter 2

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Name two elements of the daily life of American citizens that deteriorated with the growth of cities.
2. Where did unskilled workers and disoriented immigrants turn to in place of labor unions?
3. By 1890, where was the bulk of American immigration coming from?
4. What kind of neighborhoods did most immigrants live in upon arriving in American cities?
5. What was the shocking declaration made by the 1890 U.S. Census?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 1, Quiz #3
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol. 2, Chapters 3-4

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the style of journalism responsible for inflaming American public opinion in favor of Cuba's independence from Spain?
2. Who was the U.S. president who declared war against Spain in 1898 over the independence of Cuba?
3. How long did the Spanish-American War last?
4. Whom did President McKinley appoint as the civil governor of the Philippines after the War?
5. What was the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine?

Lesson 2 — The Progressive Era

1901–1914

6-7 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

<i>Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2</i>	Chapters 5-6
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 240-258
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 232–239
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 142–145

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 14-15
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 8
<i>Introduction to the Constitution</i>	Lecture 12
<i>Constitution 101</i>	Lecture 8
<i>Constitution 201</i>	Lectures 1-4
<i>Civil Rights in American History</i>	Lecture 6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 5, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 6, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Panama Canal	New Mexico
Oklahoma	Arizona

Persons

Eugene V. Debs	W. E. B. DuBois
Woodrow Wilson	William Howard Taft

Terms and Topics

muckrakers

*The Jungle**The Communist Manifesto*

social Darwinism

socialism

Progressivism

Sherman Antitrust Act

trust-busting

Interstate Commerce Act

The Square Deal

conservationism

Roosevelt Corollary

Bull Moose Party

The New Freedom

Election of 1912

National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Black Wall Street

eugenics

San Francisco Earthquake

16th Amendment17th Amendment

national parks

Primary Sources

“What Is Progress?”, Woodrow Wilson

“The Presidency,” Theodore Roosevelt

“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

“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 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 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?
- 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?
- 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?
- 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?
- 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 (1-2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Describe examples of Progressive ideas being implemented during the Progressive era. Explain how these changes impacted American society (1-2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 2, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol.2, Chapter 5

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who was the political reformer and powerful public speaker who almost won the 1896 presidential election?
2. What dramatic reforms did Mayor Tom Johnson make in the city of Cleveland?
3. What Progressive form of government had been adopted by 300 cities by 1923?
4. What was the “Wisconsin Idea?”
5. What are the two different Progressive approaches to reforming modern industry for the benefit of the public interest, as noted in the book?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 2, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol.2, Chapter 6

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was Theodore Roosevelt's theory of the presidency called?
2. What two acts were passed in response to the public outrage about the meatpacking industry incited by Upton Sinclair's book *The Jungle*?
3. Of his many acts as President, which one was Theodore Roosevelt most proud of?
4. Who were the three high-profile presidential candidates in the election of 1912?
5. What were the two troubling problems with Progressivism made apparent early in Woodrow Wilson's presidency?

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. 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?
3. What happened in the western United States with respect to relations between Native Americans and the U.S. government?
4. 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?
5. What legal reforms did Progressives pursue to deal with problems of urbanization and industrialization?

Lesson 3 — The Great War

1914–1919

6-7 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition</i> , Vol. 2	Chapters 7-8
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 259-275
<i>A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 249-257
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 155-159
<i>A Short History of World War I</i>	
<i>Fighting the Great War</i>	

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 16-17
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 9

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 7, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 8, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Austria-Hungary	Ardennes Forest
Ottoman Empire	Soviet Union
Balkans	Argonne Forest
Serbia	

Persons

Orville and Wilbur Wright	Franz Ferdinand
Henry Ford	Wilhelm II

Nicholas II
Winston Churchill
John Pershing

Vladimir Lenin
Susan B. Anthony

Terms and Topics

airplane
assembly line
nationalism
militarism
balance of power
Eastern Question
reserve system
industrial warfare
automobile
ultimatum
Allied Powers
Central Powers
two-front war
Schlieffen Plan
trench warfare
machine gun
barbed wire

No Man's Land
war of attrition
unrestricted submarine warfare
Lusitania
Battle of Gallipoli
Battle of Verdun
Battle of the Somme
Armenian genocide
Zimmerman Telegram
Bolshevik Revolution
Sedition Act
tank
Second Battle of the Marne
Meuse-Argonne Offensive
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

“The Soldier” —Rupert Brooke
“The world must be made safe for democracy.” —Woodrow Wilson
“Over There” —George Cohan
“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?
- 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 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?
- For which reasons did generals continue the fight at Verdun and the Somme for months on end?
- 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?
- 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?
- Compare and contrast Europe before and after the Great War, politically, geographically, 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 these 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 its own fighting 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 during it. 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 the offensive would be keys to victory, and that the fighting itself 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 circumstances in Europe prior to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand through the United Kingdom’s declaration of war (1-2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Tell the story of the United States’ involvement in the Great War and the Treaty of Versailles (1-2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 3, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol. 2, Chapter 7

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. When World War I began, what solemn declaration did President Wilson issue on August 4, 1914?
2. To whom did President Wilson boldly address his speech on January 22, 1917?
3. What risky German decision made President Wilson finally decide to pursue a declaration of war in 1917?
4. What did the Creel Committee attempt to accomplish?
5. What two laws did Congress and President Wilson pass in response to public opposition of America's war effort?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

The Turn of the Century | Lesson 3, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol.2, Chapter 8

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who served as the commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I?
2. On what date did the Germans sign an armistice?
3. What was the total number of military and civilian casualties at the end of the war?
4. What was stated in Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles?
5. President Wilson arguably lost the election of 1920 by focusing all of his energy on which element of his "Fourteen Points"?

APPENDIX A

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

Study Guide A—Unit 5, Test #1

Lesson 1 | The Gilded Age

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

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

Pittsburgh	Utah
Great Lakes	Hawaiian Islands
Ellis Island	Spain
Alaska	Cuba
North Dakota	Puerto Rico
South Dakota	Santiago Bay
Montana	San Juan Hill
Washington	Philippines
Idaho	Manila Bay
Wyoming	China

PERSONS

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

Mark Twain	George Armstrong Custer
Thomas Edison	Sitting Bull
Cornelius Vanderbilt	Rutherford B. Hayes
Andrew Carnegie	James A. Garfield
John D. Rockefeller	Grover Cleveland
J. Pierpont Morgan	William Jennings Bryan
Samuel Gompers	William McKinley
Booker T. Washington	Theodore Roosevelt
George Washington Carver	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

Homestead Act	“captains of industry”	bimetallism
railroads	“robber barons”	Cross of Gold
Transcontinental Railroad	philanthropy	social gospel
industrialization	urbanization	<i>The Influence of Sea Power upon History</i>
patent	immigration	USS <i>Maine</i>
steel	pollution	yellow journalism
self-made man	Tuskegee Institute	Spanish-American War
coal	<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i>	Rough Riders
oil refining	frontier	Philippine-American War
Standard Oil Co.	Battle of Little Bighorn	Open Door Policy
mass production	political boss	
division of labor	labor unions	
monopoly	Populist Party	

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. Peffer
 “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

TO KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“The New Colossus” —Emma Lazarus
 “Pledge of Allegiance” —Francis Bellamy
 “America the Beautiful” —Katharine Lee Bates

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- Biographies and the roles of Thomas Edison, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Booker T. Washington, William Jennings Bryan, William McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt
- Grenville Dodge’s account of the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Point, Utah
- Accounts of the Great Chicago Fire
- Jacob Riis photographing life of the poor in the cities
- Immigrant stories
- Edward Steiner’s account from Ellis Island
- 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*
- 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

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

- 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?
- 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?
- 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?
- 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 the nations of Europe and of Japan at the time?

Name _____

Date _____

The Turn of the Century—Test #1

Unit 5

Lesson 1 | The Gilded Age

TIMELINE

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

1869 _____

A. Spanish-American War

1898 _____

B. Oil discovered in Beaumont, Texas

1901 _____

C. Transcontinental Railroad completed

GEOGRAPHY & PLACES

Answer the following question based on the map below.



(Map from *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*)

1. Label Alaska, Cuba, and the Philippines.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| A. robber barons | G. transcontinental railroad |
| B. Philippine-American War | H. USS <i>Maine</i> |
| C. Mark Twain | I. Sitting Bull |
| D. Booker T. Washington | J. immigrants |
| E. William McKinley | K. Andrew Carnegie |
| F. frontier | |

5. In 1890, the U.S. Census shockingly announced that the _____ no longer existed.
6. The explosion of the _____ triggered the start of the Spanish-American War.
7. The famous American author _____ coined the term “Gilded Age” to describe the decades of economic boom following the Civil War.
8. _____ oversaw the beginning of the United States’ emergence as a major world power.
9. _____ defeated George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of Little Bighorn.
10. _____ was the first president of the Tuskegee Institute.
11. The _____ was a massive project that transformed the national transportation system and facilitated the overall growth of the national economy.
12. The size of American cities rapidly increased during the turn of the century, largely because of the increasing number of _____ from Eastern and Southern Europe.

13. _____ led the expansion of the American steel industry during the late 19th century.
14. The _____ was one of the international consequences of America’s victory in the Spanish-American War.
15. During the economic boom of the late 19th century, the wealthy and powerful leaders of big businesses were nicknamed “_____.”

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker/author.

16. “Give me _____, _____,
 _____ yearning to breathe free, the
 wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
 Send these the _____, _____ to me, I
 lift my lamp beside the golden door!” — _____,

17. “America! America!

 And crown thy good with brotherhood
 _____!” —
 _____,

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

18. William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech

19. Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders in the Spanish-American War

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.

20. What are some of the beneficial developments produced during the Gilded Age?

21. What challenges emerged from the technological and economic changes during the Gilded Age?

22. What happened in the western United States with respect to relations between Native Americans and the U.S. government?

23. What were Booker T. Washington's ideas for improving conditions for African Americans?

24. How did the idea of a more active foreign policy and imperialism contend with the American Founding and foreign policy precedent?

25. Where did America expand during the McKinley administration and why?

Study Guide B—Unit 5, Test #2

Lesson 2 | The Progressive Era

Lesson 3 | The Great War

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

1901	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.

Panama Canal	Balkans
Oklahoma	Serbia
New Mexico	Ardennes Forest
Arizona	Soviet Union
Austria-Hungary	Argonne Forest
Ottoman Empire	

PERSONS

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

Eugene V. Debs	Franz Ferdinand
Woodrow Wilson	Wilhelm II
John Muir	Nicholas II
W. E. B. DuBois	Winston Churchill
William Howard Taft	John Pershing
Orville and Wilbur Wright	Vladimir Lenin
Henry Ford	Susan B. Anthony

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

<i>The Jungle</i>	Black Wall Street	unrestricted submarine warfare
<i>The Communist Manifesto</i>	eugenics	<i>Lusitania</i>
social Darwinism	San Francisco Earthquake	Battle of Gallipoli
socialism	16th Amendment	Battle of Verdun
Progressivism	17th Amendment	Battle of the Somme
Sherman Antitrust Act	airplane	Armenian genocide
trust-busting	assembly line	Bolshevik Revolution
Interstate Commerce Act	nationalism	Sedition Act
The Square Deal	automobile	<i>Schenck v. United States</i>
conservationism	Allied Powers	tank
national parks	Central Powers	Second Battle of the Marne
Roosevelt Corollary	two-front war	Meuse-Argonne Offensive
Bull Moose Party	trench warfare	Fourteen Points
The New Freedom	machine gun	Treaty of Versailles
Election of 1912	barbed wire	League of Nations
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	No Man's Land	
	war of attrition	

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.

“What Is Progress?,” Woodrow Wilson
 “The Presidency,” Theodore Roosevelt
 “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.

“I aimed for the public’s heart, and ... hit it in the stomach.” —Upton Sinclair
 “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” —Theodore Roosevelt
 “The Road Not Taken” —Robert Frost
 “The Soldier” —Rupert Brooke
 “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 3rd grade students.

- Biographies and the roles of Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft
- Theodore Roosevelt’s account of building the Panama Canal
- Orville Wright’s account of the first flight
- Henry Ford’s description of the first assembly line
- Life in trenches and trench warfare
- The Christmas Truce
- Walther Schwieger’s account of the sinking of the *Lusitania*
- The zeppelin bombing of London
- The Red Baron
- 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
- 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 2 | The Progressive Era

- 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 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?
- What did Progressives mean by *equality*, and why did they believe equality of opportunity and dignity for ordinary citizens necessitated a powerfully activist government?
- 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, and majority tyranny, and thus also constitutional limits on governmental power, were outdated?
- What was “government by expertise,” and why did the Progressives argue for it?
- 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

- What military and nationalist ideas emerged during the late 19th century in Europe?
- 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 Germans want to avoid a two-front war?
- 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?
- 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?
- How did the tank eventually solve the problems of trench warfare?
- How did the October or Bolshevik Revolution come about?
- What were Woodrow Wilson's main ideas as outlined in his Fourteen Points?
- What were the negotiations like at the Versailles Peace Conference?
- Why did Woodrow Wilson struggle to gain international 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?
- Compare and contrast Europe before and after the Great War, politically, geographically, culturally, and philosophically.

Name _____

Date _____

The Turn of the Century—Test #2

Unit 5

Lesson 2 | The Progressive Era

Lesson 3 | The Great War

TIMELINE

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

- 1901 _____
- 1908 _____
- 1912 _____
- June 28, 1914 _____
- 1915 _____
- 1916 _____
- 1917 _____
- 1918 _____

- A. Woodrow Wilson reelected
- B. Wilson defeats William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt
- C. U.S. declaration of war; Bolshevik Revolution
- D. Battle of Gallipoli
- E. Taft elected
- F. Hundred Days Offensive
- G. William McKinley assassinated; Roosevelt becomes president
- H. Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated

GEOGRAPHY & PLACES

1. Mark and label (approximately) where the following events took place: the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the Treaty of Versailles.



(Map from the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs)

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| A. Sedition Act of 1918 | H. Roosevelt Corollary |
| B. The Square Deal | I. League of Nations |
| C. war of attrition | J. eugenics |
| D. Woodrow Wilson | K. airplane |
| E. unrestricted submarine warfare | L. two-front war |
| F. William Howard Taft | M. W. E. B. DuBois |
| G. no man's land | |

- The area in between two opposing trenches in World War I was referred to as _____ because it was not controlled by either side.
- _____ won the 1912 American presidential election.
- Germany wanted to avoid letting World War I become a _____.
- Theodore Roosevelt's three-point domestic policy plan was called the _____.
- Woodrow Wilson's World War I peace plan, known as the "Fourteen Points," idealistically included the formation of a _____.
- _____ was an African-American civil rights activist during the turn of the 20th century.
- The _____ made it illegal for American citizens to publish false and scandalous information about the U.S. government and armed forces.
- _____ is a controversial scientific theory that appealed to Progressives in the early 20th century.

10. Due to defensive elements of modern warfare, such as trenches, barbed wire, and machine guns, World War I is often described as a _____.
11. The _____ added a more active stance on foreign policy to the Monroe Doctrine.
12. The invention of the _____ in the early 20th century had a significant impact on the development of modern warfare.
13. President _____ succeeded President Theodore Roosevelt.
14. Germany's resumption of _____ in early 1917 finally prompted the United States to join World War I.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker/author.

15. "I aimed for the public's heart ... and hit it in the stomach." — _____
16. "Speak _____ and carry a _____." —Theodore Roosevelt
17. "The world must be made safe for democracy." — _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

18. Theodore Roosevelt's account of the building of the Panama Canal

19. The Christmas Truce

Writing Assignment — The Turn of the Century

Unit 5

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4-5 paragraph essay answering the following question:

How did American foreign policy develop from after the Civil War to the Treaty of Versailles?

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

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 speech 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>.

... 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 of them—
5 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
5 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
10 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
15 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 Mæcenas. 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
20 {s}weep 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
25 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
30 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

ANNOTATIONS

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.
5 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 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
10 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 more artistic, than the King could then obtain.

The price we pay for this salutary change is, no doubt, great. We assemble thousands of
15 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 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
20 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 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
25 comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantage of this law are {sic} also greater 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
30 hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it ensures the survival 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,

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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
5 this talent for organization and management is 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
10 the special talent required, 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
15 interest 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 be
20 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 been
25 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 separating
30 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

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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 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 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 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 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 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 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

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comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not *wealth*, but only *competence* which it should be the aim of all to acquire.

5 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 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
10 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 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
15 passing into the hands of the stranger. Under republican institutions the division of property among the children is much fairer, but 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
20 is it well for the state. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any, 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
25 use of their means.

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
30 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

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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.

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
5 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

“_____ The other half
10 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
15 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.

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
20 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
25 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 gathered
30 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.

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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
5 and not for charity, we can form some estimate of the possibilities 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
10 for the race, as a race, at all comparable to those 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
15 millions of dollars for a free library in the city of New York, but in referring to this one 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
20 public library, where the treasures of the world contained in books will be open to 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
25 a doubt upon this subject. Most of those who think will probably entertain 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
30 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

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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.

5

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.

15

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.

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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, 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 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 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 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 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 more so, for in alms-giving more injury is probably done by rewarding vice than by relieving virtue.

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

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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 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 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 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, 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 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. How does Carnegie see the American continent itself as beneficial to the nation?
3. How does Carnegie see politics as key to America's continued progress?
4. 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/>.

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
...

10 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 monarchical and aristocratic institutions, dividing the people into classes with separate interests, aims, thoughts, and feelings, can only with difficulty understand.
- 10 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 ...
- 30 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.

5 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 Peffer 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 Peffer?
2. What does Peffer say about the Party's views on monetary policy?
3. What is the Party's view of American railroads?
4. According to Peffer, how do banks and excessive wealth undermine American government?

William A. Peffer. "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. ...

10 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 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
15 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 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
20 demand gold, silver, and paper money, all equally full legal tender.

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
25 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 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
30 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 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 medium.

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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 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? ...

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... 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.

15

Three percent, compounded annually is a fair average the world over for labor's saving. 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.

20

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 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 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 which the people have to maintain that they complain about. It would be an unbusinesslike proceeding for

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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.

5

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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.

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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.

25

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.

30

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 banks in New York City needed funds to relieve the stringency in the “money market” there,

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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 again reducing the reserves, making another bond issue necessary to procure more gold; and
5 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 during the last thirty years, is evidence of morbidly abnormal conditions. It is
10 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 property and profits mostly produced and earned by persons other than those who claim them.

15 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 labor cannot be measured with money. A strong man’s intellect moves as easily as a
20 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 work and you
25 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 he 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/>.

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 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 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 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.

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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 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 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.

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

15

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

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 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 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 money is a function of the government and that the banks should go out of the governing business.

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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 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.

5 ...

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
10 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
15 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
20 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.

25

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
30 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.

5 Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the sentiments of the 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 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.

10

But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform that 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 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.

20

Why this change? Ah, my friends. is not the change evident to anyone who will look at 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. ...

25

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

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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 open and avowed advocates of the gold standard and telling us that we could not legislate two metals together even with all the world.

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?

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, 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 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 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.

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.

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.

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.

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 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.

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

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all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

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 is the "march of the flag"?
4. What opposition does Beveridge face?
5. 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/>.

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 Bell; a
10 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 who saw the consequences of
15 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 American question. It is a world question. Shall the American people continue their resistless march
20 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?

Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge to our fellow man? Has God
25 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 talents and used them until they grew to riches? And shall we reap the reward that waits on the discharge
30 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 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 to float over the
10 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, prove apostate to the spirit of their
15 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 consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern
20 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 rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them? Do not the blazing fires of joy and the
25 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 fate with the wolves of conquest all about them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy?
30 It would be like giving a razor to a babe and telling 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 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
5 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 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
10 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 southward—we only continue the march of the flag.

15 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, 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
20 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 ... 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
25 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 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,
30 but the march of the flag went on. Then Texas 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
5 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
10 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,
15 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.

20 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
25 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
30 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 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, 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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
5 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, 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
10 flashes in the sun. So Hawaii furnishes us a naval base in the heart of the Pacific; the Ladrones 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 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
15 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!

Within two decades the bulk of Oriental commerce will be ours—the richest commerce
20 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 Ladrones, the Philippines, commanding the Pacific! 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
25 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 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 whose far-off end is the redemption
30 of the world and the Christianization of mankind. {...}

... 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. ...

- 5 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
- 10 the elder Armada into the hands of our English sires two centuries ago. 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
- 15 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 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
- 20 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. How does 1899 compare to 1861, according to the League?
3. Does it say citizens should always support their government?
4. 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* reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We
 5 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
 10 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.

15 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.

20 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.

25 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
 30 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
 5 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
 15 suspension of judgment and their unanimous support while it chooses to continue the fighting, representative government itself is imperiled.

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
 20 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.

We hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that “no man is good enough to govern another man
 25 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
 30 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 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. By what means does Washington suggest blacks can improve their position in American society?
2. For what reason does Washington believe that blacks will find success even in the South?
3. What public activity does he say most African Americans would consider ill-advised?
4. 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/>

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
5 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
10 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
15 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
20 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
25 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
30 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

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we are surrounded. Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance.

Our greatest danger is that, in the great leap from slavery to freedom, we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common 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 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 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 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.

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 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
5 need be, in defense of yours; interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

- 10 There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and 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
15 that takes.”

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
25 you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and 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. Gentlemen of the exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of
30 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, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drugstores and banks, has not been trodden without

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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
5 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
10 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
15 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
20 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,
25 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. In what ways does Turner 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)).

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,
5 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.

10

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
15 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.

20

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
25 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
30 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, 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
5 exclusive an object of attention by writers like Prof. von Holst, occupies its important 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
10 view of border warfare and the chase, but as a field for the serious study of the economist 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
15 American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land. In the census reports it is 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
20 subject exhaustively; its aim is simply to call attention to the frontier as a fertile field for 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
25 history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment. Too 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
30 puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in 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 included New England except a portion of Vermont and New Hampshire, New York
5 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
10 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.

15 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
20 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
25 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
30 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]

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 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 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.

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 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 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 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. {...}

5

Intellectual Traits

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 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 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 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 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

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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 remotely. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a
5 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); Baily, 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

The Significance of the Frontier in American History
Frederick Jackson Turner

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*.

{...}

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. What does Wilson say about the American Founding?

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
5 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
10 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
15 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
20 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. ...

25
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
30 interests. An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy. ...

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, you had
5 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 not tally, then I am
10 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 men
15 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 better
20 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 talked or
25 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 idea is to leave the past
30 and press onward to something new.

5 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 Constitution, the laws, and the courts?

10 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 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?

15 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. 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.

25 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 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, 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
5 Newtonian theory of the universe had been developed, 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 attraction
15 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 constitution. Not that those Englishmen analyzed the matter, or had any theory about it;
20 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.

The makers of our federal Constitution read Montesquieu with true scientific
25 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 thought was a variety of mechanics. The Constitution was founded on the law of gravitation. The
30 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 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, 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 and in practice. Society is a living organism and must obey the laws of life, not of mechanics; it must develop.

15

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 Darwinian principle; all they ask is recognition of the fact that a nation is a living thing and not a machine.

20

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 have no consciousness of the war for freedom that is going on today.

25

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, 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 program of action.

30

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.

5 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?

10 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
15 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. ...

20 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
25 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
30 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 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
5 footing of equality, upon a footing of opportunity, to match their brains and their energies.” And now we have proved that we meant it.

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 imply is a major reason for his presidency’s success?
3. How does Roosevelt understand executive power?
4. 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...

5 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;

10 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.

15 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

20 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

25 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...

30 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

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specific restrictions and prohibitions appearing in the Constitution or imposed by the 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 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 greatly broaden the use of executive power. In other words, I acted for the public welfare, 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

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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
5 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.

10

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 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
15 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; 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
20 repeat the deception.

20

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
25 also their friend, I wrote as follows on July 22, 1903:

25

“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
30 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 pleasure to appoint him. When Platt proposes to me a man like Hamilton Fish, it is equally a pleasure to appoint him.”

30

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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 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
5 order that I could not take an ordinary man.

The other case was that of Senator Fulton, of Oregon. Through Francis Heney I was 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
10 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 regards appointing Judge Wolverton as United States Judge. Finally Heney laid before
15 me a report which convinced me of the truth of his statements. I then wrote to Fulton as follows, on November 20, 1905:

“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
20 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 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
25 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 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
30 matter, I shall of course be glad to hear it. As the District Judge of Oregon I shall appoint Judge Wolverton.”

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
35 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

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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
5 before the courts. They were uniformly sustained. For example, prior to 1907 statutes
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
10 agents. There was a great clamor that I was usurping legislative power; but the acts were
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
orders were illegal. The Supreme Court sustained the Government. In the same way our
15 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
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
20 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.

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
25 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
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
30 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

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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
5 a bill awarding a sum of nearly a half million dollars to the Iowa seceders. They had not 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-
10 homes.

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 temperamental, lines. The course I followed, of regarding the executive as subject only to
15 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 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
20 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 successor in office took this, the Buchanan, view of the President's powers and duties.

25 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 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
30 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

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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.

5 I acted on the theory that the President could at any time in his discretion withdraw from 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
10 matter to Congress. Again Congress showed its wisdom by passing a law which gave the President the power which he had long exercised, and of which my successor had shorn himself.

Perhaps the sharp difference between what may be called the Lincoln-Jackson and the
15 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 my attitude towards my chiefs of department and other subordinate officers. More than
20 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 the officer unfit for his position I promptly removed him, even although the most
25 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 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
30 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.

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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
5 member of the majority, declared that the charges were well founded and that Mr. 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
10 what it seems the especial duty of the President himself to determine for himself in dealing with his own subordinate in his own department.

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
15 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 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
20 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 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
25 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. 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.
30 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

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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[.]

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 an 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. How does DuBois understand the relationship between education and work?

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 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-
5 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 {...} It is the fashion of to-day 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
20 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.

And so we come to the present—a day of cowardice and vacillation, of strident wide-
25 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 the Average cry out in alarm: “These are exceptions, look here at death, disease and crime—these are the happy rule.”

30 {...} 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 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 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?

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 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 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 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 no aims higher than their bellies, and no God greater than Gold. This is true training,

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and thus in the beginning were the favored sons of the freedmen trained. {...} {Y}et today men {...} in fine superiority tell us 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 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. {...}

... [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 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 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. {...} {I}t 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
10 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. Education is that whole system
15 of human training within and without the school house walls, which molds and develops men. {...} 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
20 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. {...}

25 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
30 for the training of broadly cultured men and women to teach its own teachers, and to 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 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 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-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.

{...} I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men {.} {...}

{...} If carpenters are needed it is well and good to train men as 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. {...}

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. {...} A really efficient 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. {...} 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 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
5 process for the complete moral, physical and intellectual development of the child.”

{...} 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 son of a Negro senator, trained in Greek and the humanities, and graduated at
10 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
15 history, a graduate of 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 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. Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through
20 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
25 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. 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 submarines to sink
10 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 in conformity with its promise then
15 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 instance after instance in the progress of
20 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 those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships
25 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 would in fact be done by any government that had
30 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 right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the

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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 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 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 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 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 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 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 shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German

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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 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
5 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 of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will
10 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.

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
15 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 belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in
20 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 counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to
25 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 yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of
30 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 to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand

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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 in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can
5 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 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
10 would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should 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
15 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.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the
20 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 branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the Nation will most directly fall.

25 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 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 when I addressed
30 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

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the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up 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
5 menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their 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
10 among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war
15 determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when 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.

20 Selfgoverned nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of 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
25 be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the 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.

30 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

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.

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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 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 a League of Honor.

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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 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 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 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 its people nothing. But they

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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.

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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.

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We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if 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 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.

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We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. 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 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 adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been

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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 present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where
5 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 and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the
10 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 intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,— however hard it may be for them, for the
15 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 and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy
20 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 restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with
25 a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

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
30 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.

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5 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 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. 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/>.

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 conjecture
20 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 representatives were sincere and in
25 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 Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or
30 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 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 audience, as was desired.

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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 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 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 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.

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Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in 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 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 a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

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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 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.

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 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 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 consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

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 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.

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.
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 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.

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.

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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 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 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

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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
- 20 purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

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] to the world, than any single possession”?
2. What does Lodge compare “internationalism” to?
3. What does he say is the primary result of the United States joining the League of Nations?

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.

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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.

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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.

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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 the steam or canvas clouds, the angels suspended on wires and the artificial lights of the stage.

25 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 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 dark concern},' 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.

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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

40-50-minute classes | 27-31 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

LESSON 1	1919–1929	The Roaring Twenties	4-5 classes	p. 7
LESSON 2	1929–1939	The Great Depression	7-8 classes	p. 15
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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

The Harding and Coolidge administrations preserved dialed back the expansion of government that had taken place under the Progressives and reasserted 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 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

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay
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 Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

“The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence,” Calvin Coolidge

Commonwealth Club address, Franklin Roosevelt

First inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt

“The Conservative Manifesto,” Josiah Bailey

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

4-5 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2</i>	Pages 74–89
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 276–294
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 265–273
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 166–170

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 17
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STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2*, pages 74–81, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2*, pages 81–89, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

New York City	Harlem
Detroit	Tulsa

Persons

Woodrow Wilson	Warren G. Harding
Carrie Nation	Calvin Coolidge
Susan B. Anthony	Henry Ford
Joseph Stalin	Walt Disney

Charles Lindbergh
 Al Capone
 William Jennings Bryan
 Norman Rockwell
 Robert Frost

Irving Berlin
 Louis Armstrong
 Langston Hughes
 Zora Neale Hurston

Terms and Topics

inflation	automobile
Spanish Flu	long-term mortgage
18th Amendment	radio
Prohibition	advertising
19th Amendment	organized crime
Russian Civil War	flappers
Red Scare	fundamentalism
free market	Scopes Trial
laissez-faire	art deco
Great Migration	Empire State Building
Tulsa Massacre	jazz
Teapot Dome Scandal	Harlem Renaissance
electricity	

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

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 and Calvin Coolidge
- 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

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How did the Great War change America?
- What challenges did America face domestically following the Great War? Why?
- What was the Russian Civil War about? Who won? Why?
- What did Warren G. Harding mean by a "return to normalcy"?
- How might Warren G. Harding's presidency be characterized?
- Why did the Great Migration begin during the Great War and accelerate during the 1920s?
- How might Calvin Coolidge's presidency be characterized?
- 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?
- 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.

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.
- 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; the development of jazz; and the literature of the Harlem Renaissance. Students should recognize and understand the ideas informing these changes and developments in art.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment: Explain the main policies of the Harding and Coolidge administrations and the principles behind them (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.1

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 1
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Pages 74-81

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Warren Harding campaigned in 1920 on the promise to “return to _____.”
2. What killed millions of people worldwide immediately following the end of the Great War?
3. What was the target of the “Palmer raids”?
4. Did the Harding and Coolidge administrations raise or lower taxes in the 1920s?
5. What person was able to mass-produce the automobile in America by inventing the assembly line process?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.2

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 1
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Pages 81-89

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Name one invention that was introduced or mass-produced in America in the 1920s?
2. What made Charles Lindbergh famous?
3. What was the Teapot Dome scandal about?
4. Who became president when Warren Harding died?
5. How does the book describe the personality or manners of the answer to #4?

Lesson 2 — The Great Depression

1929–1939

7-8 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition</i> , Volume 2	Pages 89–116
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 294–315
<i>A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 273–274, 286–293
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 170–171, 182–186

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 18
<i>Constitution 101</i>	Lecture 9
<i>Constitution 201</i>	Lecture 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, Volume 2, pages 89–98, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, Volume 2, pages 98–108, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader’s Edition*, Volume 2, pages 108–116, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

Hoover Dam

Tennessee Valley Authority

Persons

Herbert Hoover
Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Jesse Owens

Terms and Topics

stock market
Federal Reserve rate
speculation
overvaluation
Black Tuesday
bank run
fractional reserve banking
recession
Smoot-Hawley Tariff
retaliatory tariffs
depression
Great Depression
Hoovervilles
Bonus Army
21st Amendment
New Deal
brain trust

fireside chats
regulation
bureaucracy
public works programs
Civilian Conservation Corps
Works Progress
Administration
National Recovery
Administration
Agricultural Adjustment
Administration
Dust Bowl
Social Security Act
welfare
income tax
court packing
“Roosevelt recession”

Primary Sources

Commonwealth Club address, Franklin Roosevelt
First inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt
“The Conservative Manifesto,” Josiah Bailey

To Know by Heart

“God Bless America” —Irving Berlin

Timeline

Oct. 29, 1929	Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
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
Workers in public works programs
Hoover Dam
Tennessee Valley Authority projects

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
- Jesse Owens's gold medal at the 1936 Berlin Olympics in Nazi Germany

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What does the Federal Reserve rate do? How is it decided?
- 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 were many stocks grossly overvalued by the late 1920s?
- How did the sell-off influence other investors?
- 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?
- 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 did the Dust Bowl come about?
- 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?
- 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 and the Federal Reserve rate.
- 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.
- 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. 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 thanks to low interest rates. It was human nature to respond in this way—both for investors and government experts at the Federal Reserve.
- 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 reviewing Roosevelt's Commonwealth Club address with students on this point.
- Explain the core features 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. Reading with students Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address captures the Progressivism to which Roosevelt held.

- 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. It may be helpful to read with students “The Conservative Manifesto” by Josiah Bailey, which challenged aspects of the New Deal at the time.
- 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.
- 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. 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 what life was like for millions of Americans during the Great Depression (1 paragraph).

Assignment 2: Explain the major policies and ideas of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal (1–2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.3

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 2
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Pages 89-98

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who was elected after Calvin Coolidge?
2. To what do “Black Thursday” and “Black Tuesday” refer?
3. To what does the term “Hooverville” refer?
4. What happened with the Bonus Army?
5. Which political party suddenly enjoyed renewed interest in the early years of the Great Depression?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.4

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 2
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Pages 98-108

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. The author mentions that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had what kind of personality?
2. As evident from his 1932 campaign speeches and his first inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt promised to do what?
3. What was Franklin Roosevelt's "Brain Trust"?
4. Name one kind of job the New Deal hired unemployed Americans to do?
5. Name one problem with the efforts of the National Recovery Administration (NRA) mentioned by the author.

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.5

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 2
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Pages 108-116

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Which party won most of the elections in the 1930s?
2. In which party did Franklin Roosevelt unexpectedly find a challenge to his rule as the Depression drew on?
3. What did the Social Security Act do?
4. What did Franklin Roosevelt try to do to the Supreme Court?
5. What caused the "Roosevelt recession"?

Lesson 3 — World War II

1939–1945

12-13 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2</i>	Pages 117–146
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 316–340
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 305–317
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 198–205
<i>A Short History of World War II</i>	

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<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 19
<i>The Second World Wars</i>	Lectures 1–7
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 9

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2*, pages 117–125, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2*, pages 125–135, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2*, pages 135–146, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

Ukraine	China
Imperial Japan	Rhineland

Sudetenland
 Dunkirk
 Vichy France
 English Channel
 Caucasus
 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

Charles de Gaulle
 Heinrich Himmler
 Erwin Rommel
 Bernard Montgomery
 George Patton
 Dwight Eisenhower
 Douglas MacArthur
 Harry Truman
 Albert Einstein

Terms and Topics

Treaty of Versailles
 League of Nations
 totalitarianism
 communism
 nationalism
 Cheka
 gulag archipelago
 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
 rearmament
 Luftwaffe
 Austrian Anschluss
 Munich Crisis

appeasement
 Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact
 Invasion of Poland
 Allied Powers
 Blitzkrieg
 Miracle of Dunkirk
 Axis Powers
 Royal Air Force (RAF)
 Battle of Britain
 The Blitz
 Ultra decrypting
 Cash and carry
 Destroyers for Bases
 Atlantic Charter
 Lend-Lease
 Hemispheric Defense Zone
 Operation Barbarossa
 Battle of Moscow
 Attack on Pearl Harbor
 Bataan Death March
 “Arsenal of Democracy”
 code talkers
 Japanese Internment
 Tuskegee Airmen
 Battle of the Coral Sea

Battle of Midway	Warsaw Uprising
Battle of the Atlantic	Battle of the Bulge
Battle of Stalingrad	Battle of Iwo Jima
Battle of Guadalcanal	concentration/death camps
Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam	Auschwitz
resistance/partisan groups	The Holocaust
Operation Torch	genocide
Italian Campaign	VE Day
strategic bombing	Firebombing of Tokyo
US Marines	Manhattan Project
island hopping	atomic bomb
Atlantic Wall	<i>Enola Gay</i>
Operation Overlord	VJ Day
D-Day	
Battle of Normandy	

Primary Sources

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

“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

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	Battles of Midway & Stalingrad
1943	Battle of Guadalcanal Invasions of North Africa and Italy
1944	June 6 Normandy Invasion (D-Day) Battle of the Bulge
1945	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
 Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles
 Military equipment and weaponry
 War propaganda
 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
- Life during the Holodomor
- Life in Weimar, Germany
- Sefton Delmer's account of the Reichstag fire
- 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
- John Garcia's and Daniel Inouye's accounts of the attack on Pearl Harbor
- Bataan Death March
- Doolittle Raid
- 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
- 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
- First reports to the Allies of the "Final Solution," by Gerhart Riegner
- Life in Nazi concentration camps and stories of resistance and survival
- Warsaw uprising
- 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

- 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?
- 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 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 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?
- 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 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?
- 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?
- What happened to Poland and all of Eastern Europe in the final year of the war?
- How was the atomic bomb developed?
- What moral dilemmas 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.
- 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.

- 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.

- 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. Reading Roosevelt's 1941 Annual Message to Congress and the Atlantic Charter may be warranted.
- 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.

- Outline the basic terms of the treaties ending the war and the state of affairs among the British and the Americans and the Soviets.
- 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 main characteristics of totalitarian regimes in the 1930s (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain how the Allied Powers won the Second World War (2–3 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.6

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Pages 117-125

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Name one conflict in the 1920s or 1930s that predated World War II.
2. What country did France and Britain promise to defend if Adolf Hitler invaded it?
3. What was America's position at the beginning of the Second World War?
4. What happened in the Battle of Britain?
5. Name one way the United States was helping the British prior to the entrance of America into World War II.

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.7

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Pages 125-135

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. How did the Roosevelt administration inhibit Japan's plans for expansion in Asia and the Pacific prior to the attack at Pearl Harbor?
2. What did the Japanese fail to do to America's Pacific naval fleet in their attack on Pearl Harbor?
3. Which country had Adolf Hitler invaded earlier in 1941?
4. What did the Roosevelt administration do with Americans of Japanese descent after Pearl Harbor?
5. In which country did American troops first fight in Europe?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.8

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 3
Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Volume 2, Pages 135-146

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Where did the D-Day invasions take place?
2. What was the consequence of the American victories at Coral Sea and Midway?
3. Name one World War II general the author mentions.
4. What was the Holocaust?
5. How did the United States end the war with Japan?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 6 | Formative Quiz 2

Covering Lesson 3, Part 1
10-15 minutes

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

1. What forms of political persecution and extermination did the communist Soviet Union inflict on its people?

2. Why were Germans attracted to the ideas of the Nazi Party in the 1930s?

3. What were Adolf Hitler's foreign policy goals, and how did he try to justify them to the other countries of Europe?

4. 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?

5. Why was Operation Barbarossa so significant?

APPENDIX A

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

Unit 6 | Test 1 — Study Guide

Lesson 1 | The Roaring Twenties

Lesson 2 | The Great Depression

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

1923	Warren G. Harding dies; Calvin Coolidge becomes president
1928	Herbert Hoover elected
Oct. 29, 1929	Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
1932	Franklin Roosevelt elected president

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

New York City	Harlem
Detroit	Tennessee Valley Authority

PERSONS

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

Woodrow Wilson	Henry Ford	Herbert Hoover
Susan B. Anthony	Charles Lindbergh	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Joseph Stalin	Irving Berlin	Jesse Owens
Warren G. Harding	Louis Armstrong	
Calvin Coolidge	Langston Hughes	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

Spanish Flu	automobile	stock market
Prohibition	radio	Federal Reserve rate
19th Amendment	organized crime	overvaluation
Russian Civil War	flappers	Black Tuesday
free market	Scopes Trial	bank run
laissez-faire	art deco	recession
Great Migration	Empire State Building	Smoot-Hawley Tariff
Tulsa Massacre	jazz	retaliatory tariffs
Teapot Dome Scandal	Harlem Renaissance	depression

Great Depression	regulation	income tax
Hoovervilles	bureaucracy	court packing
Bonus Army	public works programs	“Roosevelt recession”
New Deal	Dust Bowl	
fireside chats	Social Security Act	

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

TO KNOW BY HEART

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

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- Biographies and the roles of Susan B. Anthony and Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- Calvin Coolidge being sworn in by his father
- Edwin James’s account of Charles Lindbergh’s arriving in Paris
- Elliott Bell’s account of the stock market crash of 1929
- Jesse Owens’s gold medal at the 1936 Berlin Olympics in Nazi Germany

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 was the Russian Civil War about? Who won? Why?
- What did Warren G. Harding mean by a “return to normalcy”?
- How might Calvin Coolidge’s presidency be characterized?
- 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?

- How did art and architecture change in America following the Great War? What inspirations and principles shaped the artists who introduced these styles?
- What was the Harlem Renaissance? What were its origins and main ideas?

Lesson 2 | The Great Depression

- What does the Federal Reserve rate do? How is it decided?
- How does stock trading work? What ultimately determines a stock's price?
- For what reasons were many stocks grossly overvalued by the late 1920s?
- 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 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?
- 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?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 6 | Test 1 — The Interwar Years

Lesson 1 | The Roaring Twenties

Lesson 2 | The Great Depression

TIMELINE

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

1923 _____
 1928 _____
 Oct. 29, 1929 _____
 1932 _____

- A. Franklin Roosevelt elected president
 B. Herbert Hoover elected
 C. Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
 D. Warren G. Harding dies; Calvin Coolidge becomes president

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| A. art deco | F. income tax | K. Smoot-Hawley Tariff |
| B. Dust Bowl | G. Joseph Stalin | L. Susan B. Anthony |
| C. Federal Reserve rate | H. Louis Armstrong | M. Warren G. Harding |
| D. Great Migration | I. New Deal | |
| E. Herbert Hoover | J. organized crime | |

- _____ was a leading advocate for a constitutional amendment that guaranteed the right to vote to women.
- Having defeated his rival Leon Trotsky for control of the Soviet Union, _____ implemented communist ideology through the use of secret police, political purges, central state planning, and the Holodomor in the Ukraine.
- After the Progressive Era and the Great War, _____ promised a “return to normalcy” by limiting economic interference by the federal government, cutting taxes, and easing back from the goals and actions of progressivism. His scandal-plagued career, however, came to an end with his sudden death while in office.
- Although the Eighteenth Amendment attempted to ban the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, its enforcement proved impractical and the skirting of the law along with lax enforcement gave rise to _____ during the 1920s.
- Identified as rectilinear (or “boxy”), the 1920s and 1930s art style known as _____ mimicked the industrial and modern spirit of the age.

6. Seeking new economic opportunities and an escape from lingering unequal treatment and outright discrimination in southern states, many African Americans migrated to northern cities burgeoning with new industrial jobs in what is known as the _____.
7. The new genre of music known as jazz emerged from New Orleans, with _____ being one of the most famous of its early musicians.
8. A hallmark of progressive legislation was the introduction of a _____ rate, which allowed the government to encourage borrowing and spending by decreasing the rate or caution and responsibility by increasing it. Such a balancing act would prove difficult to manage by the late 1920s.
9. A “boy genius” who had a storied early career in government, _____’s presidency was undermined by the stock market crash and a series of government policies that, though well-intended, may have made the economy worse.
10. In an effort to shield American manufacturers from overseas competition after the stock market crash, Congress passed the _____, which had the unintentional consequences of forcing other countries to raise import taxes on goods from America and, some argue, turning a bad recession into the Great Depression.
11. Franklin Delano Roosevelt campaigned on the promise to wield the power of the federal government in economic matters in an effort to help end the Great Depression. His _____ set of policies expanded the power and size of the federal government and provided a morale boost for Americans, even as its effectiveness became a matter of historical debate.
12. Due to poor farming techniques and drought, much of middle America experienced agricultural devastation in the midst of the Great Depression in a phenomenon known as the _____.
13. Made constitutional through the Seventeenth Amendment, the _____ on the highest earners was raised to extraordinary levels as part of Franklin Roosevelt’s government policies to address the Great Depression.

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

14. “Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of my administration has been _____ my own _____.”

Speaker: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

15. Calvin Coolidge being sworn in as President.

16. Biography of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

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.

17. How did the Great War change America?

18. How might Calvin Coolidge's presidency be characterized?

19. What technological innovations were most responsible for transforming the pace and busyness of life for Americans during the 1920s?

20. What was the Harlem Renaissance? What were its origins and main ideas?

21. For what reasons were many stocks grossly overvalued by the late 1920s?

22. What is a bank run? What is its connection to fractional reserve banking?

23. What was life like for many Americans during the Great Depression?

24. What was Franklin Roosevelt's court-packing plan, and why did that plan backfire in public opinion?

Unit 6 | Test 2 — Study Guide

Lesson 3 | World War II

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

1939–1945	World War II	
1939	Sept. 1	Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland
1941		Germany invades the Soviet Union
	Dec. 7	Japanese attack Pearl Harbor
1944	June 6	Normandy Invasion (D-Day)
		Battle of the Bulge
1945	Aug. 15	VJ Day

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

Ukraine	Caucases	Normandy
Imperial Japan	Pacific Ocean	Bastogne
China	Detroit	Dresden
Rhineland	Tunisia	Tokyo
Dunkirk	Sicily	Hiroshima and Nagasaki

PERSONS

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

Franklin D. Roosevelt	Neville Chamberlain	George Patton
Joseph Stalin	Winston Churchill	Dwight Eisenhower
Benito Mussolini	Charles de Gaulle	Douglas MacArthur
Adolf Hitler	Heinrich Himmler	Harry Truman
Hirohito	Erwin Rommel	Albert Einstein
Hideki Tojo	Bernard Montgomery	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

Treaty of Versailles	totalitarianism	nationalism
League of Nations	communism	gulag archipelago

Holodomor	Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact	US Marines
Meiji Restoration	Allied Powers	island hopping
Weimar Republic	Blitzkrieg	Atlantic Wall
fascism	Miracle of Dunkirk	concentration/death camps
Nazi Party	Axis Powers	Auschwitz
SS	Royal Air Force (RAF)	The Holocaust
Reichstag fire	Cash and carry	genocide
Gestapo	Destroyers for Bases	VE Day
Nuremberg Laws	Lend-Lease	Firebombing of Tokyo
Kristallnacht	Bataan Death March	Manhattan Project
Neutrality Acts	code talkers	atomic bomb
rearmament	Japanese Internment	<i>Enola Gay</i>
Luftwaffe	Tuskegee Airmen	VJ Day
Munich Crisis	Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam	
appeasement		

MAJOR CONFLICTS

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

Battle of Britain	Battle of Stalingrad	Battle of Normandy
The Blitz	Battle of Guadalcanal	Battle of the Bulge
Operation Barbarossa	Operation Torch	Battle of Iwo Jima
Attack on Pearl Harbor	Italian Campaign	
Battle of Midway	D-Day	

PRIMARY SOURCE

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.

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.

“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

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

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

- Life in a Soviet gulag
- Life during the Holodomor
- The Reichstag fire
- Winston Churchill and the Royal Air Force in the Battle of Britain
- 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
- The attack on Pearl Harbor
- Doolittle Raid
- Fighting in the various theaters of war, especially those involving American soldiers
- Stories of American soldiers in various major battles
- Fighting at Omaha Beach on D-Day
- Life in Nazi concentration camps and stories of resistance and survival
- Fighting at Iwo Jima
- The *Enola Gay* dropping the first atomic bomb
- Survivors of strategic bombing and atomic bombing campaigns

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

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

Lesson 3 | World War II

- What forms of political persecution and extermination did the communist Soviet Union inflict on its people?
- What is economic fascism?
- What problems did Weimar, Germany, face? What caused these problems?
- Why was Adolf Hitler obsessed with a person's race?
- 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 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?
- 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 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 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?
- What happened to Poland and all of Eastern Europe in the final year of the war?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 6 | Test 2 — World War II

Lesson 3 | World War II

TIMELINE

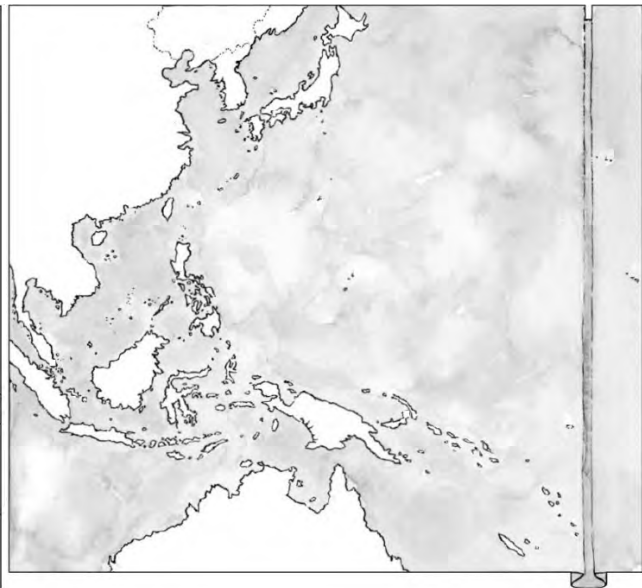
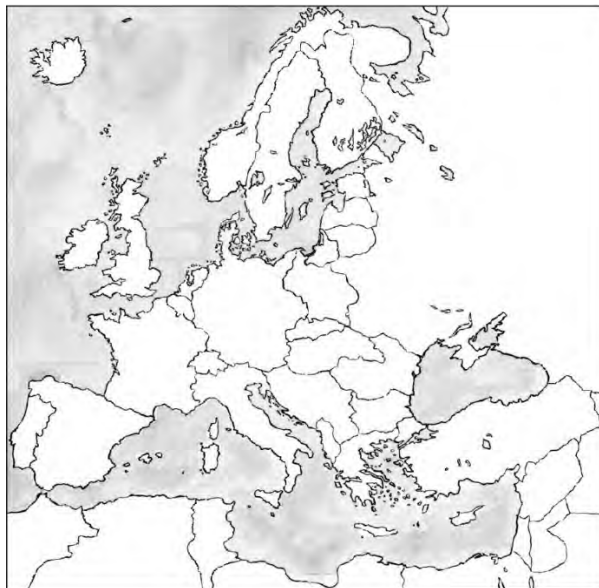
Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

- | | | |
|-----------|---------------|---|
| 1939–1945 | _____ | A. World War II |
| 1939 | Sept. 1 _____ | B. VJ Day |
| 1941 | _____ | C. Normandy Invasion (D-Day) |
| | Dec. 7 _____ | D. Japanese attack Pearl Harbor |
| 1944 | June 6 _____ | E. Germany invades the Soviet Union |
| | _____ | F. Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland |
| 1945 | Aug. 15 _____ | G. Battle of the Bulge |

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Mark the approximate location and label the following on the maps using the corresponding letters:

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| A. Ukraine | E. Caucasus | I. Bastogne |
| B. Imperial Japan | F. Tunisia | J. Hiroshima and Nagasaki |
| C. China | G. Sicily | |
| D. Rhineland | H. Normandy | |



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

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| A. Adolf Hitler | D. Lend-Lease | G. totalitarianism |
| B. code talkers | E. Manhattan Project | H. US Marines |
| C. Dwight Eisenhower | F. Reichstag fire | |

- Exploiting the national humiliation from the Treaty of Versailles and the Great Depression under which Germans suffered in the Weimar Republic, _____ brought the Nazi Party to power in Germany through democratic elections and was appointed chancellor in 1933.
- In the name of an emergency, the Nazi Party assumed a dictatorship in response to the _____, which they themselves had started in order to frame their political opponents and justify their power grab.
- Native Americans from the Navajo and Lakota nations worked as _____ in World War II, as they transmitted military messages in their native tongues, which the Axis Powers could not translate.
- America's preeminent general during World War II, _____ oversaw Operation Overlord and the Allies' push to Germany from France.
- The only way for the Americans to advance against the Japanese in the Pacific involved the _____ "island hopping," that is, conducting amphibious landings on small islands with airfields and fighting to secure the island.
- The United States worked on the atomic bomb in secret as part of the _____, with the goal of developing a weapon that would end the war.
- The Roosevelt administration, though technically neutral prior to Pearl Harbor, took many actions to aid the British against the Germans and Japanese, including securing the passage of the _____ Act which allowed the British to rent military equipment from the United States.
- Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany were all first examples of _____, or the political ideology that requires all power be concentrated in a centralized state, that does not permit democratic representation, respect for the dignity of individuals, or freedom of speech, and that uses technology and force to maintain power.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

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

10. Pearl Harbor

11. Battle of Stalingrad

12. Battle of Iwo Jima

KNOWN BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

13. "I have nothing to offer but _____, toil, _____ and _____."

Speaker: _____

14. "December _____, 1941, a date which will live in _____."

Speaker: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

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

15. Life during the Holodomor

16. Winston Churchill and the Royal Air Force in the Battle of Britain

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.

1. What forms of political persecution and extermination did the communist Soviet Union inflict on its people?

2. What were Adolf Hitler's foreign policy goals, and how did he try to justify them to the other countries of Europe?

Unit 6 | Writing Assignment — The Interwar Years and World War II

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS: Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

How did the totalitarian regimes of the 1920s and 1930s differ from the ideas of the Declaration of Independence?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Calvin Coolidge

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Josiah Bailey

Winston Churchill

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE (R)

The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence

SPEECH EXCERPTS

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.

ANNOTATIONS**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

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

5 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 acknowl-

10 edgement 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

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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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.

5 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
10 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.

It is little wonder that people at home and abroad consider Independence Hall as hallowed
15 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 spir-
20 itual 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....

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
25 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

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other and set up independent governments of their own. Such actions long ago became 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
5 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.

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
10 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 Independence. 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
15 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, 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
20 new in political action, and were very far from new in political speculation, they had never 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.

25 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.

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It was not only the principles declared, but the fact that therewith a new nation was born 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
5 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 adopt the Constitution of the United States with all that it has meant to civilization....

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
10 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
15 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-
20 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 of material possessions we have secured a wider and wider distribution of wealth. The
25 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 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

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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....

5 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 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
10 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 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
15 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 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
20 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 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
25 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 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

The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence
Calvin Coolidge

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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.

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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
5 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 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
10 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.

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
15 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 such countries, to establish plants in such countries, within the tariff walls. This has

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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resulted in the reduction of the operation of their American plants, and opportunity for employment.

5 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 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. . . .

10 Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial 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 not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants
15 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 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?

20 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. This is the common task of statesman and business man. It is the minimum requirement of a more permanently safe order of things. . . .

25 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

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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. . . .

- 5 The terms of that contract are as old as the Republic, and as new as the new economic order.

- 10 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, 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.

- 15 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.

- 20 . . . 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. . . .

Commonwealth Club Address
Franklin D. Roosevelt

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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
5 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 EXCERPTS

March 4, 1933
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.**BACKGROUND**

Franklin Delano Roosevelt delivered this address upon his inauguration in 1933.

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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. 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 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 shrunken to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the

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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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.

5 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 dark realities of the moment....

This Nation asks for action, and action now.

10 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 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.

15 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 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 demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief 20 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 it. We must act and act quickly.

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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.

- 5 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....

- 10 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
15 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.

- 20 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 met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife,
25 of world relations.

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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 departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

- 5 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.

- 10 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 by a foreign foe.

- 15 For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

- 20 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.

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.

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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.

REP. JOSIAH BAILEY (R-NC)

An Address to the People of the United States

NEWSPAPER TRANSCRIPT EXCERPTS FROM 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.

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5 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.

10 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
15 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

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.

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
5 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
10 enterprise, in active business, in widespread employment and in abundant demand for farm products.

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
15 indispensable element of vigor.

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
20 the transition, gradual, to be sure, but distinct. And we propose to do our part to accomplish this objective in full cooperation....

Reasonable Profit Essential

1. 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,
25 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.

- 5 2. 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
- 10 the basis of credit....

Rely on the American System

- 15 3. 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.

20 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.

25 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

5

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 be outweighed in penalty the sacrifices we may make to our faith in them.

10

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 period, and has made our country the strongest, the most progressive and the best of nations.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

Annual Message to Congress

ADDRESS EXCERPTS

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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5 ...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.

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.

10 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.

15 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

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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.

5 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 danger.

10 Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production....

15 As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who 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.

20 The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been 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.

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.

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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.

5 Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

10 The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

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....

15 I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

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
20 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.

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If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

5 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.

10 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.

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.

15 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.

20 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.

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

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ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

5 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 Argentia | 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/>.

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

40-50 minute classes | 21-24 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

LESSON 1	1945-1953	The Start of the Cold War	6-7 classes	p. 5
LESSON 2	1953-1964	The American Dream	7-8 classes	p. 12
LESSON 3	1964-1974	Tumult: Foreign and Domestic	8-9 classes	p. 21
APPENDIX A	Study Guides, Tests, and Writing Assignment			p. 29
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 51

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](https://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
Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

"The Sinews of Peace," Winston S. Churchill
"A Fateful Hour," Harry S. Truman
Farewell Address, Dwight D. Eisenhower
Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy
"I Have a Dream," Martin Luther King Jr.
Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon B. Johnson
Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society
"A Time for Choosing," Ronald Reagan

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZ

Lesson 1 — The Start of the Cold War

1945–1953

6-7 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

<i>Land of Hope, Young Reader’s Edition</i> , Vol. 2	Chapters 15, 16 (pages 161-167)
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 341-359
<i>A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 323-329
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 210-213

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 20
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 9

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 15, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 16 (pages 161-167 **only**), and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Turkey	China
Greece	Taiwan
Israel	Korea

Persons

Harry Truman	George Marshall
Joseph Stalin	Mao Zedong
Winston Churchill	Joseph McCarthy
Jackie Robinson	Douglas MacArthur

Terms and Topics

GI Bill	containment
baby boom	Marshall Plan
atomic bomb	Berlin Airlift
United Nations	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
communism	Zionism
Cold War	McCarthyism
Iron Curtain	Korean War

Primary Sources

- “The Sinews of Peace,” Winston Churchill
 “A Fateful Hour,” Harry Truman

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.” —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?
- 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?
- 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?
- 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: Briefly explain America’s opportunities and challenges after World War II, especially with respect to foreign policy and Communism (1-2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 1, Quiz #1
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2, Chapter 15

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. Who declared in a 1946 speech that "an iron curtain has descended across the Continent"?
4. What was the Berlin airlift?
5. What was Truman's role in creating the modern state of Israel?

Lesson 2 — The American Dream

1953–1964

7-8 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, Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2 Chapter 16 (pages 167-172), Chapter 17, Chapter 18 (pages 182-188)

Primary Sources See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope Pages 359-376

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope Pages 329-330, 348-352

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope Pages 213-214, 231-232

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story Lecture 20

Civil Rights in American History Lectures 7-8

American Heritage Lecture 10

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 16 (pages 167-172 **only**), and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 17, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 18 (pages 182-188 **only**), and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

French Indochina

Greensboro, North Carolina

Cuba

Alaska

Suez Canal

Hawaii

Montgomery, Alabama

Lincoln Memorial

Persons

Dwight Eisenhower	Rosa Parks
Nikita Khrushchev	Richard Nixon
Ho Chi Minh	John F. Kennedy
Fidel Castro	Robert F. Kennedy
Elvis Presley	Lee Harvey Oswald
Dr. Seuss	Lyndon B. Johnson
Thurgood Marshall	John Lewis
Martin Luther King Jr.	

Terms and Topics

Interstate Highway system	Suez Crisis
suburbanization	“military-industrial complex”
television	Kennedy tax cuts
civil rights movement	National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)
<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>	Project Apollo
civil disobedience	Bay of Pigs
mutual assured destruction (MAD)	Berlin Wall
proxy war	Cuban Missile Crisis
domino theory	“Letter from Birmingham Jail”
Sputnik	March on Washington
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)	Civil Rights Act of 1964

Primary Sources

Farewell Address, Dwight Eisenhower
 Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy
 “I Have a Dream,” 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 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 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 threat of nuclear war and of 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 (1-2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Summarize 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 (1-2 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 2, Quiz #2
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2, Chapter 17

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What word best summarizes the general theme of President Eisenhower's Farewell Address?
2. Who won the 1960 American presidential election?
3. Name one successful policy of the above president's administration.
4. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 was a tense standoff between which two nations?
5. What major event happened in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

Post-War America | Lesson 2, Quiz #3
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2, Chapter 18 (pages 182-188)

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Who was the African-American civil rights leader who first became famous in the mid-1950s?
2. Where was the famous "I Have a Dream" speech given?
3. What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibit?
4. Who won the 1964 American presidential election?
5. Name one consequence of Barry Goldwater's failed 1964 presidential campaign.

Lesson 3 — Tumult: Foreign and Domestic

1964–1974

8-9 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, Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2 Chapter 18 (pages 188-195), Chapter 19 (pages 196-204)
 Primary Sources See below.

Teacher Texts

Land of Hope Pages 376-393
A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope Pages 352-355, 361-364
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope Pages 232-234, 239-240

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story Lectures 21-22
American Heritage Lecture 10
Civil Rights in American History Lecture 8
Constitution 101 Lecture 11
Constitution 201 Lecture 6

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 18 (pages 188-195 **only**), and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, Chapter 19 (pages 196-204 **only**), and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

North Vietnam Gulf of Tonkin
 South Vietnam Saigon

Persons

Barry Goldwater Ronald Reagan

Malcolm X
Louis Farrakhan

Neil Armstrong
Henry Kissinger

Terms and Topics

Voting Rights Act	Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
Great Society	draft
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	antiwar movement
The New Left	Pentagon Papers
Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)	Tet Offensive
counterculture	Silent Majority
environmentalism	moon landing
black separatism	Apollo 13
riots	détente
Vietcong	Paris Peace Accords
	<i>Roe v. Wade</i>
	Watergate scandal

Primary Sources

Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon B. Johnson
The Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society
“A Time for Choosing,” Ronald Reagan
“Peace without Conquest,” Lyndon B. Johnson

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 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?
- How did the baby boomer generation influence American culture?
- 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?
- 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 & 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 enduring. 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 (1-2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Briefly retell the history of the Vietnam War (2-3 paragraphs).

APPENDIX A

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

Study Guide A — Post-War America, Test #1

Lesson 1 | The Start of the Cold War

Lesson 2 | The American Dream

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

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

Turkey	Cuba
Greece	Suez Canal
Israel	Montgomery, Alabama
China	Greensboro, North Carolina
Taiwan	Lincoln Memorial
Korea	

PERSONS

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

Harry Truman	Douglas MacArthur	Rosa Parks
Joseph Stalin	Dwight Eisenhower	Richard Nixon
Winston Churchill	Nikita Khrushchev	John F. Kennedy
Jackie Robinson	Ho Chi Minh	Robert F. Kennedy
George Marshall	Fidel Castro	Lee Harvey Oswald
Mao Zedong	Thurgood Marshall	Lyndon B. Johnson
Joseph McCarthy	Martin Luther King Jr.	

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

GI Bill	interstate highway system	National Aeronautics and
baby boom	civil rights movement	Space Administration
atomic bomb	<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>	(NASA)
United Nations	civil disobedience	Project Apollo
communism	mutual assured destruction	Bay of Pigs
Cold War	(MAD)	Berlin Wall
Iron Curtain	domino theory	Cuban Missile Crisis
containment	Sputnik	“Letter from Birmingham
North Atlantic Treaty	Central Intelligence Agency	Jail”
Organization (NATO)	(CIA)	March on Washington
Zionism	Suez Crisis	Civil Rights Act of 1964
McCarthyism	“military-industrial	
Korean War	complex”	

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
 “A Fateful Hour,” Harry Truman
 Farewell Address, Dwight Eisenhower
 Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy
 “I Have a Dream,” Martin Luther King Jr.

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.” —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”

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3^d grade 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

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?
- In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?
- 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?
- 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?
- What was the outcome of the Korean War and why?

Lesson 2 | The American Dream

- What was life like in 1950s America?
- 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?

Name _____

Date _____

Post-War America—Test #1

Unit 7

Lesson 1 | The Start of the Cold War

Lesson 2 | The American Dream

TIMELINE

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

- | | | |
|-----------|-------|--|
| 1946–1991 | _____ | A. Cuban Missile Crisis |
| 1950–1953 | _____ | B. Sputnik launched |
| 1954 | _____ | C. Civil Rights Act |
| 1957 | _____ | D. Cold War |
| 1959 | _____ | E. March on Washington; John F. Kennedy assassinated |
| 1962 | _____ | F. <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> |
| 1963 | _____ | G. Korean War |
| 1964 | _____ | H. Cuban Revolution |

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 two countries associated with the West during the Cold War.
2. Name two countries associated with the Soviet Union during the Cold War (other than Russia).

3. Name one country that remained neutral during the Cold War.

4. Name one new pro-Western and one new pro-Soviet country that emerged in the decade following World War II.

5. Which location sparked a major international crisis in 1956 that saw the United States assert its influence over its Western allies?

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks with the letter of the correct term.

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Winston Churchill | F. civil rights movement | K. Lee Harvey Oswald |
| B. Iron Curtain | G. Martin Luther King Jr. | L. Civil Rights Act of 1964 |
| C. Dwight Eisenhower | H. Berlin Wall | M. Lyndon B. Johnson |
| D. NATO | I. John F. Kennedy | |
| E. Fidel Castro | J. Cuban Missile Crisis | |

6. First established in April 1949, _____ was the primary Western military alliance against the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

7. After serving as a successful general during World War II, _____ was elected president in 1950, and led the United States through the early part of the Cold War.

8. In a famous speech delivered on March 5, 1946, _____ declared that Western and Eastern Europe were now being divided by the _____.

9. With the African-American activist _____ as a leader, the _____ saw increasing success throughout the mid-1950s and 1960s.
10. After taking power in Cuba in 1959, _____ quickly allied himself with the Soviet Union, creating a new Cold War danger for the United States.
11. The construction of the _____ in August 1961 concretely symbolized the deep division between the Soviet Union and the free West.
12. The _____, which occurred in October 1962, marked perhaps the highest tension between the United States and the Soviet Union during the entire Cold War.
13. On November 22, 1963, _____ was assassinated by the Communist sympathizer _____.
14. _____ was John F. Kennedy's vice president who later won the 1964 presidential election.
15. The passage of the _____ marked the high point of the legal struggle for African-American civil rights.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

16. “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an _____
has descended across _____.”—
_____, “The Sinews of Peace”

17. “And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what
_____—ask
what _____.”— John
F. Kennedy, _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

18. Rosa Parks’ account of riding in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama

19. James Reston's report on the speech by Martin Luther King Jr. at the Lincoln Memorial

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.

20. In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?

21. What is meant by the term "Cold War"?

22. How did the main principles and goals of communism contrast with the ideas of the American Founding?

23. In what ways did the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?

24. What was the outcome of the Korean War and why?

25. What was one major event (and its effect) of the early civil rights movement?

26. To what principles did Martin Luther King Jr. appeal in his campaign for civil equality?

27. What were Dwight Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address?

28. How can John F. Kennedy be compared to preceding presidents?

29. What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 do?

Study Guide B — Post-War America, Test #2

Lesson 3 | Tumult: Foreign and Domestic

Unit 7

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

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.

North Vietnam
 South Vietnam
 Gulf of Tonkin
 Saigon

PERSONS

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

Barry Goldwater
 Ronald Reagan
 Malcolm X
 Neil Armstrong
 Henry Kissinger

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

Voting Rights Act	Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)	Vietcong
Great Society welfare	counterculture	Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	environmentalism	draft
The New Left	black separatism	antiwar movement
	riots	Tet Offensive
		moon landing

Apollo 13
détente

Paris Peace Accords
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.

Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon Johnson
“A Time for Choosing,” Ronald Reagan

TO KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“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 3rd grade students.

- 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.

- What did the Voting Rights Act do?
- What were the ideological and practical components of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society?
- 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?

- How did the baby boomer generation influence American culture?
- 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?
- What were Richard Nixon's main political ideas and the main accomplishments of his presidency?
- What happened in the Watergate scandal?

Name _____

Date _____

Post-War America — Test #2

Unit 7

Lesson 3 | Tumult: Foreign and Domestic

TIMELINE

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

- | | | |
|------|-------|--|
| 1965 | _____ | A. Paris Peace Accords |
| 1968 | _____ | B. Richard Nixon resigns |
| 1973 | _____ | C. Voting Rights Act |
| 1974 | _____ | D. Tet Offensive; Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy assassinated; Richard Nixon elected president |

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Answer the following questions based on readings and class notes.

1. In the Vietnam War, which country was given aid by the Soviet Union and its allies?
2. What was the capital of the country in question #1?
3. In the Vietnam War, which country was given aid by the United States and its allies?
4. What was the capital of the country in question #3?

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks with the letter of the correct term.

- | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| A. Barry Goldwater | E. black separatism | I. Neil Armstrong |
| B. Great Society | F. Gulf of Tonkin Resolution | J. Paris Peace Accords |
| C. Ronald Reagan | G. Tet Offensive | K. Watergate scandal |
| D. counterculture | H. moon landing | |

5. President Johnson's ambitious plan for major societal reform in America was generally known as the _____, a term first used in a 1964 speech of his.
6. The rise of the _____ was in response to the widespread dissatisfaction of American youth in the 1960s with their social and political conditions.
7. _____ was the 1964 conservative Republican nominee for president, who lost significantly to President Johnson.
8. The rise of _____ was the result of some members of the civil rights movement believing that social progress for African-Americans could not be made swiftly enough using normal legal and political means.
9. On July 20, 1969, the Apollo 11 mission achieved the _____, with its first explorer being _____.
10. The _____, passed in August 1964, marked the formal start of the United States' military efforts in the Vietnam War.

11. The _____, which lasted from 1972-1974, was a highly consequential political event in American history, as it caused a loss of trust in presidential leadership and shifted how American political power was understood.
12. Despite the military success of the _____, it was perceived with great negativity in the United States itself, further undermining confidence in the Vietnam War.
13. The signing of the _____ marked the formal end of the Vietnam War.
14. In 1980, _____, who had been a strong supporter of the Republican presidential candidate in the 1964 election, was himself elected president.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

15. “For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the _____ society and the _____ society, but upward to _____.”— Lyndon B. Johnson,

16. “You and I have a _____ with _____.”—
_____, “A Time for Choosing”

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

17. Studs Terkel's account of the student riots at the Democratic National Convention

18. The Watergate break-in

Writing Assignment — Post-War America

Unit 7

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 2-3 paragraph essay answering the following question:

What were two aspects of American society (culture, politics, etc.) that either changed or remained the same from the end of World War II (1945) to the end of the Vietnam War (1973)?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Winston S. Churchill

Harry S. Truman

Dwight D. Eisenhower

John F. Kennedy

Martin Luther King Jr.

Lyndon B. Johnson

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

Ronald Reagan

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

The Sinews of Peace

SPEECH EXCERPTS

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. According to Churchill, what is the major political threat the world faces?
3. What should foreign policy look like after World War II, as described by Churchill?
4. What is the “Iron Curtain”?

Winston S. Churchill. “The Sinews of Peace.” Speech excerpts, 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. {...}

When American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write 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 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.

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To give security to these countless homes, they must be shielded from the two giant 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 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.

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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 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. {...}

25

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 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

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police. It is not our duty at this time when difficulties are so numerous to interfere 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
5 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 Declaration of Independence.

All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power
10 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 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
15 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. {...}

Now, while still pursuing the method of realising our overall strategic concept, I come
20 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 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
25 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 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
30 mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air Force bases in the possession of 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 to our joint care in the near future. {...}

- 5 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, 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
- 10 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 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
- 15 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 are many mansions.' Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbour no design
- 20 incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial and, as I believe, indispensable. {...}

- 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.

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 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 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 Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. {...}

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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 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 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 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 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. {...}

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HARRY S. TRUMAN

A Fateful Hour (Truman Doctrine)

SPEECH EXCERPTS

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. What is happening in Greece and Turkey at the time of Truman's speech?
2. Why does Truman believe America should help other nations?
3. What are the two “alternative ways of life” Truman describes?
4. What does he ultimately request from Congress?

Harry S. Truman. “Truman Doctrine.” Speech excerpts, 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:

5 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.

10 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.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. {...}

15 The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

20 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. {...}

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

25 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 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.

30 Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

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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.

- 5 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.

- 10 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. *{...}*

- 15 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. *{...}*

- 20 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.

- 25 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.

- 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.

- 30 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.

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I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

5 I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes. {...}

10 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.

15 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.

20 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.

25 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.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

30 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

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Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

5 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.

10 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. {...}

15 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.

20 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.

25 I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Farewell Address

SPEECH EXCERPTS

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 are the two major threats facing American government, according to Eisenhower?
2. Why does he say the American military has become more developed?
3. According to Eisenhower, how does the military exert influence in America?
4. What does he say are the dangers of the “military-industrial complex” and intellectuals having too much control in America?

Dwight D. Eisenhower. “Farewell Address (1961).” Speech excerpts, January 17, 1961. From the National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-dwight-d-eisenhowers-farewell-address>.

My fellow Americans:

5 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
Presidency is vested in my successor.

10 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.

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.
{...}

15 *****

{...} 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 America's
leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress,
20 riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace
and human betterment.

25 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
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
30 and abroad.

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Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing 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
5 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 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. {...}

10

{...} {There must remain} 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
15 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.

20

{...} {T}hreats, 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
25 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.

30 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

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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.

5

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 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.

10

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.

15

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.

20

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades. {...}

25

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.

30

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.

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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.

5 *****

{...} 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.

15 *****

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. {...}

20 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 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.

30 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.

{...}

To all the peoples of the world, I once more give expression to America's prayerful and continuing inspiration:

5

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 to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

10

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Inaugural Address

SPEECH EXCERPTS

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. How does Kennedy describe the current generation of Americans?
2. According to him, what defines America's commitment to "the survival and the success of liberty"?
3. How does Kennedy approach the Soviet Union?
4. What questions does he say each American should be asking?

John F. Kennedy. "Inaugural Address (1961)." Speech excerpts, 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

{T}o those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a 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.

30

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

5 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.

10 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.

15 Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

20 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 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.

25 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.”

30 And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides 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.

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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 lifetime on this planet. But let us begin. {...}

- 5 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.
- 10

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country.

- 15 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 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.
- 20

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
I Have a Dream

SPEECH EXCERPTS

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. According to King, how should people be judged?
4. What does he say is the ultimate goal of the civil rights movement?

Martin Luther King Jr. “I Have a Dream.” Speech excerpts, 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. {...}

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{E}ven 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.

- 5 I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

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.

- 10 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.

- 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
15 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. {...}

- 20 {I}f 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 Stone Mountain
25 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.

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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:

- 5 Free at last. Free at last. Thank God almighty, we are free at last.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Remarks at the University of Michigan

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS EXCERPTS

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. In what three main places does Johnson hope to build the Great Society?

Lyndon B. Johnson. “Remarks at the University of Michigan.” Commencement address excerpts, 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 {...}

I have come today from the turmoil of your Capital to the tranquility of your campus to speak about the future of your country.

10 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.

15 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.

20 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.

25 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 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.

30 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.

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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.

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.

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.

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. {...}

{...} {I}n the classrooms of America {...} 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.

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.

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.

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
5 to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty.

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
10 of labor. It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation. {...}

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
15 new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities.

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.” {...}
20

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?

Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of
25 poverty?

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?

30 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?

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.

5 {...}

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY**The Port Huron Statement****POLITICAL MANIFESTO EXCERPTS**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. How does the SDS say they were taught the history of the United States?
2. According to them, what experiences changed their understanding of America?
3. What questions does the SDS seek to answer?
4. How do they describe the relationship between the American student and American society?

Students for a Democratic Society. “The Port Huron Statement.” Political manifesto excerpts, December 31, 1962. From the University of Virginia at Charlottesville via the Sixties Project.
http://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—these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

10

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 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, 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.

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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 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.

25

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."

5

10

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. {...}

15

Values

{...} The questions we might want raised—what is really important? can we live in a different and better way? if we wanted to change society, how would we do it? —are not thought to be questions of a "fruitful, empirical nature," and thus are brushed aside.

20

{...}

{...} A first task of any social movement is to convince people that the search for orienting theories and the creation of human values is complex but worthwhile. {...}

{T}o direct such an analysis we must use the guideposts of basic principles. {...}

25

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 manipulated, and that he is inherently incapable of directing his own affairs. We

30

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

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the present. We oppose, 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
5 minority, but for majority, participation in decision-making.

{...} 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 compulsively driven by a sense of powerlessness, nor one which
10 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 of curiosity, an ability and willingness to learn.

15 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.

20 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. {...}

Loneliness, estrangement, isolation describe the vast distance between man and man
25 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. {...} {T}o 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.

30 {...} 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

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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. {...}

- 5 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.

- 10 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, 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. {...}

15 **The Students**

{...}

- 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, 20 honors, the med school rat race). But neglected generally is real intellectual status, the personal cultivation of the mind. {...}

- 30 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 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

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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 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

{...} Americans are in withdrawal from public life, from any collective effort at directing their own affairs. {...}

{...} America is without community impulse, without the inner momentum necessary for an age when societies cannot successfully perpetuate themselves by their military weapons, when democracy must be viable because of its quality of life, not its quantity of rockets.

{...} 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 University and Social Change

{...} From where else can power and vision be summoned? We believe that the universities are an overlooked seat of influence.

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5 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 social practice is revealed, first, by the extent to which defense contracts make the universities engineers of the arms race. {...} 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 potentialities, new levers for change. Fourth, the university is the only mainstream institution that is open to participation by individuals of nearly any viewpoint.

15 {...} Social relevance, the accessibility to knowledge, and internal openness—these together make the university a potential base and agency in a movement of social change.

20 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 permits the political life to be an adjunct to the academic one, and action to be informed by reason. {...}

25 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. {...}

30 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

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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.

RONALD REAGAN

A Time for Choosing

CAMPAIGN SPEECH EXCERPTS

October 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 is “the last stand on Earth,” according to Reagan?
2. What are America’s unique ideas about government?
3. What does Reagan note about the Democratic Party?
4. What does he say is “the road to peace”?

Ronald Reagan. “A Time for Choosing.” Speech excerpts, 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.

5

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."

10

But I have an uncomfortable feeling that this prosperity isn't something on which we can base our hopes for the future. {...}

{...} {I}'s been said if we lose {this Cold} 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.

15

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 entire story. If we lose freedom here, there's no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth.

20

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 long history of man's relation to man.

25

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.

30

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,
5 or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism. And regardless of their sincerity, their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course. {...}

{...} I, for one, resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me, the free
10 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
15 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. {...}

{...} {A}nytime you and I question the schemes of the do-gooders, we're denounced as
20 being against their humanitarian goals. They say we're always "against" things - we're never "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. {...}

25 No government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size. So governments' programs, once launched, never disappear.

30 Actually, a government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. {...}

5 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.

10 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. {...}

15 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?
20 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, is the road to peace? Well it's a simple answer after all.

25 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 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
30 something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty."

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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. {...}

5

Thank you very much.

UNIT 8**Recent American History**

1974–Present

40-50-minute classes | 12-15 classes

UNIT PREVIEW**Structure**

LESSON 1	1974–1989	Crossroads, at Home and Abroad	4-5 classes	p. 6
LESSON 2	1989–2001	America after the Cold War	4-5 classes	p. 11
LESSON 3	2001–2016	Twenty-First Century America	4-5 classes	p. 17
APPENDIX A	Study Guides, Tests, and Writing Assignment			p. 22
APPENDIX B	Primary Sources			p. 41

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](https://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

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

First Inaugural Address, Ronald Reagan
Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate, 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

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZ

Lesson 1 — Crossroads, at Home and Abroad

1974–1989

4–5 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

<i>Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2</i>	Pages 204-221
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 393-407
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 364-368
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 240-242

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lectures 23-24
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 10

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, pages 204-221, and 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
Khmer Rouge	Social Security
Fall of Saigon	national debt
bicentennial	Department of Education
Carter Doctrine	Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
Camp David Accords	Solidarity
Iranian Revolution	Euromissile crisis
Iranian Hostage Crisis	glasnost
social conservatives	perestroika
libertarians	Berlin Wall
limited government	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)

Primary Sources

First Inaugural Address, Ronald Reagan
Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate, Ronald Reagan

To Know by Heart

“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
“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

- Debates between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan
- 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 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 Ronald 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 (1-2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the policies and outcomes of the Reagan administration (1-2 paragraphs).

Name_____

Date_____

Reading Quiz

Recent American History | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol. 2, pages 204-221

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. How did President Reagan handle the 1983 Euromissile crisis?

Lesson 2 — America after the Cold War

1989–2001

4–5 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition</i>	Pages 222-233
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 408-417
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 376-380
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 250-251

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 25
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 10

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, pages 222-233, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Middle East	Panama
Iraq	Balkans
Kuwait	Ground Zero
Persian Gulf	Shanksville, Pennsylvania

Persons

George H. W. Bush	Bill Gates
Boris Yeltsin	George W. Bush
Saddam Hussein	Al Gore
Colin Powell	Dick Cheney
Clarence Thomas	Osama bin Laden
Bill Clinton	

Terms and Topics

Tiananmen Square massacre	“Sun Belt”
Berlin Wall	“Contract with America”
Operation Desert Storm	Welfare Reform Act
UN Security Council	budget surplus
Invasion of Panama	pop music
Waco massacre	1995 Oklahoma City bombing
European Union	impeachment
globalism	2000 election
Violent Crime Control Act	World Trade Center
terrorism	The Pentagon
The Internet	Flight 93
personal computer	al-Qaeda
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)	War on Terror
illegal immigration	Taliban
outsourcing	Patriot Act
“Rust Belt”	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

- 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 (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Describe what happened on September 11, 2001, and explain the United States' response in the months and years that followed (1–2 paragraphs).

Lesson 3 — Twenty-First Century America

2001–2016

4–5 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

<i>Land of Hope Young Reader's Edition, Vol. 2</i>	Pages 233-245
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 417-428
<i>A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 380-381, 385-395
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 251-252, 256-257

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 25
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 10

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment: Students read *Land of Hope (YRE)*, pages 233-245, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography & Places

Fallujah
Benghazi
North Korea

Persons

Mark Zuckerberg	Hillary Clinton
Barack Obama	Donald Trump
Edward Snowden	

Terms and Topics

“weapons of mass destruction” (WMD)	Google
improvised explosive device (IED)	iPhone
	social media
	Facebook

<i>Harry Potter</i>	Tea Party movement
Iraq War troop surge	school choice
national debt	Afghanistan troop surge
personal debt	Benghazi attack
housing crisis	Chinese Communist Party
bailout	IRS targeting
Great Recession	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)
Affordable Care Act	Twitter
(“Obamacare”)	nationalism
establishment	

Primary Sources

Address at Cairo University, Barack Obama
Remarks to the People of Poland, 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

“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

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

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- Why did the United States invade 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 (2-3 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz

Recent American History | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Young Reader's Edition Vol. 2, pages 233-245

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What effect did the recession of 2008 have on the general public's opinion of government?
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 illustrates the dysfunction of our current political system?

APPENDIX A

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment

Study Guide A — Recent American History, Test #1

Lesson 1 | Crossroads, at Home and Abroad

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

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

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

Saigon	Grenada
Egypt	Libya
Israel	Taiwan
Iran	Berlin
Afghanistan	

PERSONS

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

Gerald Ford	Ayatollah Ruhollah	Muammar Gaddafi
Jimmy Carter	Khomeini	Margaret Thatcher
Anwar el-Sadat	Ronald Reagan	Pope John Paul II
	Sandra Day O'Connor	Mikhail Gorbachev

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

stagflation	Carter Doctrine
taxation	Camp David Accords
Khmer Rouge	Iranian Revolution
Fall of Saigon	Iranian hostage crisis
bicentennial	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)

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

TO KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“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

“Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!” —Ronald Reagan, Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

- 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
- Debates between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan
- William Harwood’s eyewitness account of the *Challenger* disaster

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

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

- What caused stagflation during the 1970s?
- What happened in Vietnam after the American forces withdrew?
- 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 Ronald 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?

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| A. perestroika | F. stagflation |
| B. Euromissile crisis | G. Fall of Saigon |
| C. Gerald Ford | H. Carter Doctrine |
| D. Camp David Accords | I. Iranian Revolution |
| E. Economic Recovery Tax Act | |

8. President _____ exuded a sense of calm and competence during the post-Watergate uncertainty and upheaval, helping to alleviate Americans' high level of distrust in public figures.
9. The _____ marked the end of the Vietnam War.
10. The _____ was a foreign policy designed to defend the United States' interests in the Persian Gulf region.
11. _____ was a political reform movement led by Mikhail Gorbachev aimed at restructuring the political and economic systems of the Soviet Union.
12. The _____ happened during the presidency of Jimmy Carter.
13. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan introduced the _____ in order to restore the American economy.
14. The United States oversaw a treaty between Egypt and Israel known as the _____.
15. _____ was a major economic problem throughout the 1970s.

16. President Reagan’s actions in response to the _____ of the early 1980s demonstrated his resolve to aggressively confront the Soviet Union.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

17. “Mr. _____, tear down _____
_____!” —Ronald Reagan, Remarks at

18. “Government’s first duty is to _____, not
_____.” —Ronald Reagan

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

19. The fall of Saigon

20. The 1980 presidential debates between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan

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.

21. What caused stagflation during the 1970s?

22. What were Jimmy Carter's foreign policy successes and failures?

23. What role did the Supreme Court play in changing American culture during the 1970s?

Study Guide B — Recent American History, Test #2

Lesson 2 | America after the Cold War

Lesson 3 | Twenty-First Century America

Unit 8

Test on _____

TIMELINE

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

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.

Middle East	Ground Zero
Iraq	Shanksville, Pennsylvania
Kuwait	Fallujah
Persian Gulf	Benghazi
Panama	North Korea
Balkans	

PERSONS

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

George H. W. Bush	Al Gore
Boris Yeltsin	Dick Cheney
Saddam Hussein	Osama bin Laden
Colin Powell	Mark Zuckerberg
Clarence Thomas	Barack Obama
Bill Clinton	Edward Snowden
Bill Gates	Hillary Clinton
George W. Bush	Donald Trump

TERMS AND TOPICS

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

Tiananmen Square massacre	impeachment	Facebook
Operation Desert Storm	2000 election	Iraq War troop surge
UN Security Council	World Trade Center	national debt
European Union	The Pentagon	housing crisis
globalism	Flight 93	bailout
terrorism	al-Qaeda	Great Recession
The Internet	War on Terror	Affordable Care Act
personal computer	Taliban	("Obamacare")
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)	Patriot Act	Tea Party movement
illegal immigration	No Child Left Behind Act	Afghanistan troop surge
outsourcing	"weapons of mass destruction" (WMD)	Benghazi attack
"Rust Belt"	improvised explosive device (IED)	Chinese Communist Party
"Sun Belt"	Google	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)
"Contract with America"	iPhone	Twitter
Welfare Reform Act	social media	
Oklahoma City bombing		

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.

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

TO KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

"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

"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 3rd grade students.

- 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
- 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 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 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?

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blanks with the letter of the correct answer.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A. Saddam Hussein | F. Taliban |
| B. George W. Bush | G. War on Terror |
| C. Edward Snowden | H. Operation Desert Storm |
| D. No Child Left Behind Act | I. Affordable Care Act |
| E. Bill Clinton | J. weapons of mass destruction |

3. President George W. Bush declared the _____ in response to the September 11th attacks.
4. President Bush's administration left a lasting impact on public K-12 education through the passage of the _____ in 2001.
5. The potential presence of _____ in Iraq played a significant role in the United States' decision to invade the country in 2003.
6. The _____ was a major focus of President Barack Obama's first term in office.
7. President _____ famously used a PR strategy called "triangulation."
8. _____ was president of Iraq during the U.S. invasion in 2003.
9. In 1991, the United States successfully completed _____ in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

10. _____ was a whistleblower responsible for leaking a large amount of highly classified information from the NSA in 2009.
11. President _____ was victorious by a narrow margin in the controversial 2000 presidential election.
12. The _____ were a major faction hostile to the United States and its allies during the Afghanistan War.

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.

13. “The era of _____ is over.” —Bill Clinton
14. “There is not a liberal America and a conservative America—there is the _____ . There is not a black America and a white America and _____ America and _____ America—there’s the United States of America.” —

15. “The West became great not because of _____ and _____ but because people were allowed to _____ their dreams and pursue their _____.” —_____,
Remarks to _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.

16. The heroic deeds of soldiers in the Gulf War

17. The heroic deeds of passengers on Flight 93

25. What was fighting like in Iraq after the initial invasion?

26. What caused the housing market collapse in 2007-2008?

27. 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 a 2-3 paragraph essay answering the following question:

How did American foreign policy attempt to respond to the questions raised by the War on Terror?

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?
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/>.

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 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 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 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 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 other place on Earth. The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

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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

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.

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.

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 differences does Reagan note about life under democracy and life under communism?
3. 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.

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. 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 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, 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 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."

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

openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace.

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. . . .

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 a safer, freer world.

And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. . . .

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/>.

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;

- 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 kind of war does the U.S. seek to fight and how will it accomplish this goal?
5. 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/>.

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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5 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 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.

10 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 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.

15 The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, 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/>.

5 . . . 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. . . .

10 . . . [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. . . .

15

[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.

20 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

25 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.

15 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

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 threat to Western Civilization is “firmly within our control”?
2. What is the democratic foundation that Poland and the United States have in common?
3. What was the significance of the Jerusalem Avenue Passage during the Warsaw Uprising?
4. 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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... 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.

5 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 Syzdo, a very special thanks also...

10 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.

15 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.

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.

20 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.

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.

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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.

- 5 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 died for freedom.

- 10 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.

- 15 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 than a century and only restored just one century ago.

- 20 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.

- 25 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

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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.

5 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.

We salute your noble sacrifice and we pledge to always remember your fight for Poland and for freedom. Thank you. Thank you.

10 This monument reminds us that more than 150,000 Poles died during that desperate struggle to overthrow oppression.

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.

15 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.”

20 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.

25 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.

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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 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."

- 5 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.

10 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."

15 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.

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.

20 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.

25 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.

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5 ...[O]n 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 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.

10 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 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, these forces will undermine our courage, sap our spirit, and weaken our will to defend ourselves and our societies.

15 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 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 like our community of nations. The world has never known anything like our community
20 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.

25 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.

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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 challenge everything. We seek to know everything so that we can better know ourselves.

5 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.

10 What we have, what we inherited from our — and you know this better than anybody, and you see it today with this incredible group of people — what we've inherited from our 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.

15 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.

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.

20 ...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 at any cost? Do we have enough respect for our citizens to protect our borders? Do we
25 have the desire and the courage to preserve our civilization in the face of those who would subvert and destroy it?

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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 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,
5 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 today.

Control of that road was crucially important to both sides in the battle for Warsaw. The
10 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 apart and destroyed.

Every night, the Poles put up sandbags amid machine gun fire — and it was horrendous
15 fire — to protect a narrow passage across Jerusalem Avenue. Every day, the enemy forces 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.

20 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
25 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

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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 defense.

5 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.

10 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.

15 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 totally rested. Our freedom, our civilization, and our survival depend on these bonds of history, culture, and memory.

20 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 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.

25 Thank you. God bless you. Thank you very much.

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