

U.S. History Sourcebook

Basic



U.S. History Sourcebook - Basic

Rob Lucas, (RobL)

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CHAPTER **1**

Introduction

Chapter Outline

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This book provides high school U.S. History teachers and students with sets of primary and secondary sources about important topics. Some teachers will use it as a supplement to a traditional textbook. For those looking to leave the textbook behind entirely, it will provide a course with basic structure and continuity, and will reduce the burden of finding new primary sources for each class meeting. However, it is not yet comprehensive enough to meet the coverage requirements of, for example, an Advanced Placement test.

Reading Like a Historian

The methods used in this book draw on the latest research in history education, and particularly on the work of Stanford professor Sam Wineburg and the Stanford History Education Group. Wineburg has shown when reading documents, historians consistently engage in several characteristic behaviors that non-historians do not—sourcing, contextualization, corroboration, and close reading.

- Sourcing –When reading a primary document, historians look first to its source information, anticipate its perspective, and consider its trustworthiness. Sourcing questions should be answered after reading the source information and headnote but before reading the document. Who created the document? With what purpose? What was the intended audience? Is the document trustworthy?
- Contextualization –As they read and interpret a document, historians consider the historical context within which it was created. What was going on when this document was created? What were people doing? What did people believe? Why might this document not provide the whole picture?
- Close reading –As they read and interpret a document, historians also try to understand the argument being made within the document and the rhetorical strategies being employed. What is the argument being made in this document? What evidence is presented? What specific words are used?
- Corroboration –After reading multiple documents, historians consider how they relate to each other. Do the sources agree with each other or are they in conflict? Are they reliable? Considering all of the sources available, what can we say about the issues they address?

The texts in this book have been selected to cover important and interesting topics in U.S. history that allow students to practice these reading skills. The book is divided into chapters, each of which covers a historical period (e.g. the Civil War) and contains sections that address specific topics (e.g. the New York City Draft Riots). Each section contains approximately 2-5 documents, which have been selected to be read as a group. Each document is followed by questions for students to answer, most of which correspond to one of the four historical reading skills listed above—sourcing, contextualization, close reading, and corroboration. Some sections include 'section questions' which are more global and address all of the documents in the set.

Advanced and Basic Versions

Document-oriented history teachers quickly learn that historic sources often use dated language that challenges some students and stymies others completely. To address this difficulty, the book is available in advanced and basic versions. The advanced book is a straightforward collection of excerpted documents. The basic book, however, requires a bit more explanation. Most documents in the basic version have been modified from the original

text—sometimes radically—to make them more accessible to less proficient readers. Some difficult words have been replaced, while others are underlined and defined below. Complicated syntax has been simplified and sentences rearranged, but we have strived to preserve original meanings. Documents at the beginning of the book are more heavily modified than those at the end, both because older documents are usually more difficult and because students' reading skill is expected to improve as the course progresses. We encourage teachers of the basic book to explain to students that the documents have been modified, to have copies of original documents (i.e. the advanced book) available, and to periodically read aloud or distribute copies of the original documents to convey the flavor of the language, and to make clear exactly what is preserved and lost in modification. The questions that follow each document are identical in both versions.

The documents in this book were selected and modified by Stanford Ph.D. candidate Abby Reisman, as part of her doctoral research, under the supervision of Sam Wineburg. The curriculum was piloted in four San Francisco classrooms during the 2008-2009 school year, and post-tests showed statistically significant gains in both historical reasoning and general reading ability. A short promotional video, which includes interviews with students participating in the San Francisco pilot, is available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wWz08mVUIt8>. Classroom-tested lesson plans for most of the documents in this book are available at , although there may be minor divergences between the sourcebook and lessons. The website also contains document sets extending from 1923 to the present that are not currently included in the sourcebook.

We have chosen to end this book in the year 1923 because documents from before that year belong to the public domain. After that point, the legal doctrine of 'fair use' permits the inclusion of limited excerpts from documents. Additionally, audio and video sources become important. As of this writing, such capacities are just beginning to be supported by CK-12's Flexbook® format, and most history education research has focused on the use of text and images. We hope eventually to extend the book's coverage through the rest of the twentieth century.

Adding Sections

In the period from colonization to 1923, this sourcebook covers major events, but not all topics are addressed and coverage could be improved. Users of the textbook are invited to submit additional document sets, which we will review for inclusion in the next edition of the book.

New document sets should address topics commonly mentioned in state or AP history standards. The documents selected should not merely address the same topic but should be selected to be read as a group and to facilitate the historical reading behaviors included above. Document sets should include (1) An introductory paragraph to provide background information and frame students' reading, (2) Source information for each document (3) Documents, excerpted as necessary to reach an appropriate length. Documents may include text, images, sounds, or video, but their inclusion in the book must not violate copyright law. Eligible documents include those in the public domain, under a Creative Commons license, or available under legal 'fair use' doctrine. (4) Questions addressing the sources individually and as a group. Most questions should correspond to one of the four historical reading skills described above.

To Learn More

A further explanation of the teaching strategies used here can be found particularly in the introductory video, *Why Historical Thinking Matters* . Much of the research informing this method is available in the book *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, a collection of papers by Sam Wineburg.

CHAPTER **2**

Colonial America

Chapter Outline

- 2.1 EARLY MAPS**
 - 2.2 POCAHONTAS**
 - 2.3 PASSENGER LISTS TO THE NEW WORLD**
 - 2.4 THE PURITANS**
 - 2.5 KING PHILIP'S WAR**
 - 2.6 THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS**
 - 2.7 THE FIRST GREAT AWAKENING**
 - 2.8 REFERENCES**
-

2.1 Early Maps

From the days of Columbus on, explorers and cartographers made maps of the New World. The two maps below were made in 1636 and 1651. For context, recall that the Jamestown colony in Virginia was founded in 1608 and that the Mayflower landed in New England in 1620. Both of these maps show Virginia, but they portray it very differently. Compare the maps, and consider why two maps of the same area would be so different.

Virginia and Maryland –Gerhard Mercator

Source: A map titled *Virginia and Maryland*, made by Gerhard Mercator and published in 1636. (Figure 2.1).



FIGURE 2.1

2.2 Pocahontas

In April 1607, colonists from the Virginia Company of London landed in Virginia. They would formally establish the Jamestown Colony there the following year. Among the men was John Smith, a seasoned 27-year old adventurer. Smith became one of the leaders of the colony, but in December 1607 he was captured by a party of soldiers from the local Powhatan Indian tribe. As the story goes, Smith was set to be executed but was saved from death by Pocahontas, a 12 to 14 year old daughter of the tribe's chief.

The story has become a significant part of American lore, but there is controversy among historians about whether the events actually happened and what they meant. The documents below include two accounts by John Smith and excerpts by two modern historians. Read them and decide which historian makes the most persuasive interpretation of the historical evidence.

A True Relation –John Smith

Source: Smith's own words, from A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note as hath happened in Virginia Since the First Planting of that Colony, published in 1608.

Arriving in Werowocomoco, the emperor welcomed me with good words and great platters of food. He promised me his friendship and my freedom within four days.... He asked me why we came and why we went further with our boat.... He promised to give me what I wanted and to feed us if we made him hatchets and copper. I promised to do this. And so, with all this kindness, he sent me home.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When?
2. **Close Reading:** According to *A True Relation*, did Pocahontas save John Smith's life?

General History –John Smith

Source: From Smith's later version of the story in General History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles, published in 1624. (Figure 2.3)

Title page from Smith's *General History*.

They brought me to Meronocomoco, where I saw Powhatan, their Emperor. Two great stones were brought before Powhatan. Then I was dragged by many hands, and they laid my head on the stones, ready to beat out my brains. Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter took my head in her arms and laid down her own upon it to save me from death. Then the Emperor said I should live.

Two days later, Powhatan met me and said we were friends. He told me to bring him two guns and a grindstone and he would consider me his son.

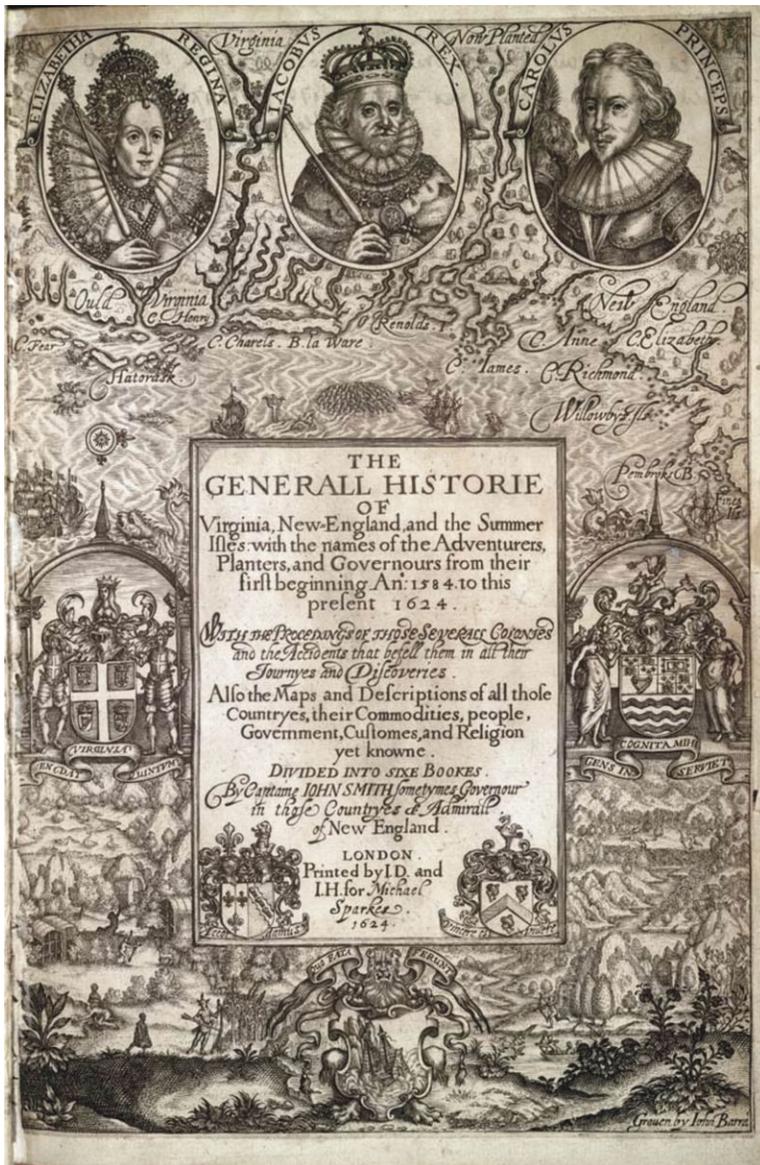


FIGURE 2.3

Title page from Smith's *General History*.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? How much time passed between the writing of *A True Relation* and *General History*?
2. **Close Reading:** According to the *General History*, did Pocahontas save John Smith's life?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** How is the story in John Smith's *General History* different than the story he tells in *A True Relation*?
2. Why might John Smith have told the story differently in the two accounts?

The American Dream of Captain John Smith –J.A. Leo Lemay

Source: Excerpt from *The American Dream of Captain John Smith*, written in 1991 by historian J.A. Leo Lemay.

John Smith had no reason to lie. In all of his other writings he is very accurate and observant. For 250 years after his captivity, no one questioned his story.

The reason the two versions differ is that their purpose is different. In *A True Relation*, Smith didn't want to brag about his adventures, he wanted to inform readers about the land and people of Virginia. In the *General History*, his goal was to promote settlement in Virginia (and added stories might get people interested).

There is no doubt the event happened. Smith may have misunderstood what the whole thing meant. I think it was probably a common ritual for the tribe, where a young woman in the tribe pretends to save a newcomer as a way of welcoming him into the tribe.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Close Reading:** Does Lemay believe that Pocahontas saved John Smith? What evidence does he provide for his argument?

The Great Rogue –Paul Lewis

Source: Excerpt from *The Great Rogue: A Biography of Captain John Smith*, written by the historian Paul Lewis in 1966.

In 1617, Pocahontas became a big media event in London. She was a “princess” (daughter of “king” Powhatan), and the first Indian woman to visit England. Because she converted to Christianity, people high in the church, as well as the King and Queen, paid attention to her.

While all this was going on, John Smith published a new version of *True Relation*, adding footnotes that say that Pocahontas threw herself on Smith to save him. Smith even takes credit for introducing Pocahontas to the English language and the Bible.

Then, in 1624, Smith expands his story in *General History*. He adds details to the story, and says that Pocahontas risked her life to save his.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Close Reading:** Does Lewis believe that Pocahontas saved John Smith? What evidence does he provide to support his argument?

Section Question:

1. **Corroboration:** Which historian do you find more convincing, Lewis or Lemay? Why?

2.3 Passenger Lists to the New World

By the 1630s, Englishmen had settled in two main areas of the new world—New England and Virginia. The two regions were very different—New England was settled by Puritan religious dissidents while Virginian society revolved around growing and selling tobacco. The people living in the two colonies were different, as well.

Each ship that came to the colonies included a list of passengers and some information about them. The following two passenger lists—one for Massachusetts and one for Virginia—provide an indication of the different types of people who came to the two colonies.

Source: Passenger list from the ship Planter, which sailed from London to Boston in 1635.(Table 2.1).

To New England , April 2, 1635

PLANTER of London, Nicholas Trefice, Master. She sailed from London April 1635 and arrived at Boston on Sunday, June 7, 1635.

TABLE 2.1: Passenger List to New England, 1635

	First Name	Surname	Age	
A tailor	JOSEPH	TUTTELL	39	
	JOAN	TUTTELL	42	
	JOHN	LAWRENCE	17	
Farmer	GEORGE	GIDDINS	25	
	JANE	GIDDINS	20	
A tailor	THOMAS	SAVAGE	27	
	WILLIAM	LAWRENCE	12	
	MARIE	LAWRENCE	9	
	ABIGAIL	TUTTELL	6	
	SYMON	TUTTELL	4	
	SARA	TUTTELL	2	
	JOSEPH	TUTTELL	1	
	JOAN	ANTROBUSS	65	
	MARIE	WRAST	24	
	THO	GREENE	15	
	NATHAN	HEFORD	16	
		Servant to JOSEPH TUTTELL		
		MARIE	CHITTWOOD	24
Shoemaker	THOMAS	OLNEY	35	
	MARIE	OLNEY	30	
	THOMAS	OLNEY	3	
	EPENETUS	OLNEY	1	
		Servants to GEORGE GIDDINS		
	THOMAS	CARTER	25	
	MICHELL	WILLIAMSON	30	
	ELIZABETH	MORRISON	12	
A tailor	RICHARD	HARVIE	22	
Farmer	FRANCIS	PEBODDY	21	
Weaver	WILLIAM	WILCOCKS	34	

TABLE 2.1: (continued)

	First Name	Surname	Age
	MARGARET	WILCOCKS	24
	JOSEPH	WILCOCKS	2
	ANNE	HARVIE	22
Mason	WILLIAM	BEARDSLEY	30
	MARIE	BEARDSLEY	26
	MARIE	BEARDSLEY	4
	JOHN	BEARDSLEY	2
	JOSEPH	BEARDSLEY	6 mos.
Farmer	ALLIN	PERLEY	27
Shoemaker	WILLIAM	FELLOE	24
Tailor	FRANCIS	BARKER	24

Passenger List to Virginia, 1635

Source: *List of passengers on the ship America from London, England to Chesapeake, Virginia.*(Table 2.2).

23rd June, 1635. The under-written names are to be transported to Virginia embarked in the America. William Barker Mr. pr. cert: from the Minister of the Towne of Bravesend of their conformity to the orders & discipline of the church of England.

TABLE 2.2: Passenger List to Virginia

First Name	Surname	Age
Richard	Sadd	23
Thomas	Wakefield	17
Thomas	Bennett	22
Steven	Read	24
William	Stanbridge	27
Henry	Barker	18
James	Foster	21
Thomas	Talbott	20
Richard	Young	31
Robert	Thomas	20
John	Farepoynt	20
Robert	Askyn	22
Samuell	Awde	24
Miles	Fletcher	27
William	Evans	23
Lawrence	Farebern	23
Mathew	Robinson	24
Richard	Hersey	22
John	Robinson	32
Edmond	Chipps	19
Thomas	Pritchard	32
Jonathan	Bronsford	21
William	Cowley	20
John	Shawe	16
Richard	Gummy	21

TABLE 2.2: (continued)

First Name	Surname	Age
Bartholomew	Holton	25
John	White	21
Thomas	Chappell	33
Hugh	Fox	24
Davie	Morris	32
Rowland	Cotton	22
William	Thomas	22
John	Yates	20
Richard	Wood	36
Isack	Bull	27
Phillipp	Remmington	29
Radulph	Spraging	37
George	Chaundler	29
Thomas	Johnson	19
George	Brookes	35
Robert	Sabyn	40
Phillipp	Parsons	10
Henry	Parsons	14
John	Eeles	16
Richard	Miller	12
Symon	Richardson	23
Thomas	Boomer	13
George	Dulmare	8
John	Underwood	19
William	Bernard	27
Charles	Wallinger	24
Ryce	Hooe	36
John	Carter	54
Women		
Elizabeth	Remington	20
Dorothy	Standich	22
Suzan	Death	22
Elizabeth	Death	3
Alice	Remmington	26
Dorothie	Baker	18
Elizabeth	Baker	18
Sara	Colebank	20
Mary	Thurrogood	19

Section Questions:

1. Based on these lists, what can you say about the type of people who traveled to each colony?
2. Which ship do you think had more wealthy passengers? Women? Families?

Activity:

Make a chart comparing the passengers aboard the two ships. Look at the lists and determine what information is

available about the passengers. Then, using what you know about statistics, think about what statistics would be most valuable to calculate. What percentages or ratios would be interesting to know? Where would it be useful to calculate mean, median, mode or range? Select the statistics that would best help you compare the passenger lists, calculate them, and present them in a chart.

2.4 The Puritans

New England was first settled by Puritans, people from England who believed that the Church of England had become corrupt. Their name comes from their intention to *purify* the Church. The first group of settlers, who came on the Mayflower and founded the Plymouth colony, were called *separatists*. They wanted to leave the Church entirely. A decade later, a second group of Puritans founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but they were less radical. Instead of separating from the Church, they wanted to remain members of the church and purify it from within. The following documents are taken from this second group of settlers. As you read, think about how their beliefs might have influence their actions in New England and helped shape the new colony.

City upon a Hill –John Winthrop

Source: John Winthrop (1588–1649), lawyer and leader of the 1630 migration of English Puritans to Massachusetts Bay Colony, delivered this famous sermon aboard the Arbella to settlers traveling to New England.

We shall be united in the bond of peace, the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among us, so that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness and truth.

We shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall [behave badly] and cause God to withdraw his help from us, we shall [invite] the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us.

The only way to provide for our posterity is to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God. We must be knit together in this work as one man; we must take care of each other with brotherly affection.

Therefore let us choose life, that we, and our [children], may live; by obeying his voice, for he is our life, and our prosperity.

Vocabulary

Posterity

future generations

Prosperity

wealth

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who kind of person was John Winthrop? Who was he speaking to in this sermon? What do you think was his purpose in giving this sermon?
2. **Contextualization:** What might Winthrop’s audience might have been thinking and feeling as they listened to him on the ship?
3. **Close reading:** What do you think Winthrop means when he says, “We shall be as a City Upon a Hill?”

The Divine Right to Occupy the Land –John Cotton

Source: Puritan leader John Cotton gave the following sermon to members of his congregation who were immigrating to America in 1630. Cotton became a respected and influential clergyman in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The settling of a people in this or that country is the Lord's decision.

Second, He gives a foreign people favor in the eyes of any native people to come and sit down with them.

Third, He makes a country empty of inhabitants where the people will live. Where there is an empty place, the sons of Adam and Noah are free to come and live there, and they neither need to buy it nor ask permission.

The Bible says: “I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more.”

Now, God makes room for a people in three ways: First, He drives out the heathens before them by waging war on the inhabitants.

Vocabulary

Heathen

a term used at this time to describe anyone uncivilized and who did not believe in God

Appoint

assign; decide on

Inhabitants

people who live in a certain place

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who was John Cotton? Who was he speaking to in this sermon? Why is he speaking about settling in a new land?
2. **Contextualization:** In this sermon, who are the 'inhabitants' in the new land? Who are the 'foreign people'?
3. **Close reading:** What does Cotton say that God will do for the foreign people when they arrive in the new land?

Section Question:

1. **Corroboration:** Considering information from both Winthrop's sermon and Cotton's speech, were the Puritans selfish or selfless? What is the evidence for your answer?

2.5 King Philip's War

By 1675, the European settlers in New England had lived in relative peace with the Native Americans for nearly 40 years. However, during this period, the settlers gradually encroached on native lands. Between 1600 and 1675, the Native American population of New England decreased from 150,000 to 10,000, while the English population grew to 50,000. Some Englishmen worked to convert the remaining natives to Christianity, translating the bible into their languages and establishing so-called "praying towns" in which the Indians began to adopt a European way of life.

In 1675, an Indian sachem (chief) named Metacom united many tribes of the region into a military alliance, and a bloody war broke out between Indians and settlers. Metacom had been given the English name 'Philip' and the war became known to the settlers and to history as 'King Philip's War.' The causes of the war are disputed. The following documents show two perspectives on why the war began.

King Philip's Complaints –John Easton

Source: John Easton, Attorney General of the Rhode Island colony, met King Philip in June of 1675 in an effort to negotiate a settlement. Easton recorded Philip's complaints. However, Easton was unable to prevent a war, and the fighting broke out the following month.

Another Grievance was, the English made them drunk and then cheated them in Bargains; that now, they had no Hopes left to keep any Land.

Another Grievance, the English cattle and horses still increased and kept spoiling their corn. They thought when the English bought Land of them they would have kept their cattle upon their own Land, but the English didn't use a fence.

King Philip agreed to come to us; came himself unarmed, and about 40 of his men armed. Then 5 of us went over. We sat very friendly together. We told him our business. They said that was well; they had done no wrong, the English wronged them. We said that both sides thought the other side wronged them, but our desire was to avoid war. The Indians agreed that fighting was the worst way; then they asked how Right might take Place. We said, by negotiation. They said that they lost many square miles of land through negotiation.

They said they had been the first in doing Good to the English, and the English were the first in doing wrong. They said when the English first came, their King's Father was as a great Man, he prevented other Indians from wronging the English, and gave them Corn and showed them how to plant, and let them have a 100 times more land than now the Indian King had for his own people.

And another grievance was, if 20 of their honest Indians testified that a Englishman had done them wrong, it was as nothing; and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian, when it pleased the English it was sufficient.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? Is it fair to say the document represents King Philip's perspective?
2. **Contextualization:** What was happening in New England that led to the meeting between King Philip and Easton?

3. **Close Reading:** List three complaints that the Native Americans made to John Easton.

King Philip's War –Edward Randolph

Source: The English government sent Edward Randolph to New England to report on the causes for the wars with the Native Americans. He wrote this report in 1685.

There are many different theories for what caused the present Indian war. Some blame the people of Boston for trying to Christianize the Indians before they were civilized and forcing them the strict observation of their laws, which, to a people so rude and uncivilized, has proved unbearable.

Some believe there have been Catholic priests, who have made it their business, for some years past, to turn the Indians against the English and to promise supplies from France.

Others blame the Indian leader, King Philip. Some English tried to get his land and brought him to court and sometimes imprisoned him, and always took another little piece of his land.

But the Puritan government of the Massachusetts thinks that God has allowed the Indians to rise against them. The Puritans believe it is punishment for men wearing long hair and wigs made of women's hair; for women cutting, curling and laying out the hair. For people not going to town meetings.

The English have contributed much to their misfortunes, for they first taught the Indians the use of arms, and let them attend trainings, and showed them how to handle and fix their muskets.

The loss to the English in the several colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to 150,000 pounds. About 1200 houses have been burned, 8000 head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat and other grain burned, and over 3000 Indians, men, women, and children destroyed.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written and by whom? Does that make it more or less trustworthy?
2. **Close Reading:** What were the causes of King Philip's War, according to Edward Randolph?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** On what points do the two documents agree? On what points do they conflict?
2. **Corroboration:** Where the documents conflict, which one do you find more trustworthy? Why?
3. **Corroboration:** Considering both documents, what were the causes of King Phillip's War?

2.6 The Salem Witch Trials

During the winter of 1691-92, girls in the Salem Village, Massachusetts began complaining of a strange illness. They described feeling sharp pains and the sensation of being choked. The first girl to feel the effects was Betty Parris, daughter of Salem's minister, Samuel Parris. The second was his niece, Abigail Williams. Reverend Parris believed the sickness was the result of witchcraft.

The girls accused three women of being witches, including the Parris family's Indian slave, Tituba. Tituba confessed to being a witch and accused more women. The parade of accusations continued until 20 women had been convicted of witchcraft and executed, and 100 more were in prison. Why did the girls make these accusations, and why did so many people believe them? The documents below provide clues to Salemites' beliefs about witchcraft and about the context in which the events took place.

Discourse on Witchcraft –Cotton Mather

Source: Excerpt from a 1688 speech by Cotton Mather, a leader of the Puritans. Mather argues for the existence of witchcraft.

I will prove that Witchcraft exists. Those who deny it exists argue that they never saw any witches, therefore there are none. That would be as if you or I said: We never met any robbers, therefore there are none.

I have two pieces of evidence that witchcraft exists: First, the Scripture mentions witchcraft. Secondly, many people have experienced the horrors of witchcraft.

Witchcraft is a most monstrous and horrid evil. Witchcraft denies all that is *Holy*, and *Just* and *Good*. Witchcraft is siding with *Hell* against *Heaven* and *Earth*.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? What was his perspective?
2. **Close Reading:** Judging from this document, why might the people of Salem have believed the girls' accusations?

Testimony of Abigail Hobbs

Source: The testimony of a teenager accused of witchcraft, Abigail Hobbs, on April 19, 1692.

Judge: Abigail Hobbs, you are brought before Authority to answer to various acts of witchcraft. What say you? Are you guilty, or not? Speak the truth.

Abigail Hobbs: I will speak the truth. I have seen sights and been scared. I have been very wicked. I hope I shall be better, if God will help me.

Judge: What sights did you see?

Abigail Hobbs: I have seen the Devil.

Judge: How often, many times?

Abigail Hobbs: But once.

Judge: What would he have you do?

Abigail Hobbs: Why, he would have me be a witch.

Judge: Would he have you make a covenant with him?

Abigail Hobbs: Yes.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, why did the people of Salem believe the girls' accusations?

2.7 The First Great Awakening

Religion was an important factor in the American colonies from their very beginnings, but in the 1740s, the colonies were swept by a religious movement called the First Great Awakening. The most popular preacher of the period, George Whitefield, traveled across the country holding revival meetings attended by thousands. Nathan Cole's account below shows how intense the movement was. Nathanael Henschman's letter to Whitefield shows that some traditional ministers did not welcome the revival.

Letter to George Winfield –Nathanael Henschman

Source: Nathanael Henschman was a minister in Lynn, Massachusetts. He blamed Whitefield for breaking up all of New England's churches. This document is a letter to the newspaper in which he addresses Whitefield.

To George Whitefield,

You have sown the harmful seeds of separation and disorder among us. By supporting the new churches, by claiming that our Ministers are unacquainted with Christ, you have stopped the spread of the Gospel, and hurt the Peace and good Order. You have hurt the very being of our Churches.

I ask you not to preach in this parish...

I do not expect that you will pay attention to what I have written, but I still choose to declare that you are a dangerous man, harmful to the religion of Jesus Christ.

Nathanael Henschman, Pastor of the first Church in Lynn

Boston Evening-Post, July 15, 1745

Questions:

Opening Up the Textbook: Before answering these questions, students should read an account of the Great Awakening from a typical textbook.

1. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at the time this document was written?
2. Using this document, what can we say about the Great Awakening that goes beyond the textbook account?

Testimony of Nathan Cole

Source: Nathan Cole was a farmer from Middletown, Connecticut, who heard George Whitfield preach in 1740. The experience convinced Cole to find salvation and become born-again.

When I heard that Mr. Whitefield was coming to preach in Middletown, I was in my field at work. I dropped my tool and ran home to my wife and told her to hurry. My wife and I rode my horse as fast as I thought the horse could bear ...

When we neared Middletown, I heard a noise like a low rumbling thunder and soon saw it was the noise of horses' feet. As I came closer it seemed like a steady stream of horses and their riders, all of a lather and foam with sweat, their breath rolling out of their nostrils with every jump; every horse seemed to go with all his might to carry his rider to hear news from heaven for the saving of souls, it made me tremble to see the sight, how the world was in a struggle.

When I saw Mr. Whitfield he looked almost angelic; a young, slim, slender, youth. And hearing how God was with him everywhere put me into a trembling fear. I saw that my righteousness would not save me...

When we got to the meeting house there were 3 or 4000 people assembled. I turned and looked back and the land and banks of the river looked black with people and horses all along the 12 miles.

Questions:

Opening Up the Textbook: Before answering these questions, students should read an account of the Great Awakening from a typical textbook.

1. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at the time this document was written?
2. Using this document, what can we say about the Great Awakening that goes beyond the textbook account?

Section Question:

1. Would you add anything from these documents to the textbook account?

2.8 References

1. Gerhard Mercator. *Virginia and Maryland* . Public Domain
2. . <http://www.lunacommons.org/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~2760~4390001:A-mapp-of-Virginia-discovered-to-ye?trs=1&mi=0&qvq=q%3AA+mapp+of+Virginia+discovered+to+ye+Falls%3Blc%3AAMICO%7E1%7E1%2CBardBar%7E1%7E1%2CChineseArt-ENG%7E1%7E1%2CCORNELL%7E3%7E1%2CCORNELL%7E9%7E1%2CESTATE%7E2%7E1%2CHOOVER%7E1%7E1%2CJCB%7E1%7E1%2CLTUHSS%7E20%7E20%2CMOAC%7E100%7E1%2CPRATTPRT%7E12%7E12%2CPRATTPRT%7E13%7E13%2CPRATTPRT%7E21%7E21%2CPRATTPRT%7E9%7E9%2CRUMSEY%7E8%7E1%2CRUMSEY%7E9%7E1%2CStanford%7E6%7E1> . Public Domain
3. . <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/smith/smith.html> . Public Domain

CHAPTER

3**The Early Republic****Chapter Outline**

- 3.1 STAMP ACT**
 - 3.2 THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON**
 - 3.3 THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**
 - 3.4 LOYALISTS DURING THE REVOLUTION**
 - 3.5 SHAYS’S REBELLION**
 - 3.6 FEDERALISTS AND ANTI-FEDERALISTS**
 - 3.7 SLAVERY IN THE CONSTITUTION**
 - 3.8 HAMILTON VERSUS JEFFERSON**
 - 3.9 THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE**
 - 3.10 LEWIS AND CLARK**
 - 3.11 REFERENCES**
-

3.1 Stamp Act

In March 1765, the British Parliament passed the Stamp Act, a tax on newspapers and all other printed materials in the American colonies. The British argued that the tax was needed to pay off debts that they had incurred while protecting the American colonists during the French and Indian War. The British thought that it was fair for the Americans to pay higher taxes. The Americans disagreed. Read the documents below and try to determine why the Americans were upset about the Stamp Act.

Boston Editorial

Source: This letter appeared as an editorial in a Boston newspaper on October 7, 1765. The author is unknown.

Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal, 7 October 1765

My Dear Countrymen,

AWAKE! Awake, my Countrymen and defeat those who want to enslave us. Do not be cowards. You were born in Britain, the Land of Light, and you were raised in America, the Land of Liberty. It is your duty to fight this tax. Future generations will bless your efforts and honor the memory of the saviors of their country.

I urge you to tell your representatives that you do not support this terrible and burdensome law. Let them know what you think. They should act as guardians of the liberty of their country.

I look forward to congratulating you on delivering us from the enemies of truth and liberty.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? For what purpose? What was the audience?
2. **Contextualization:** What was going on at the time the document was written? What were people doing? What did people believe?

John Hughes Letter

Source: The following letter was written by John Hughes, Stamp Distributor in Philadelphia, to his bosses in London. The Stamp Act was passed in March 1765 and went into effect November 1765.

Philadelphia January 13th 1766.

My Lords,

The colonists have been insulting His Majesty, saying that the Stamp Act was unconstitutional, and oppressive.

Many believe that the Stamp Act is only being used to enrage the people, & at the same time, to conceal other plans.

It is apparent to many people here, that the Presbyterians, who are very numerous in America, are at the head of these riots. They are opposed to Kings and some begin to cry out,—No King but King Jesus. The leaders, and the Clergy, fill every newspaper with inflammatory pieces, so that the minds of the common people are kept in a continual

ferment.... No one dares write anything that would calm the people down. Doing so would put the writer's life and fortune in danger.

I am convinced the Presbyterians intend nothing less than the throwing off their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, & forming a Republican Empire, in America, & being Lords and Masters themselves.

I am daily Threatened, by Verbal Messages, and Anonymous Letters, with a Mob of several Thousand People, from the Jerseys, New York, and New England.

I conclude with praying, that the Almighty may secure the allegiance of America to the Crown of Britain, by destroying the seeds of rebellion, and by punishing the ringleaders of these riots.

I am, My Lords, Your most Obedient & Most Humble Servant,

John Hughes

Vocabulary

Compels

forces

Inflammatory

Arousing angry or violent feelings

Ferment

agitation or excitement, typically leading to violence

Presbyterians

a major religion formed during the Great Awakening

Allegiance

loyalty

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this and what is his job? Does he side with England or with the colonists? How do you know?
2. **Contextualization:** Based on his account, what is happening in America in 1766? How has the Stamp Act affected the author personally? Provide evidence from the document to support your answer.
3. Do you believe this account? Give one reason why you would trust his account, and one reason why you might not.

London Newspaper Letter

Source: The following letter was written in a London newspaper. It shows that the British could not understand why the people of Boston were so upset about the Stamp Act.

From a London paper, January 27, 1766

The riotous behavior of the people in Boston is remarkable. I would have been less surprised by their behavior if we had taxed their beer, because everyone drinks beer. But the Stamp Act is a tax on none of the necessities of life. It does not affect the poor. And even a poor person can afford this little amount of money. The tax on newspapers only affects the rich—common people do not purchase newspapers. Isn't it surprising, then, that the mob in Boston has begun to riot against this tax even before it has officially gone into effect?

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What newspaper does this come from? What would you predict the author's perspective will be on the Stamp Act? Was this written before or after the Stamp Act went into effect?
2. **Contextualization:** What happened in Boston? Why is the author surprised? Who reads the newspapers, according to the author?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Where do the documents agree and where do they conflict?
2. **Corroboration:** Was the Stamp Act fair? How were the colonists treated by the British?
3. **Corroboration:** How did the colonists feel about their treatment?

3.2 The Battle of Lexington

After the passage of the Stamp Act, tensions between the colonists and the British government continued to rise, and the colonists began to organize militias. On April 19, 1775, British troops marched from Boston to the nearby towns Lexington and Concord to arrest the militia's leaders, John Hancock and Sam Adams, and to confiscate their weapons. The militias learned in advanced that the British were coming, and about 70 militiamen, also called minutemen, assembled before dawn on the central green of the town of Lexington. As dawn was breaking, a shot rang out which set off the first battle of the American Revolution. But who fired the shot? The historical sources disagree. Read the documents below and attempt to determine which side fired first. Then analyze the two paintings of the battle and decide which is a more accurate representation of the battle.

A sample exploration of these documents can be viewed in the video at <http://historicalthinkingmatters.org/why/>

Diary of John Barker

Source: Entry for April 19th, 1775, from the diary of Lieutenant John Barker, an officer in the British army.

19th. At 2 o'clock we began our march by wading through a very long stream up to our middles. About 5 miles away from a town called Lexington, we heard there were some hundreds of people collected together intending to oppose us. At 5 o'clock we arrived there and saw a number of people, I believe between 200 and 300, formed in a common in the middle of the town. We still continued advancing, prepared for an attack though without intending to attack them. As we came near them, they fired one or two shots, upon which our men without any orders, fired and put them to flight. We then formed on the Common, but with some difficulty, the men were so wild they could hear no orders; we waited a considerable time there, and at length proceeded on our way to Concord.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Contextualization:** Imagine the scene. What might the soldiers have been thinking?
3. **Close Reading:** According to this document, which side fired first?

Account of the Battle of Lexington –Nathaniel Mullikan

Source: Sworn by 34 minutemen on April 25 before three Justices of the Peace.

We Nathaniel Mulliken, Philip Russell, (Followed by the names of 32 other men present on Lexington Green on April 19, 1775)... All of lawful age, and inhabitants of Lexington... do testify and declare, that on the nineteenth of April, about five o'clock in the morning, we proceeded towards the Green, and saw a large body of troops marching towards us. Some of our men were coming to the Green, and others had reached it, at which time, they began to disperse. While our backs were turned on the British troops, they fired on us, and a number of our men were instantly killed and wounded, not a gun was fired by any person in our company on the British soldiers to our knowledge before they fired on us, and continued firing until we had all made our escape.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? Do you trust it more or less than a diary entry? When was this written? Whose side does this document represent?
2. **Close reading:** What is the significance of the phrase “to our knowledge?”
3. **Corroboration:** Where do Barker’s and Mullikan’s accounts disagree? Are there any facts that both accounts agree on?

Battle of Lexington Engraving - Amos Doolittle

Source: One of four engravings made by Amos Doolittle in 1775. Doolittle was an engraver and silversmith from Connecticut who visited the site of the battle and interviewed participants and witnesses. (Figure 3.1.)



FIGURE 3.1

One of four engravings made by Amos Doolittle in 1775

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document created? By whom? For what purpose?
2. Which figures in this image are British? Which figures are American? How can you tell?
3. Look closely at the image. Which side appears to be firing first?

Terrence Blachaux Painting

Source: A painting made by Terrence Blachaux in 1859, which was used in a 19th Century American postage stamp. (Figure 3.2)

**FIGURE 3.2**

Century American postage stamp.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this image created? By whom? For what purpose?
2. According to this image, who fired first?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Which of the first two texts seems more reliable—Mullikan or Barker? Why might they differ?
2. **Corroboration:** Which of the images probably presents a more accurate representation of the Battle of Lexington?
3. Why might the creator of the other image have wanted to portray the battle differently?

3.3 The Declaration of Independence

Declaration of Independence

Source: *The Declaration of Independence is a statement approved by representatives of the 13 colonies. The representatives, called the Continental Congress, met in Philadelphia. The Declaration was adopted on July 4, 1776. (Figure 3.3).*

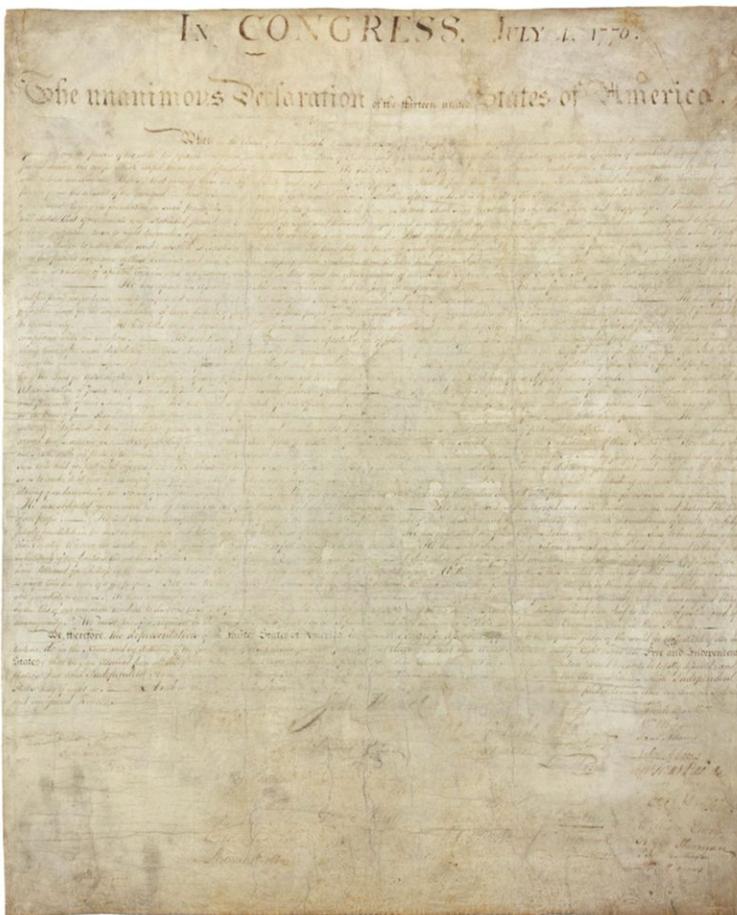


FIGURE 3.3

Declaration of Independence

The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated abuses intended to establish tyranny over the colonies. To prove this, let facts be submitted:

(1 & 2) He has refused to pass, and forbidden his governors to pass, important and necessary laws.

(3 & 4) He has insisted that certain large districts give up their right to representation; in other districts, he has insisted that the legislature meet in uncomfortable, and distant places, so that they won't oppose him.

(5 & 6) He has broken up certain legislatures that opposed him, and refused to let others be elected.

(8 & 9) *He has refused to establish courts of justice, and has made judges dependent on him for their jobs and salaries.*

(10) *He has sent swarms of British officers to harass our people and eat our food.*

(11 & 12) *He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures; he has tried to make the military independent of, and superior to, the local, civil power.*

(14 & 15) *For keeping 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 colonists;*

(16) *For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;*

(17) *For imposing taxes on us without our consent;*

(18) *For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;*

(21) *For abolishing our most valuable laws, and fundamentally changing the forms of our governments;*

(23 & 24) *He is waging war against us; He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.*

(27) *He has started fights among us and has also forced us to live near merciless Indian savages, who only destroy all ages, sexes, and conditions.*

(28) *He has ignored all of our humble efforts to address these problems.*

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. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government.

Vocabulary

self-evident

obvious

endowed

given

inalienable

cannot be taken away

to secure

to get

instituted

established

deriving

getting

consent

agreement

Questions

For questions 1 and 2, restate the indicated paragraph in your own words.

1. We believe in these obvious truths: that all men are created equal, that they....
2. In order to protect these rights, governments are set up. These governments get their powers from....
3. **Close Reading:** Do these grievances seem to be things that upset rich people, or both rich and poor?
4. Do you think these complaints would give people reason to go to war and possibly die? Why or why not?

The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution – Bernard Bailyn

Source: Excerpt from a book by historian Bernard Bailyn. The book, published in 1967, is called The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.

The Declaration of Independence represents the colonists' deepest fears and beliefs. The colonists believed they saw a clear pattern in the events that followed 1763. They believed they saw an evil and deliberate conspiracy to crush liberty in America. They saw evidence of this conspiracy in the Stamp Act and in the Coercive Acts.

They also believed that America was destined to play a special role in history. They believed that America would become "the foundation of a great and mighty empire, the largest the world ever saw to be founded on such principles of liberty and freedom, both civil and religious." The colonists believed that England was trying to enslave them, and that they should use "all the power which God has given them" to protect themselves.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What does Bailyn think the Declaration of Independence represents? What evidence does he use to support his claims?

A People's History of the United States - Howard Zinn

Source: Excerpt from A People's History of the United States, which was published in 1980 by historian Howard Zinn.

It seemed clear to the educated, upper-class colonists that something needed to be done to persuade the lower class to join the revolutionary cause, to direct their anger against England. The solution was to find language inspiring to all classes, specific enough in its listing of grievances to fill people with anger against the British, vague enough to avoid class conflict, and stirring enough to build patriotic feelings.

Everything the Declaration of Independence was about – popular control over governments, the right of rebellion and revolution, fury at political tyranny, economic burdens, and military attacks – was well suited to unite large numbers of colonists and persuade even those who had grievances against one another to turn against England.

Some Americans were clearly omitted from those united by the Declaration of Independence: Indians, black slaves, and women.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What does Zinn think the Declaration of Independence represents? What evidence does he

use to support his claims?

Section Questions:

1. Which historian, Bailyn or Zinn, do you find more convincing? Why?

3.4 Loyalists during the Revolution

Loyalist Letter –Anonymous

Source: The following letter was written by an anonymous Loyalist under the pseudonym 'Rusticus'. Printed in a Pennsylvania newspaper, it lists all the advantages of being British.

My Friends and Countrymen,

Rusticus

Pennsylvania Packet January 2, 1775

This howling wilderness has been converted into a flourishing and populous country. But, is this not due to the way in which the colonies have been treated from the beginning? Isn't our growth a result of Great Britain's willingness to encourage our industry and protect us from foreign countries? If so, surely some degree of gratitude, such as becomes a free and liberal people, would be appropriate.

The peace and security we have already enjoyed under Great Britain's protection, before the mistaken system of taxation took place, must make us look back with regret to those happy days whose loss we mourn, and which every rational man must consider as the golden age of America.

Let us then, my friends and countrymen, be patient and avoid all inflammatory publications that are disrespectful to our most gracious Sovereign. Let us look forward to a happy termination of our present disputes, and a cordial reconciliation with our mother country.

Vocabulary

Flourishing

rapidly growing

Rational

reasonable

Inflammatory

arousing violent feelings

Cordial

warm and friendly

Reconciliation

existing in harmony

Loyalist Letter –Charles Inglis

Source: The following letter was written by Reverend Charles Inglis, an Anglican minister. He was trying to sway colonists not to follow the Patriot leaders who were leading Americans into war.

New York Gazette September 19, 1774

To the Inhabitants of North America:

Brethren, Friends and Fellow Subjects,

In case these people in Massachusetts succeed in convincing other colonies to break from Great Britain, let us calmly consider how prepared we are for such a war. I will not exaggerate, but represent things as they really are.

If we turn our eyes west to our back-country the situation is no better. Every man in Canada is a soldier, and may be commanded whenever government pleases. Then, add the Indians, whose warriors in Canada and the Six Nations amount to at least FIVE THOUSAND. In the case of our civil war with Britain, all these Canadians and Indians would be let loose on our back-settlements, to scalp, ravage and lay everything to waste.

Shall we, then, madly pursue violent measures that will plunge our country into all the horrors of a civil war? Shall we desperately risk our lives, liberties and property and recklessly drench this happy country with the blood of its inhabitants? –Forbid it humanity! Forbid it loyalty, reason and common sense!

A New York Freeholder (landowner)

The naval power of Great Britain is the greatest in the world. Do we have a fleet to look this power in the face and defend our coasts? No—not one ship. The inevitable consequence then must be, that all our seaport towns will be taken and all our trade and commerce destroyed. Have we disciplined troops to encounter those British soldiers that are now in America, or that may be sent here?—Not a single regiment. We will need to leave our farms, our shops, our trades and *begin* to learn the art of war at the very same time we are called to practice it. And EVERYTHING will be at stake.

3.5 Shays's Rebellion

In 1781, the colonies adopted the Articles of Confederation—a document that bound them into the United States of America. Since the colonists were fighting to free themselves from monarchical rule, they created a very weak central government. Under the Articles of Confederation, the federal government could not tax, could not make laws that would be binding in all 13 states, had no executive branch, and could not raise a national army.

Shays's Rebellion was a violent protest held by farmers in western Massachusetts. You will learn more about it by reading the first document below, an excerpt from a recent U.S. History textbook. According to the textbook, Shays's Rebellion made Americans realize that they needed a stronger government. As you read that documents that follow, try to understand the connection between Shays's Rebellion and the Articles of Confederation and then determine whether all Americans drew the same lessons from the Rebellion.

Shays's Rebellion –The American Vision

Source: An account of Shays's Rebellion excerpted from The American Vision, a high school U.S. History textbook published in 2003.

Shay's Rebellion

Angry at the legislature's indifference to their plight, in late August 1786, farmers in western Massachusetts rebelled. They closed down several county courthouses to prevent farm foreclosures, and then marched on the state supreme court. At this point, Daniel Shays, a former captain in the Continental Army who was now a bankrupt farmer, emerged as one of the rebellion's leaders.

People with greater income and social status tended to see the rebellion, as well as inflation and an unstable currency, as signs that the republic itself was at risk. They feared that as state legislatures became more democratic and responsive to poor people, they would weaken property rights and vote to take property from the wealthy. As General Henry Knox, a close aide to George Washington, concluded: "What is to afford our security against the violence of lawless men? Our government must be braced, changed, or altered to secure our lives and property."

These concerns were an important reason why many people, including merchants, artisans, and creditors, began to argue for a stronger central government, and several members of the Confederation Congress called on the states to correct "such defects as may be discovered to exist" in the present government. The confederation's failure to deal with conditions that might lead to rebellion, as well as the problems with trade and diplomacy, only added fuel to their argument.

The property owners' fears seemed justified when a full-scale rebellion, known as **Shays's Rebellion**, erupted in Massachusetts in 1786. The rebellion started when the government of Massachusetts decided to raise taxes instead of issuing paper money to pay off its debts. The taxes fell most heavily on farmers, particularly poor farmers in the western part of the state. As the recession grew worse, many found it impossible to pay their taxes as well as their mortgages and other debts. Those who could not pay often faced the loss of their farms.

In January 1787, Shays and about 1,200 farmers headed to a state arsenal intending to seize weapons before marching on Boston. In response, the governor sent more than 4,000 volunteers under the command of General Benjamin Lincoln to defend the arsenal. Before they arrived, Shays attacked, and the militia defending the arsenal opened fire. Four farmers died in the fighting. The rest scattered. The next day Lincoln's troops arrived and ended the rebellion. The fears the rebellion had raised, however, were harder to disperse.

A Call for Change

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, how was Shays's rebellion related to the Articles of Confederation?
3. **Close Reading:** According to this document, how did people respond to Shays's Rebellion?

Thomas Jefferson on Shays' Rebellion

Source: Thomas Jefferson was in France during Shays' Rebellion, but he wrote a letter to a friend about it.

Paris, November 13, 1787

The British have so long hired their newspapers to repeat every form lies about our being in anarchy, that the world has at length believed them, and we have believed them ourselves. Yet where does this anarchy exist? Where did it ever exist, except in the single instance of Shays' rebellion? God forbid we should ever be 20 years without such a rebellion.

What country before ever existed without a rebellion? And what country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let the people take arms. The remedy is to present them with the facts, pardon and pacify them.

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure. Our Constitutional Convention has [made too much of Shays' rebellion]: and in the spur of the moment [I believe they are over-reacting].

Vocabulary

Anarchy

chaos;confusion and disorder

Remedy

cure

Pardon

forgive

Pacify

calm down

Manure

fertilizer

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What else do you know about his views on a strong central government?
2. **Contextualization:** According to Jefferson, have the colonies been peaceful or chaotic? Support your answer with evidence from the document.
3. **Close Reading:** What does Jefferson mean when he says “The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants?”

Section Questions

1. **Opening Up the Textbook:** How does this document challenge or expand the information you read in the textbook?

3.6 Federalists and Anti-Federalists

In 1787, the states sent delegates to the Constitutional Convention, where they debated and wrote the new Constitution. Two camps developed—*Federalists* who favored a strong central government and *Anti-Federalists*, who favored a weak one. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, were strongest among Northerners, city dwellers, and merchants. The Anti-Federalists, including Thomas Jefferson, included more Southerners and farmers. The documents below show the Federalist and Anti-Federalist positions on Congressional representation and the impact of the new Constitution upon the states.

Federalist Position on Congressional Representation –Alexander Hamilton

Source: *Speech by Alexander Hamilton, June 21, 1788*

The Antifederalists seem to think that a pure democracy would be the perfect government. Experience has shown that this idea is false. The ancient democracies of Greece were characterized by tyranny and run by mobs.

The Antifederalists also argue that a large representation is necessary to understand the interests of the people. This is not true. Why can't someone understand thirty [thousand] people as well as he understands twenty people?

The new constitution does not make a rich man more eligible for an elected office than a poor person. I also think it's dangerous to assume that men become more wicked as they gain wealth and education. Look at all the people in a community, the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant. Which group has higher moral standards? Both groups engage in immoral or wicked behavior. But it would seem to me that the wealthy overall have the advantage. Their immoral behavior often benefits the general wealth of the country, and it's less wicked and sinful.

Question:

1. What type of Congressional representation did the federalists prefer? Why?

Anti-Federalist Position on Representation in Congress –Melancton Smith

Source: *Speech by Melancton Smith, delivered June 21, 1788.*

Representatives should be a true picture of the people. They should understand their circumstances and their troubles. Therefore, the number of representatives should be so large that both rich and poor people will choose to be representatives.

If the number of representatives is small, the position will be too competitive. Ordinary people will not attempt to run for office. A middle-class yeoman (farmer) will never be chosen. So, the government will fall into the hands of the few and the rich. This will be a government of oppression.

The rich consider themselves above the common people, entitled to more respect. They believe they have the right to get anything they want.

Questions:

1. What kind of Congressional representation did the Anti-Federalists favor? Why?
-

Section Question:

1. Which argument do you find more convincing, Federalist or Anti-Federalist?
-

Federalist Position on State/Federal Power –Alexander Hamilton

Source: Speech given by Alexander Hamilton, June 28, 1788

The Antifederalists argue that the federal government should not be allowed to tax the people because it will take everything it can get.

It is unfair to presume that the representatives of the people will be tyrants in the federal government, but not in the state government. If we are convinced that the federal government will pass laws that go against the interests of the people, then we should have no federal government at all. But if we unite, we can accomplish great things.

I must finally say that I resent the implication that I am only interested in rank and power. What reasonable man would establish a system that would reduce his friends and children to slavery and ruin?

No reasonable man would want to establish a government that is unfriendly to the liberty of the people. Do not assume, gentlemen, that the advocates of this Constitution are motivated by their ambition. It is an unjust and uncharitable view.

Question:

1. Did the Federalists want the states or the Federal government to have more power? Why?
-

Antifederalist Position on State/Federal Power - Melancton Smith

Source: Speech given by Melancton Smith on June 27, 1788.

In a country where most people live more than twelve hundred miles from the center, I don't think one [government] body can legislate for the whole. Can such a government design a system of taxation that will be beneficial for everyone?

Won't such a centralized taxation system lead to swarms of officers, infesting our country and taking our money? People will be taxed beyond their means, and their complaints will never reach the government.

It is not possible to find a set of representatives who are familiar with all parts of the continent. Can you find men in Georgia who know what's happening in New Hampshire, who know what taxes will best suit its inhabitants, and how much they can afford? Can the best men make laws for the people they know nothing about?

We have no reason to eliminate our state governments, or think they are incapable of acting wisely. Our state governments should be the guardians of our rights and interests.

Questions:

1. Did the Anti-Federalists want the states or the Federal government to have more power? Why?

Section Question:

1. Whose arguments do you find more convincing, the Federalists or Anti-Federalists?

3.7 Slavery in the Constitution

The Declaration of Independence included a list of grievances against King George. Thomas Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration included a grievance condemning slavery and blaming the King for introducing it into the Americas. That grievance was deleted before the final version was adopted, but the Declaration did include the phrase "all men are created equal."

In spite of this, the Constitution allowed slavery to continue. The documents below include Jefferson's slavery grievance and statements from several framers of the Constitution explaining their decision not to abolish slavery. As you read, think about why slavery persisted in the Constitution, despite the fact that the Declaration declared all men equal.

Slavery Grievance –Jefferson

Source: Thomas Jefferson was born to a slave-owning family and he himself owned slaves. As chairman of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson wrote a paragraph condemning slavery in his first draft of the Declaration. He included this paragraph in his list of complaints against King George III. Before the final version of the Declaration was adopted, this paragraph was deleted.

King George III has waged cruel war against human Nature itself. He has taken away the most sacred rights of Life and Liberty from a distant people who never offended him. He did this by captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere if they did not die a miserable death in their transportation to this new world. These disgraceful practices are the Warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain.

He has stopped every attempt to prohibit or to restrain the disgusting business of slavery. He is determined to keep open a market where men are bought and sold.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this passage written? By whom?
2. **Close Reading:** How does Jefferson describe slavery? Who does he blame for the continuation of the slave trade?
3. **Close Reading:** Why do you think Jefferson italicizes the word 'Christian' at the end of the first paragraph?
4. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time? Why do you think that Thomas Jefferson included a paragraph about slavery when he first wrote the Declaration of Independence? Why do you think it was removed?

Constitutional Convention –Statements on Slavery

Source: Statements from the Constitutional Convention, which was held in Philadelphia in 1787. Representatives from the 13 colonies gathered at the Constitutional Convention to write the new constitution. These are some of their comments about the issue of slavery. The comments of Rutledge, Elseworth, and Williamson are taken from notes made by James Madison. The comment by Franklin is taken from a published speech he delivered in Philadelphia

just before the Constitutional Convention.

Mr. RUTLIDGE: Religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question. The true question at present is whether the Southern states shall or shall not be a part of the Union. If the Northern states think about their interest, they will not oppose the increase of slaves because they will profit by selling the goods that slaves produce.

Mr. ELSEWORTH: Let every state do what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are decisions belonging to the states themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole.

Mr. WILLIAMSON: Southern states could not be members of the Union if the slave trade ended. It is wrong to force any thing that is not absolutely necessary, and which any state must disagree to.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: I agree to this Constitution with all its faults because I think a federal [national] government necessary for us. When you assemble a large group of men, you will inevitably find that they will disagree with each other about their local interests, and their selfish views. We have to accept some of these disagreements in order to build a national government.

Questions:

1. Did each of these men consider slavery to be immoral? What other issues do they believe to be more important than slavery?

A Necessary Evil? –John P. Kaminski

Source: Excerpt from A Necessary Evil?, a book written by historian John Kaminski and published in 1995.

The men at the Constitutional Convention never considered getting rid of slavery. The Revolutionary talk of freedom and equality had been left behind; Americans in general and the men at the Convention in particular wanted a united, well-ordered, and prosperous society in which private property—including slave property—would be secure.

Question:

1. According to Kaminski, why didn't the authors of the Constitution abolish slavery?

The Founding Fathers and Slavery –William Freehling

Source: Excerpt from The Founding Fathers and Slavery, a book written by historian William Freehling and published in 1987.

The Founding Fathers' racism [was] a barrier to antislavery. Here again Jefferson typified the age. Jefferson suspected that blacks had greater sexual appetites and lower intellectual abilities than did whites. These suspicions, together with Jefferson's fear that free blacks and free whites could not live harmoniously in America, made him and others think that the only way Africans could be free was if they were sent back to Africa.

Question:

1. According to Freehling, why didn't the authors of the Constitution abolish slavery?
-

The Law of American Slavery –Kermit Hall

Source: Excerpt from *The Law of American Slavery*, a book written by historian Kermit Hall and published in 1987.

Slavery hung over the Philadelphia Convention, threatening to divide northern and southern delegates. Even though slavery existed by law in some of the northern states in 1787, most people there favored its end. Southerners were more unsure about whether to end slavery, both because they had significantly greater numbers of slaves to deal with and because an end to [slavery] had important economic implications. The result was compromise. The Founding Fathers were more determined to fashion a new nation than they were to bring an end to slavery.

Question:

1. According to Hall, why didn't the authors of the Constitution abolish slavery?
-

Section Question:

1. Based on the information from the primary sources above, which of the historians' explanations do you find most convincing? Why?

3.8 Hamilton versus Jefferson

Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson were two of the most important political leaders of the young United States. Hamilton had been George Washington's aide-de-camp during the Revolutionary War and was a leading advocate for a strong central government during the Constitutional Convention. The *Federalist Papers*, which he wrote along with James Madison and John Jay, are the most extended and influential defense of the U.S. Constitution. Thomas Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence and an influential leader of the other political faction, the Anti-Federalists. Hamilton was a New Yorker and an advocate for merchants and city-dwellers. Jefferson came from rural Virginia and envisioned the United States as a nation of farmers. Despite their disagreements, President Washington brought both men into his cabinet, Hamilton as Secretary of Treasury and Jefferson as Secretary of State. The letters below show one of their squabbles. As you read, note phrases that show each man's personality.

Letter to George Washington - Alexander Hamilton

Source: This letter was written by Alexander Hamilton to President George Washington on September 9, 1792. Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's administration.

Philadelphia,

September 9, 1792

Dear Sir,

Nevertheless, I can truly say that, besides explanations to confidential friends, I never directly or indirectly responded to these attacks, until very recently.

But when I saw that they were determined to oppose the banking system, which would ruin the credit and honor of the Nation, I considered it my duty to resist their outrageous behavior.

Nevertheless, I pledge my honor to you Sir, that if you shall form a plan to reunite the members of your administration, I will faithfully cooperate. And I will not directly or indirectly say or do a thing to cause a fight.

With the most affectionate and faithful attachment, etc.

I have received your letter of August 26th. I sincerely regret that you have been made to feel uneasy in your administration. I will do anything to smooth the path of your administration, and heal the differences, though I consider myself the deeply injured party.

I know that I have been an object of total opposition from Mr. Jefferson. I know from the most authentic sources, that I have been the frequent subject of most unkind whispers by him. I have watched a party form in the Legislature, with the single purpose of opposing me. I believe, from all the evidence I possess, that the *National Gazette* [a newspaper] was instituted by Jefferson for political purposes, with its main purpose to oppose me and my department.

Letter to George Washington - Thomas Jefferson

Source: This letter was written by Thomas Jefferson to President George Washington on September 9, 1792. Jefferson was Secretary of State in Washington's administration.

DEAR SIR,

I have never tried to convince members of the legislature to defeat the plans of the Secretary of Treasury. I value too highly my friendships with them to . I admit that I have, in private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of Treasury. However, this is because his system stands against liberty, and is designed to undermine and demolish the republic.

I would like for these tensions to fade away, and my respect for you is enough motivation to wait to express my thoughts until I am again a private citizen. At that point, however, I reserve the right to write about the issues that concern the republic.

I will not let my retirement be ruined by the lies of a man who history—if history stoops to notice him—will remember a person who worked to destroy liberty. –Still, I repeat that I hope I will not have to write such a thing.

I trust that you know that I am not an enemy to the republic, nor a waster of the country’s money, nor a traitor, as Hamilton has written about me.

In the meantime & ever I am with great and sincere affection & respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

I received your letter of August 23rd. You note that there have been internal tensions in your administration. These tensions are of great concern to me. I wish that you should know the whole truth.

Section Questions:

Use both the Hamilton and Jefferson letters to answer the following questions.

Using *BOTH* letters by Hamilton and Jefferson, answer the questions below:

1. **Sourcing:** When were these letters written? What do you predict they will say?
2. **Context:** Why are both Hamilton and Jefferson writing to George Washington? Based on both of these letters, what seems to have been happening in George Washington’s administration? How can you tell?
3. **Close reading:** Which letter is angrier? What specific words and phrases support your claim?
4. What do the letters indicate about each man’s personality? What specific quotations support your claim?
5. **Corroboration:** Who do you believe “started” the fight? Based on what they wrote, whom do you trust more: Hamilton or Jefferson? Why?

3.9 The Louisiana Purchase

In 1803, the United States purchased an area of land from France called Louisiana. The land stretched from the Mississippi river to present-day Montana and covered some 828,000 square miles. France had originally explored the land, but ceded it to Spain in 1763. In 1801, with Napoleon's France conquering much of Europe, Spain returned Louisiana to France. The United States felt threatened by the possibility of a Napoleonic colony in North America. President Jefferson sent diplomats to France to attempt to buy New Orleans and West Florida. In need of money to finance its other wars, France sold the whole of Louisiana to the U.S. for \$15 million dollars.

The Louisiana Purchase doubled the land area of the United States, but not all Americans supported Jefferson's decision. Read the following documents to learn why Jefferson's Federalist rivals opposed the Louisiana Purchase.

“Purchase of Louisiana” –Alexander Hamilton

Source: “Purchase of Louisiana” an editorial written by Alexander Hamilton for the *New York Evening Post*, July 1803.

The purchase of New Orleans is essential to the peace and prosperity of our Western country, and opens a free and valuable market to our commercial states. This purchase will probably make it seem like Mr. Jefferson is brilliant. Any man, however, who possesses any amount of intelligence, will easily see that the purchase is the result of lucky coincidences and unexpected circumstances and not the result of any wise or thoughtful actions on the part of Jefferson's administration. As to the vast region west of the Mississippi, it is a wilderness with numerous tribes of Indians. And when we consider the present territory of the United States, and that not one-sixteenth is yet under occupation, the possibility that this new purchase will be a place of actual settlement seems unlikely. If our own citizens do eventually settle this new land, it would weaken our country and central government. On the whole, we can honestly say that this purchase is at best extremely problematic.

Question:

1. **Close Reading:** Based on this document, why did Federalists oppose the Louisiana Purchase?

Letters –Rufus King and Thomas Pickering

Source: The following two letters are written between two Federalists. Rufus King was a Senator from New York and Thomas Pickering was a Senator from Massachusetts.

Rufus King to Timothy Pickering, November 4, 1803

According to the Constitution, Congress may admit new states. But can the President sign treaties forcing Congress to do so? According to the Louisiana Treaty, the territory must be formed into states and admitted into the Union. Will Congress be allowed to set any rules for their admission? Since slavery is legal and exists in Louisiana, and the treaty states that we must protect the property of the inhabitants, won't we be forced to admit the new states as slave states? Doing so will worsen the problem of unequal representation from slave and free states.

Timothy Pickering to Rufus King. March 4, 1804

I am disgusted with the men who now rule us. The coward at the head [Jefferson] is like a French revolutionary. While he talks about humanity, he enjoys the utter destruction of his opponents. We have too long witnessed his general wickedness—his cruel removals of faithful officers and the substitution of corruption and immorality for honesty.

Question:

1. **Close Reading:** Based on these documents, why did Federalists oppose the Louisiana Purchase?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Where do the documents agree? Where do they conflict?
2. **Corroboration:** Based on all of the documents, what can you say about why the Federalists opposed the Louisiana Purchase?

3.10 Lewis and Clark

After the purchase of the Louisiana from the French, President Thomas Jefferson dispatched a team of explorers, led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, to explore the newly acquired territory. Lewis, Clark, and the rest of their team left in 1803, returned in 1805, and kept extensive records of their journey. Read the documents below to determine how the party interacted with the Native Americans they met.

Letter to Meriwether Lewis –Thomas Jefferson

Source: The passage below is from a letter written by Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis on June 20, 1803. The letter gives detailed instructions on how Lewis and Clark should treat Native Americans.

To Captain Meriwether Lewis,

In all your interactions with the natives, treat them in the most friendly and peaceful manner. Assure them that the purpose of your journey is innocent, that the U.S. wishes to be neighborly, friendly, and useful to them. Tell them we wish to trade peacefully with them, and find out what articles would be most desirable for both of us to trade.

If a few of their chiefs wish to visit us, arrange such a visit for them. If any of them wish to have some of their young people schooled by us and taught things that might be useful to them, we will receive, instruct and take care of them. . . . Carry with you some smallpox medicine and explain to them how to use it and encourage them to use it, especially in the winter.

Thomas Jefferson

Pr. U.S. of America

Questions:

1. How did Jefferson want Lewis and Clark to treat the Native Americans they meet?

Diary Entries of William Clark

Source: All the men on the journey kept diaries about their experiences. Below are two entries from William Clark's diary. The first describes the ritual of the "Buffalo Dance" among the Mandan Indians. The second entry describes setting up camp near The Dalles Indians in present day Oregon.

January 5, 1805

The old men arrange themselves in a circle... the young men have their wives back of the circle... the Girl then takes the Old man (who very often can scarcely walk) and leads him to a Convenient place for the business... We sent a man to this Buffalo Dance last night, and they gave him 4 girls.

November 21, 1805

An old woman & wife to a Chief came and made a Camp near ours. She brought with her 6 young women I believe

for the purpose of gratifying the passions of the men of our party.

Questions:

1. According to Clark, what happens at the Buffalo Dance?
2. According to these diary entries, what is one way that Lewis and Clark's men interacted with the Native American tribes they met?

Diary Entries on Sacagawea - William Clark

Source: Many people have heard the name of Sacagawea, the Native American woman who (with her husband and newborn baby) accompanied Lewis and Clark on their journey and served as a translator. Below are Clark's diary entries about Sacagawea.

The tribe surrounded us in the lodge. When the chief arrived, we gave him a small medal and spoke to the Indians through Sacagawea. We informed them who we were, where we were came from, and our friendly intentions towards them, which pleased them very much.

We said goodbye to our interpreters (Shabono and his wife, Sacagawea), who accompanied us on our route to the Pacific Ocean.

May 11, 1806

August 17, 1806

I offered to take his little son, a beautiful, promising child who is 19 months old. They agreed and said that in one year the boy would be sufficiently old to leave his mother and he would then take him to me. I agreed to raise the child as my own, in such a manner as I thought proper.

Questions:

1. Based on these two passages, how would you describe the relationship between Sacagawea's family and Lewis and Clark?

3.11 References

1. . <http://images.nypl.org/?id=54426&t=w> . Public Domain
2. . . Public Domain
3. . [The Declaration of Independence](#) . Public Domain

CHAPTER

4

Manifest Destiny and the Slavery Question

Chapter Outline

- 4.1 TRAIL OF TEARS
 - 4.2 NAT TURNER'S REBELLION
 - 4.3 TEXAS INDEPENDENCE
 - 4.4 MANIFEST DESTINY
 - 4.5 IRISH IMMIGRATION
 - 4.6 JOHN BROWN
 - 4.7 REFERENCES
-

4.1 Trail of Tears

As Americans settled new land in the southeast, politicians discussed what to do with the Indian tribes they encountered. Some advocated *civilizing* them—converting them to Christianity and a European-American way of life. Others, including President Andrew Jackson, favored forcible *removal* of the Indians to lands in the west. Removal won out.

Some tribes signed treaties to leave, others fought and were defeated. The Cherokee tribe, however, was removed by an illegitimate treaty. In 1833 several Cherokee, who did not represent the tribe as a whole, signed the Treaty of New Echota, agreeing to vacate the land. Other members of the tribe signed a petition protesting that they had not authorized the men to negotiate—but Congress ignored their requests. By 1838 only 2,000 Cherokee had left and 16,000 remained. The U.S. government sent in 7,000 troops to force the Cherokee to walk to their new territory in Oklahoma. During this march, which became known as the Trail of Tears, 4,000 Cherokee died of cold, starvation, and disease.

Letter - Elias Boudinot

Source: The following letter was written in 1837 by Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee who supported the Treaty of New Echota. The letter is to John Ross, the leader of the opposition. For many years, Boudinot opposed Georgia's attempt to take Cherokee land. But by 1833, he decided that it would be best to sign a treaty supporting removal.

Look at our people! They are wretched! Look, my dear sir, around you, and see the progress that vice and immorality have already made! See the misery!

If the darker picture which I have described here is a true one, can we see a brighter possibility ahead? In another country, and under other circumstances, there is a *better* prospect. Removal, then, is the only remedy, the only *practical* remedy. Our people may finally rise from their very ashes, to become prosperous and happy, and a credit to our race. I would say to my countrymen, fly from your life here that is destroying our nation.

What is *your* (John Ross) plan of relief? It is dark and gloomy beyond description. You want the Cherokee to live according the laws of Georgia, no matter how unfair they are? Instead of fix the evil, you would tie our people down in the chains of slavery. The final destiny of our race, under such circumstances is too revolting to think of. Take my word, it is the sure end of our race if you succeed in preventing the removal of your people. There will come a time when there will be few of us left as reminders of this brave and noble race. May God protect us from such a destiny.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What was life like for the Cherokee in Georgia, according to Boudinot?
2. **Close Reading:** What does Boudinot hope will happen if the Cherokees move west?
3. **Close Reading:** Why does Boudinot think John Ross is wrong about opposing the Treaty of New Echota?

State of the Union speech –Andrew Jackson

Source: Andrew Jackson, *State of the Union speech*. December 6, 1830.

It gives me great pleasure to announce to Congress that the Government's benevolent policy of Indian removal has almost been achieved.

The United States will pay to send the natives to a land where they may live longer and possibly survive as a people. No doubt it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but how is this different from what our ancestors did and what our children are doing now?

Can it be cruel when this Government offers to purchase the Indian's land, give him new and extensive territory, pay the expense of his removal, and support him for the first year in his new home? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of moving West under such conditions!

The policy of the Government towards the red man is not only liberal, but generous. The Indian is unwilling to follow the laws of the States and mingle with the population. To save him from utter annihilation, the Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement.

We have wept over the fate of the natives of this country, as one by one many tribes have disappeared from the earth. However, we must accept this the way we accept when an older generation dies and makes room for the younger... We would not want to see this continent restored to the condition in which our forefathers found it. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and occupied by a few thousand savages to our great Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, decorated with art and industry, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** Why would he say, "We have wept over the fate of the natives of this country," if he supports Indian Removal?
2. **Close Reading:** Why does Jackson think the United States was better in 1830 than in 1609?
3. **Close Reading:** Why does Jackson think his policy is kind and generous? Do you agree?

4.2 Nat Turner's Rebellion

In 1831, a Virginia slave named Nat Turner assembled an “army” of slaves and led a rebellion that killed 55 white men, women, and children. Turner was tried, convicted, and hanged. Read the documents below and try to determine what kind of person Nat Turner was—a hero or a lunatic?

Confessions of Nat Turner –Thomas R. Gray

Source: These confessions were narrated to lawyer Thomas R. Gray in prison where Nat Turner was held after his capture on October 30, 1831. His confessions were published on November 5, 1831 for his trial.(Figure 4.1).

The Confessions of Nat Turner: The Leader of the Late Insurrections in Southampton, Va. As Fully and Voluntarily Made to Thomas R. Gray, in the Prison Where He Was Confined, Nov. 5, 1831, For His Trial.

[To the Public]

Thomas R. Gray: Public curiosity has tried to understand Nat Turner's motives behind his diabolical actions.... Everything connected with the rebellion was wrapped in mystery, until Nat Turner the leader of the violent and savage band, was captured.... I was determined to end public curiosity and write down Nat Turner's statements, and publish them, with little or no change, from his own words.

Nathaniel Turner:

As I child, I knew I surely would be a prophet, as the Lord had showed me visions of things that had happened before my birth. My father and mother said I was intended for some great purpose. I was a child of uncommon intelligence and I knew I was never meant to be a slave. To a mind like mine, restless, curious and observant of every thing that was happening, religion became the subject that occupied all of my thoughts.

Thomas R. Gray: Nat Turner is a complete fanatic. The calm way he spoke of his late actions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him. I looked on him and my blood curdled in my veins.

Vocabulary

diabolical

evil, like the devil

prophet

a person God chose to protect and lead people

fanatic

intense dedication to an idea

fiend

monster, demon, devil

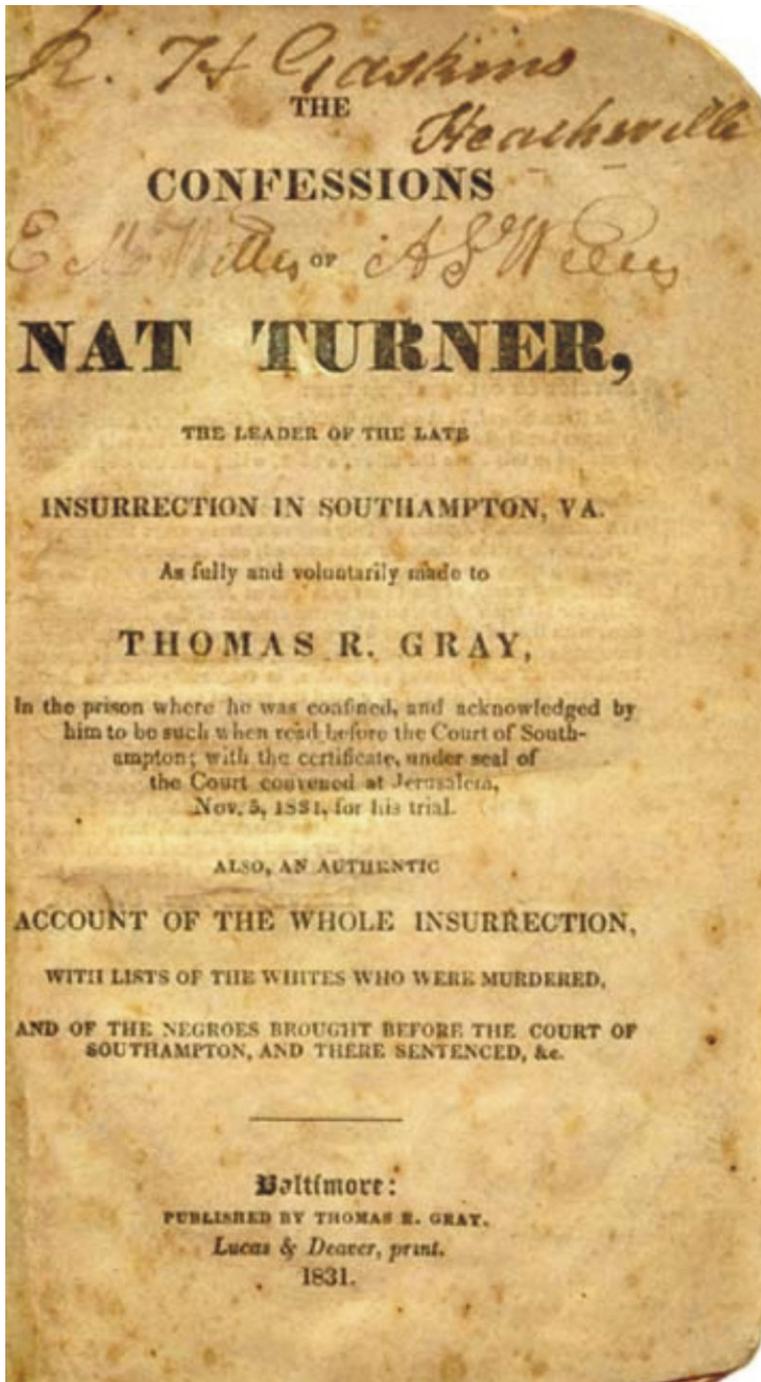


FIGURE 4.1

Cover Page of the Confessions of Nat Turner

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When and where was it published? What kind of publication is it?
2. **Close Reading:** Describe Nat Turner according to himself.
3. **Close Reading:** Describe Nat Turner according to Gray's introduction and conclusion notes.
4. **Corroboration:** Is there a contradiction between Turner and Gray's description? How and why?
5. **Sourcing:** Is this a trustworthy source? Does this account of Turner's character seem believable? Explain.

“The Southampton Tragedy” –The Richmond Enquirer

Source: Editor. “The Southampton Tragedy.” *The Richmond Enquirer*. Virginia, 27 September 1831.

I am led to believe, from all that I can learn, that Nat Turner has been planning his mischief and disruption for quite some time. After pretending to be inspired to rebel by God, he made his announcement of rebellion to the Blacks. He has used every means in his power, to gain control over the minds of the slaves. A dreamer of dreams and a would-be Prophet, he used all the arts familiar to such pretenders, to trick, confuse and overwhelm the slave’s minds.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When and where was it published? What kind of publication is it?
2. **Sourcing:** Who is the author of his article speaking to? How do you know this? How does his audience affect what he says and how he says it?
3. **Contextualization/Close Reading:** According to the author of this article, what kind of person is Nat Turner? Think about when this article was written: How might its publication date affect how the author represents Turner? Refer to your timeline if necessary.
4. **Sourcing:** Is this a trustworthy source? Explain.

An Address to the Slaves of the United States –Garnet

Source: Speech delivered by Henry Highland Garnet at the National Negro Convention of 1843 held in Buffalo, New York. The convention drew 70 delegates including leaders like Frederick Douglass.

You had far better all die—*die immediately*, than live slaves, and throw your misery upon your children. However much you and all of us may desire it, there is not much hope of freedom without the shedding of blood. If you must bleed, let it all come at once—rather *die freemen, than live to be slaves*.

The patriotic Nathaniel Turner was driven to desperation by the wrong and injustice of slavery. By force, his name has been recorded on the list of dishonor, but future generations will remember him among the noble and brave.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? How long after the Turner rebellion was this document written?
2. **Sourcing:** Who is the author of this document speaking to? How does his audience affect what he says and how he says it?
3. **Close Reading:** According to the author of this speech, what kind of person is Nat Turner? What proof does he provide to illustrate that Turner is this type of person?
4. **Contextualization:** Why does this author think of Nat Turner in this way? Think about when this article was written: How does the author’s historical context shape how he thinks of and represents Turner?
5. **Sourcing:** Is this interpretation of Turner trustworthy? Why or why not?

4.3 Texas Independence

Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1821 and adopted a Constitution in 1824. Through the 1820s and 1830s, Americans moved into the Mexican territory promising to uphold the Mexican Constitution. In 1833 General Santa Anna took control of the Mexican government and imposed a new constitution. A war followed, with General Santa Anna's supporters fighting against the supporters of the old constitution and the Texan immigrants from the United States. In 1836, the American Texans went a step farther and declared independence from Mexico. The Texans won the war and became an independent nation, which was soon admitted into the U.S.A. as the 28th state. Read the documents below and try to determine why Texans declared their independence from Mexico.

Letter –E.W. Ripley

Source: The letter below is written by an American to the Mexican government in 1823, asking for permission to settle in Mexico.

Dear Sir,

A number of men of good character wish to move onto Mexican territory, south of the Colorado. Their object is to form a farming colony. This piece of land is now inhabited by Indians and such a colony would check their attacks. These men promise to learn your language and follow your laws. They will defend your territory. These Americans would move immediately with their families if they can obtain a grant to settle the land. I think they would be of great service to yourself individually and to the nation of Mexico. I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

E.W.Ripley

New Orleans, August 1823

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

Letter –Rafael Manchola

Source: The letter below was written by Rafael Antonio Manchola, a Tejano (Mexican living in Texas). He wrote this letter about the Anglo-Americans in 1826 to a military commander.

We cannot trust the Anglo-American colonists because they are continually demonstrating that they refuse to follow our laws, unless it is convenient for them. We will have many problems if we do not stop their disrespectful behavior by stationing soldiers and a Mexican judge in each settlement. They have been using their own colonists as judges

and practicing their own laws, forgetting that they swore to obey the laws of Mexico.

Questions:

- 1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
- 2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
- 3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

Texas Declaration of Independence

Source: The Texas Declaration of Independence, issued March 2, 1836. The image shown below is a printed version published shortly after the handwritten version was signed. (Figure 4.2).

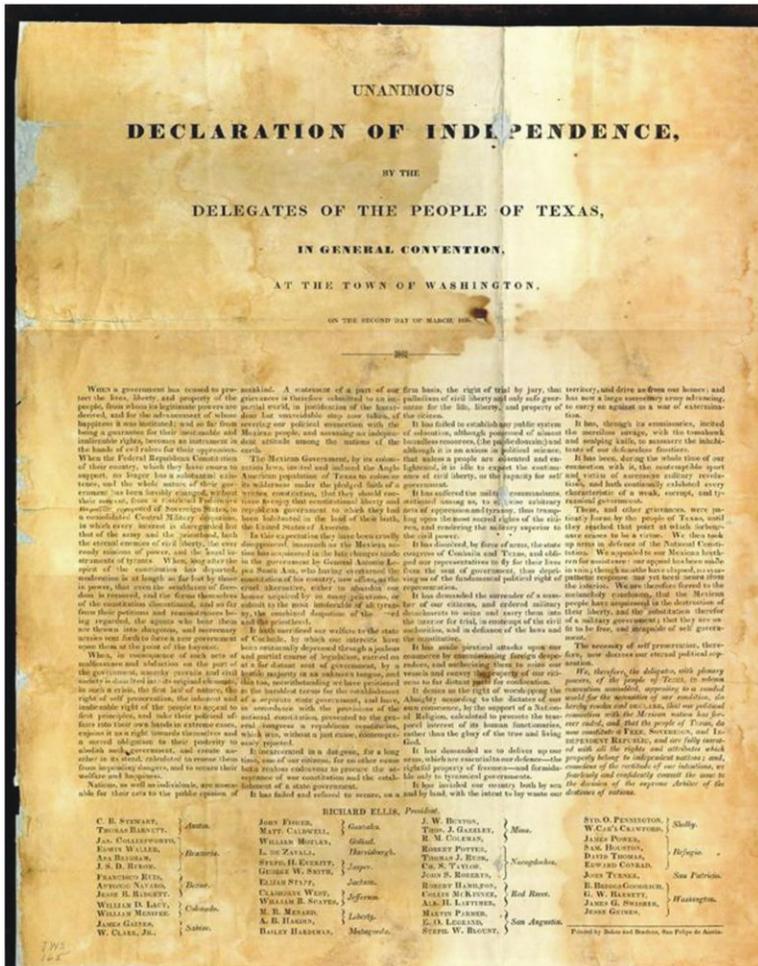


FIGURE 4.2
Printed broadside version of the Texas Declaration of Independence

When a government has ceased to protect the lives, liberty and property of the people... it is the right of the people to abolish such government, and create another one that will secure their future welfare and happiness.

General Santa Anna, has overturned the constitution of his country, and now offers us the cruel option either to abandon our homes, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny.

The Mexican government has failed to establish any public system of education. . .

It denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty as we want to. . .

It has demanded that we give up our arms, which are essential to our defense. . .

It has invaded our country both by sea and by land, with intent to lay waste our territory, and drive us from our homes. . .

It has encouraged the merciless Indians to massacre the inhabitants of our defenseless frontiers. . . .

We, therefore, do hereby resolve and declare, that our political connection with the Mexican nation has forever ended, and that the people of Texas do now constitute a free, Sovereign, and independent republic. . .

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

Alamo Defenders' Burial Speech - Juan Seguin

Source: Colonel Juan Seguin's Alamo Defenders' Burial Speech, April 4, 1837. Seguin was a Mexican who supported the Texas Revolution and fought with the American settlers against General Santa Anna. The speech below was given at the burial of the men who died at the Alamo.

Compañeros de armas: Estos restos que hemos tenido el honor de conducir en nuestros hombros son los de los valientes héroes que murieron en el Alamo. Sí mis amigos, ellos prefirieron morir mil veces a servir el yugo del tirano. Que ejemplo tan brillante, digno de anotarse en las páginas de la historia. El genio de la libertad parece estar viendo en su elevado trono de donde con semblante halagueño nos señala diciendo: "Ahí tenéis a vuestros hermanos, Travis, Bowie, Crockett y otros varios a quienes su valor coloca en el número de mis héroes.—Yo os pido a que poniendo por testigo a los venerables restos de nuestros dignos compañeros digamos al mundo entero. Texas será libre, independiente o pereceremos con gloria en los combates.

"Companions in Arms!! These remains which we have the honor of carrying on our shoulders are those of the brave heroes who died in the Alamo. Yes, my friends, they preferred to die a thousand times rather than submit themselves to the tyrant's yoke. Yes, soldiers and fellow citizens, these are the worthy beings who, by the twists of fate, delivered their bodies to the ferocity of their enemies. I invite you to declare to the entire world, "Texas shall be free and independent or we shall perish in glorious combat."

Original Spanish:

English Translation:

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

The War In Texas - Benjamin Lundy

Source: Benjamin Lundy became active in the antislavery movement in the 1820s. He organized abolitionist societies, lectured extensively, and contributed to many abolitionist publications. He wrote this pamphlet called *The War in Texas* in 1836. Lundy argued that the Texas revolution was a slaveholders' plot to take Texas from Mexico and to add slave territory to the United States. (Figure 4.3).

THE
WAR IN TEXAS;
 A
 REVIEW OF FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES,
 SHOWING THAT
 THIS CONTEST IS THE RESULT
 OF A LONG PREMEDITATED
CRUSADE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT,
 SET ON FOOT BY
Slaveholders, Land Speculators, &c.
 WITH THE VIEW OF
 RE-ESTABLISHING, EXTENDING, AND PERPETUATING
 THE SYSTEM OF
SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE
 IN THE
 REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.
 BY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.
 PHILADELPHIA:
 PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
 BY MERRIHEW AND GUNN,
 No. 7, Carters' Alley.
 1836.

FIGURE 4.3

We have been asked to believe that the inhabitants of Texas have been fighting to maintain the sacred principles of Liberty, and the natural, inalienable Rights of Man:—whereas, their motives have been exactly the opposite. The immediate cause and main goal of this war—led by the slaveholders of this country, (with land speculators and

slave traders)—has been to grab the large and valuable territory of Texas from the Mexican Republic, in order to re-establish the SYSTEM OF SLAVERY; to open a vast and profitable SLAVEMARKET; and, ultimately, to annex it to the United States.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

Section Question:

1. **Corroboration:** Based on all five documents, do you think that the Texans were justified in declaring independence?

4.4 Manifest Destiny

Even while the United States were crowded along the Atlantic coast, Americans developed the idea that the nation was destined to stretch across the continent. This idea was called 'Manifest Destiny.' Examine the images below, read the two texts by Joseph O'Sullivan, and try to determine why many Americans supported Westward expansion.

Map of the United States with the contiguous British & Spanish Possessions by John Melish (1816)

Source: A map of the United States made by John Melish in 1816. According to the David Rumsey Collection, this is "the first large scale detailed map made in the U.S. that showed the entire country from the Atlantic to the Pacific."(Figure below).



FIGURE 4.4

A map of the United States made by John Melish in 1816

Map of the United States –Ormando Gray (1872)

Source: Map of the United States made by Ormando Willis Gray, published in Philadelphia in 1872. (Figure 4.5).

Section Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was Melish's map made?
2. **Contextualization:** What territory was part of the United States at that point?
3. **Close Reading:** Compare Melish's map to Gray's 1872 map. What land did Melish include, even though it was not part of the United States?

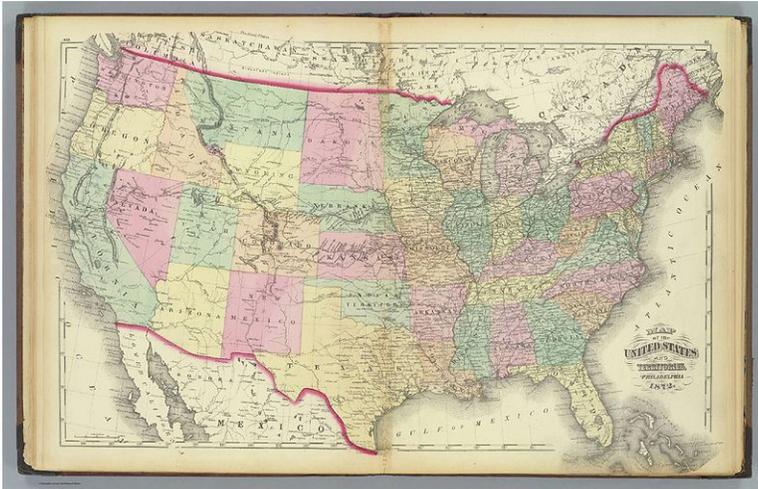


FIGURE 4.5

Map of the United States made by Or-
mando Willis Gray

4. Why would Melish draw a map that included land that was not yet a part of the United States in 1816?

American Progress –John Gast

Source: John Gast painted *American Progress* 1872 to represent the spirit of Manifest Destiny. This image is of a chromolithograph made around 1873 by George A. Croffut, based on Gast's painting.(Figure 4.6).



FIGURE 4.6

This image is of a chromolithograph made
around 1873 by George A. Croffut

Questions:

1. What do you think the woman in this painting represents? How is this symbolized in the painting?

The Great Nation of Futurity –John O’Sullivan

Source: An article by John O’Sullivan called “The Great Nation of Futurity,” from The United States Democratic Review in 1839. John O’Sullivan was a writer and editor of a well-known newspaper around the time of the Mexican-American war. Most people give him the credit for coining the term “Manifest Destiny.” As you read the quotes below, try to figure out what he thinks of America.

Our national birth (and the Declaration of Independence) was the beginning of a new history, which separates us from the past and connects us only with the future. . . .

We are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Our future history will be to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man – the undeniable truth and goodness of God. America has been chosen for this mission among all the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth. Her high example shall put an end to the tyranny of kings, and carry the happy news of peace and good will to millions who now endure an existence hardly better than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of the future?

Vocabulary

Enfranchisement

the right to vote

Tyranny

cruel and oppressive government

Endure

suffer through

Questions:

1. What does John O’Sullivan think America stands for?
2. What, according to John O’Sullivan, is America’s mission?

Annexation –John O’Sullivan

Source: An article by John O’Sullivan, “Annexation,” from the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 1845.

It is time now for all opposition to annexation of Texas to stop...

Texas is now ours. She is no longer to us a mere geographical space. She is no longer to us a mere country on the map....

The time has come for everyone to stop treating Texas as an alien, and to stop thwarting our policy and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.

Vocabulary

Thwarting

opposing

Hampering

slowing down

Allotted

given

Providence

God

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What do you think John O’Sullivan means by the following phrase: “*our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions*”?

Section Question:

1. Based on all of these documents, how did Americans feel about expanding westward?

4.5 Irish Immigration

In the 1840s, a disease killed most of the potato plants in Ireland, leaving the Irish without enough food to eat. To escape the so-called Irish Potato Famine, many Irish immigrated to the United States. Once there, however, they faced strong anti-Irish discrimination. The Irish had long been oppressed and looked down on by neighboring Britain, and many Americans were of British ancestry. Most Irish were Catholic, and most Americans were Protestants with a strong anti-Catholic prejudice. Most Irish were poor and entered American life at the bottom of the social ladder. Today, it seems obvious that people of Irish descent are racially 'white,' but this was not so clear to the people of the 1840s. Examine the following documents and try to determine whether the Irish were considered 'white' in the 19th century.

Black vs. Irish - Thomas Nast

Source: A cartoon drawn by Thomas Nast for the cover of *Harper's Weekly*, December 7, 1876.(Figure 4.7).

Questions:

1. The man in the "white" scale is supposed to be Irish. What is the message of this cartoon?
2. Thomas Nast, the cartoonist, drew for *Harper's Weekly*. Based on this cartoon, what sort of people do you think read *Harper's Weekly*?

Cartoon in a Newspaper, 1883

Source: Political cartoon published in *Puck* humor magazine on May 9, 1883.(Figure 4.8).

Questions:

1. The angry woman in the cartoon is supposed to be Irish. Describe what she looks like and how she's acting.
2. Based on this cartoon, what job do you think many Irish women had in the 1880s? What were some stereotypes about Irish women?

Excerpt from *The Know-Nothing and American Crusader* –July 29, 1854

Source: An item that ran in *The Know-Nothing and American Crusader*, a nativist, anti-Catholic newspaper published in Boston.

Providence, July 22, 1854

—UNCLE SAM

THINGS WHICH ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND ALL TRUE ROMAN CATHOLICS HATE

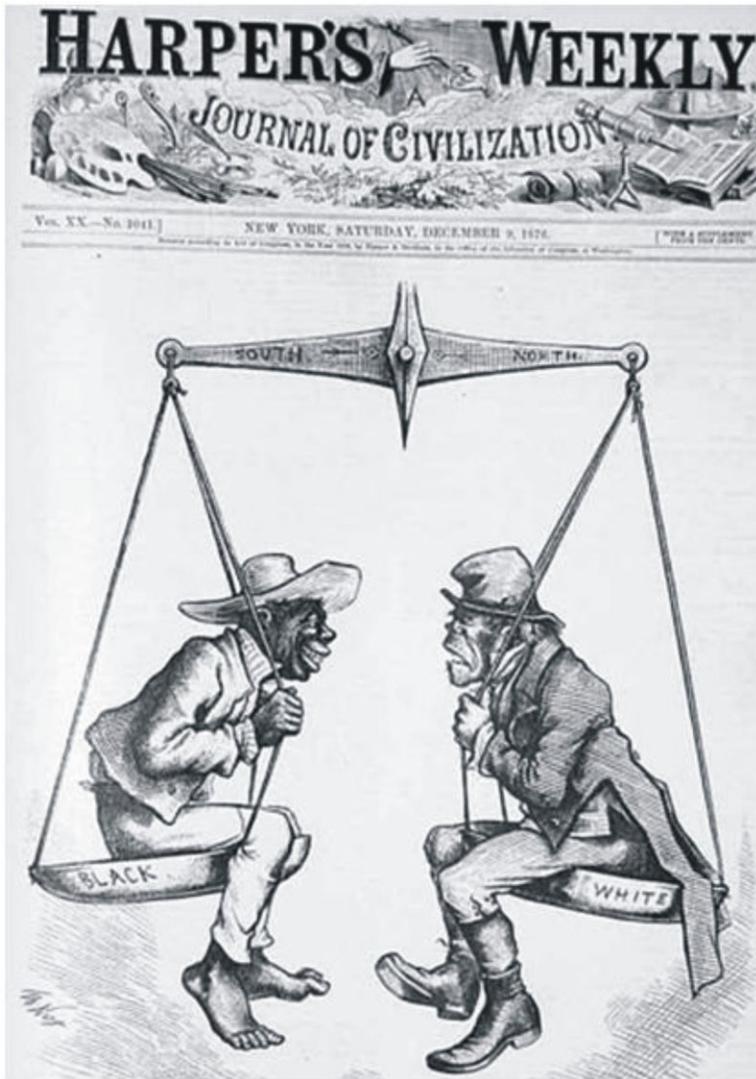


FIGURE 4.7

1. They HATE our Republic, and are trying to overthrow it.
2. They HATE our *Flag*, and they grossly insulting it.
3. They HATE the liberty of the Press.
4. They HATE the liberty of speech.
5. They HATE our Public School system.
6. They HATE the Bible, and would blot it out of existence *if* they could!
7. They HATE Protestants, and are sworn to *exterminate* them from our country and the earth.
8. They HATE all *rulers* that do not swear allegiance to the Pope of Rome.
9. They HATE to be *ruled* by *Americans*, and say 'WE WILL NOT BE RULED BY THEM!'
10. They HATE to support their own paupers and they are left to be supported by the tax paying Americans.
11. They HATE, above all, the '*Know-Nothings*', who are determined to rid this country from their cursed power.

Questions:

1. Why did the 'Know-Nothings' hate the Catholics so much?
2. According to the 'Know-Nothings' could the Irish ever be true Americans? Why or why not?



FIGURE 4.8

THE IRISH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THAT WE ARE ALL FAMILIAR WITH.

New York Times Advertisement, 1854

Source: An advertisement that ran in the *New York Times* on March 25, 1854. (Figure 4.9).

GROCERY CART AND HARNESS FOR SALE

They are in good condition.

CLUFF & TUNIS, No. 270 Washington St., corner of Myrtle Ave., Brooklyn.

Modified Transcript:

W. COLE, No. 8 Ann-st.

GROCERY CART AND HARNESS FOR SALE—In good order, and one chestnut horse, 8 years old excellent saddle horse; can be ridden by a lady. Also, young man wanted, from 16 to 18 years of age, able to work. No Irish need apply. **CLUFF & TUNIS, No. 270 W. Kingston-st., corner of Myrtle-av., Brooklyn.**

BILLIARD TABLE FOR SALE—Of Leona manufacture; been used about nine months. Also, fixtures of a Bar-room. Inquire on the premises. No.

FIGURE 4.9

Jensen, Richard. "No Irish Need Apply: A Myth of Victimization." *Journal of Social History* 36.2 (2002) 405-429

One chestnut horse, 3 years old, is also for sale. Excellent saddle horse; can be ridden by a lady.

Also, young man wanted, from 16 to 13 years of age, able to work. No Irish need apply.

Questions:

1. What does the advertisement mean when it says: "No Irish need apply?"
2. Based on this advertisement, how do you think the Irish were treated when they looked for jobs? Why might this be the case?

Wages of Whiteness –David Roediger

Source: Excerpt from the book *Wages of Whiteness*, written by historian David R. Roediger and published in 1991.

Irish-Americans were sometimes used as substitutes for slaves in the South. Gangs of Irish immigrants worked ditching and draining plantations, building levees and sometimes clearing land because of the danger of death to valuable slave property (and, as one account put it, to mules) in such work. One Southerner explained the use of Irish labor as follows: 'n—s are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies (Irish) are knocked overboard... nobody loses anything.'

Irish youths were likely to be indentured servants from the early 1800s through the Civil War. In that position they were sometimes called 'Irish slaves' and more frequently 'bound boys.' In New York City, Irish women made up the largest group of prostitutes, or as they were sometimes called in the 1850s, 'white slaves.'

Questions:

1. Why were Irish used to do difficult labor in the South?
2. Based on this document, do you think the Irish were treated like slaves?

4.6 John Brown

As the movement to abolish slavery grew, Southern states became concerned that the addition of new free states would put slaveholding states in a minority and might ultimately lead to the abolition of slavery. In the Compromise of 1850, the people of the Nebraska Territory were given the right to vote on whether or not slavery would be legal. Advocates of both sides moved to Nebraska in order to vote, and violence erupted between them. In response to an episode of pro-slavery violence, abolitionist John Brown killed 5 pro-slavery settlers in the Pottowatomie Creek Massacre.

He then went to Virginia, where he plotted the seizure of an arsenal of weapons, which he planned to distribute to slave to help them rebel. Before they could carry out his plan, John Brown and his men were arrested, tried, and hanged. This event energized abolitionists and horrified Southerners, and helped lead the United States down the path to war.

President Lincoln called John Brown a “misguided fanatic.” Read the documents below and decide whether you agree with Lincoln. Was Brown a fanatic or a hero?

Speech to the Court –John Brown

Source: John Brown’s last speech, given to the court at his trial. November 2, 1859.

I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted – the design on my part to free the slaves. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection (revolt).

I have another objection: had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends—either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class— it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

I believe that to have done what I have done—on behalf of God’s despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life to further the end of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust acts— I say: so let it be done!

Vocabulary

Forfeit

give up

Questions:

1. **Contextualization:** John Brown delivered this speech on the last day of his trial, after hearing the jury pronounce him ‘guilty.’ He knew he would be sentenced to die. Given that context, what does this speech say about him as a person?

2. Based on this document, do you think John Brown was a “misguided fanatic?” Why or why not?

Last Meeting Between Frederick Douglass and John Brown

Source: In this passage, Frederick Douglass describes his last meeting with John Brown, about three weeks before the raid on Harper’s Ferry. This account was published by Douglass in 1881 in The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass.

About three weeks before the raid on Harper’s Ferry, John Brown wrote to me, informing me that before going forward he wanted to see me...

We sat down and talked over his plan to take over Harper’s Ferry. I at once opposed the measure with all the arguments at my command. To me such a measure would be fatal to the work of the helping slaves escape [Underground Railroad]. It would be an attack upon the Federal government, and would turn the whole country against us.

Captain John Brown did not at all object to upsetting the nation; it seemed to him that something shocking was just what the nation needed. He thought that the capture of Harper’s Ferry would serve as notice to the slaves that their friends had come, and as a trumpet to rally them.

Of course I was no match for him, but I told him, and these were my words, that all his arguments, and all his descriptions of the place, convinced me that he was going into a perfect steel-trap, and that once in he would never get out alive.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What are two reasons why Douglass opposed John Brown’s plan to raid Harper’s Ferry?
2. **Sourcing:** Douglass’ account is written in 1881, twenty-two years after the raid. Do you trust his account? Why or why not?
3. Based on this document, do you think John Brown was a “misguided fanatic?” Why or why not?

Letter to John Brown in Prison

Source: The letter below was written to John Brown while he was in prison, awaiting trial.

Wayland [Mass.], October 26, 1859.

Massachusetts, Oct 26th, 1859

Dear Capt Brown,

You do not know me, but I have supported your struggles in Kansas, when that Territory became the battle-ground between slavery and freedom.

Believing in peace, I cannot sympathize with the method you chose to advance the cause of freedom. But I honor your generous intentions, I admire your courage, moral and physical, I respect you for your humanity, I sympathize with your cruel loss, your sufferings and your wrongs. In brief, I love you and bless you.

Thousands of hearts are throbbing with sympathy as warm as mine. I think of you night and day, bleeding in prison, surrounded by hostile faces, sustained only by trust in God, and your own strong heart. I long to nurse you, to speak

to you sisterly words of sympathy and consolation. May God sustain you, and carry you through whatsoever may be in store for you!

Yours with heartfelt respect, sympathy, and affection.

L. Maria Child.

Questions:

1. Do you find this document surprising? Why or why not?
2. Based on this document, do you think John Brown was a “misguided fanatic?” Why or why not?

Political Cartoon –Forcing Slavery Down the Throat of a Fresoiler

Source: A political cartoon drawn and published by John L. Magee in 1856 in Philadelphia. The large, bearded figure represents a “freesoiler” who opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories such as Kansas. The four smaller figures represent Democratic politicians. Democratic presidential nominee James Buchanan and senator Lewis Cass are restraining the freesoiler by the hair while Senator Stephen Douglas and President Franklin Pierce force a slave into his mouth. (Figure 4.10).

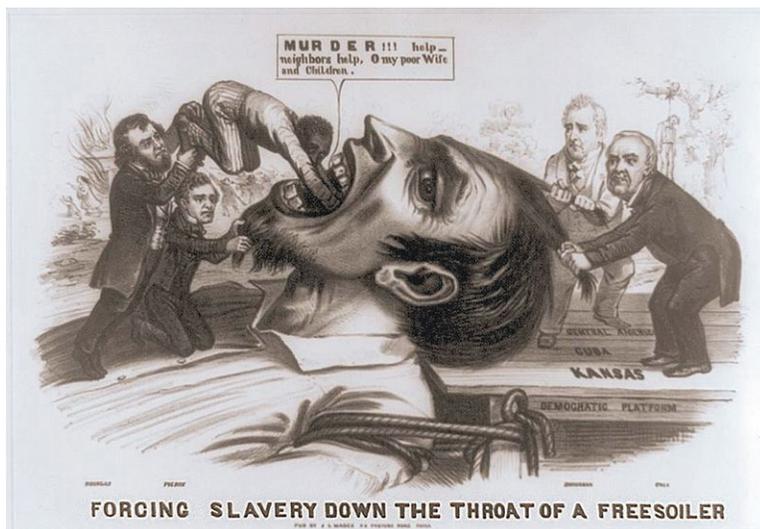


FIGURE 4.10

4.7 References

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7. . <http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=394> . Public Domain
8. . <http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=394> . Public Domain
9. New York Times. <http://tigger.uic.edu/~rjensen/no-irish.htm> . Public Domain
10. . [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?pp/PPALL:@field\(NUMBER+@1\(cph+3b38367\)\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?pp/PPALL:@field(NUMBER+@1(cph+3b38367))) .

CHAPTER **5** A Nation Divided: The American Civil War and Reconstruction

Chapter Outline

- 5.1 LINCOLN AND RACE
 - 5.2 THE NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS
 - 5.3 EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
 - 5.4 THE POLITICAL CARTOONS OF THOMAS NAST
 - 5.5 ANDREW JOHNSON VS. THADDEUS STEVENS
 - 5.6 SHARECROPPING
 - 5.7 RECONSTRUCTIONS
 - 5.8 REFERENCES
-

5.1 Lincoln and Race

Abraham Lincoln is remembered as the President who emancipated the slaves, but he also made statements about Blacks that are offensive to modern readers. Read the documents below and decide—was Lincoln racist? Consider the context in which each statement was made.

Lincoln-Douglas Debate –Stephen A. Douglas

Source: An excerpt from Stephen A. Douglas’s argument in the first Lincoln-Douglas debate at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858.

Mr. Lincoln believes that the Negro was born his equal and yours, and that he was endowed with equality by the Almighty, and that no human law can deprive him of these rights.

In 1858, Abraham Lincoln ran against Stephen A. Douglas for a seat in the U.S. Senate. The two engaged in a series of seven public debates, which attracted national attention. Although Lincoln lost the election, he became widely known for his views on slavery.

If you desire Negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into the State and settle with the White man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to judge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the Negro. For one, I am opposed to Negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made... by White men, for the benefit of White men and their posterity forever...

Vocabulary

Posterity

future generations

Questions:

1. What are two things that Douglas warns will happen if Lincoln is elected?
2. Based on this document, what do you think Douglas’s views were on African Americans?

Lincoln-Douglas Debate –Abraham Lincoln

Source: From Abraham Lincoln’s reply to Stephen A. Douglas at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858.

I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgment will probably forever forbid their living together in perfect equality, and...

I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but there is no reason in the world why the Negro is not entitled to all the natural rights in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the White man. I agree that the Negro is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread... which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of every living man.

Vocabulary

Entitled

to have a right

Endowment

ability

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Try to picture an outdoor debate in 1858. These debates lasted 3 hours with each candidate speaking non-stop for at least an hour. Do you completely trust what either candidate will say in this setting? Why or why not?
2. **Close Reading:** Carefully read Lincoln's response to Douglas. On what points is Lincoln willing to agree with Douglas? On what points does he differ from Douglas?

Letter to Mary Speed –Abraham Lincoln

Source: Abraham Lincoln, writing in a letter to Mary Speed, a personal friend, September 27, 1841.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., September 27, 1841.

MISS MARY SPEED, Louisville, Ky.

Your sincere friend,

A. LINCOLN.

...Today, on board a boat, I saw a gentleman who had purchased twelve Negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron chain was around the left wrist of each so that the Negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them, from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery... yet amid all these distressing circumstances ... they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One, whose offense for which he had been sold was over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually; and the others danced, sung, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that "God renders the worst of human conditions tolerable..."

Vocabulary

Renders

makes

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** This document is a personal letter from Lincoln to a friend. Does that make you trust the document? Why or why not?
2. What amazes Lincoln about the scene he sees on the boat?

Pictures of Slavery and Anti-Slavery –John Bell Robinson

Source: From Pictures of Slavery and Anti-Slavery: Advantages of Negro Slavery and the Benefits of Negro Freedom Morally, Socially, and Politically Considered by John Bell Robinson, a White pro-slavery spokesperson, Pennsylvania, 1863.

God himself has made them for usefulness as slaves, and requires us to employ them as such, and if we betray our trust, and throw them off on their own resources, we reconvert them into barbarians.

Our Heavenly Father has made us to *rule*, and the Negroes to serve, and if we... set aside his holy arrangements... and tamper with his laws, we shall be overthrown and eternally degraded, and perhaps made subjects of some other civilized nation.... Colonization in their native land of all the Negroes would be so nearly impracticable, that it will never be done... If they could all be colonized on the coast of Africa, they would fall back into heathenism and barbarism in less than fifty years.

Vocabulary

Tamper

interfere

Degraded

disrespected

Heathenism

not having a religion

Barbarism

not having culture or civilization

Question:

1. How do Lincoln's views on slavery compare with John Bell Robinson?
2. Considering all four documents, was Lincoln racist? How do you support your conclusion?

5.2 The New York City Draft Riots

The Union imposed a military draft, in which men between the ages of 18 and 35 were required to join the army. The penalty for disobeying the law was a \$300 fine. Many wealthy people were willing to pay that fine rather than risk their lives in the army, so they essentially bought their way out of the draft. Poorer people had no such option, and considered the policy unfair. In 1863, Irishmen in New York City rioted in protest. As you read the following documents, think about how each one portrays the protesters. What parties do they describe most sympathetically? What parties do *you* find most sympathetic?

The Reign of the Rabble –New York Times

Source: Excerpts from “*The Reign of the Rabble*,” *New York Times*, Wednesday, July 15, 1863.

The colored boarding house on Vandewater Street, was attacked by the rioters about 6 1/2 o'clock P.M., the doors broken open and the windows entirely demolished; nine of the inmates were injured.

About the same time THOMAS JOHNSON, a colored man, had one of his arms broken by jumping from the third story window of a house No. 62 Roosevelt-street, while the house was on fire. He was rescued from the rioters by the police and was taken to the station-house.

MARY WILLIAMS, a colored woman, 24 years old, while being pursued by the infuriated mob, jumped from a window of No. 74 Roosevelt-street to the pavement, and was terribly injured – the building was then on fire. She was taken to Bellevue Hospital.

Question:

1. According to this document, what did rioters do during the Draft Riots of 1863?

Facts and Incidents of the Riot –New York Times

Source: Excerpt from “*Facts and Incidents of the Riot*,” *New York Times*, July 16, 1863.

Looting seems to have been the sole object with the rioters in their attack upon the store. The fine ready-made clothing was tempting. Fortunately, the Police and the employees of the establishment successfully stopped the invaders before much property had been stolen. Three or four persons, whose names could not be confirmed, lost their lives at this place, and many others were badly injured.

At a late hour on Tuesday night the mob, number 4,000 or 5,000, made an attack upon the clothing-store of BROOKS BROTHERS. Sergeant FINNEY was knocked down, beaten on the head and body with clubs, and afterward shot in the hand by a pistol by one of the rioters. He is very severely injured, and no hopes are entertained of his recovery. . . .

“The Popular Tumult” –New York Herald

Source: Excerpt from “The Popular Tumult.” New York Herald, Wednesday, July 16, 1863.

The crowd in one neighborhood turned their attention to the Chinese who live there. The Celestials [Chinese] had been found guilty of being united to white wives, and their headquarters were destroyed. The Chinamen escaped, but in some instances their wives have not followed them.

THE POPULAR TUMULT

Question:

1. According to this document, what did rioters do during the Draft Riots of 1863?

The Riots at New York

Source: “The Riots at New York,” Harper’s Weekly, Aug. 1, 1863

Sated with blood, the rioters now turned their attention to looting. A drug-store close by was destroyed, the doors and windows being smashed in with clubs and stones. One fellow rushed out with a closely-packed suitcase, which he opened in the street. The clothes and other things contained in it were eagerly seized and contended for by boys and women standing around. There were a number of letters in it, and some documents, which were probably of value to the owner; but these were savagely torn and trampled under foot by the disappointed plunderers. A woman sat upon the steps nearby, and read out parts of one of the letters to the cheers of her lowly companions.

SACKING OF A DRUG-STORE

Question:

1. According to this document, what did rioters do during the Draft Riots of 1863?

The Riots at New York

Source: “The Riots at New York,” Harper’s Weekly, Aug. 1, 1863

[BURNING OF THE COLORED ORPHAN ASYLUM]

The Orphan Asylum for Colored Children was visited by the mob about four o’clock. Hundreds, and perhaps thousands of the rioters, the majority of whom were women and children, entered the premises, and in the most excited and violent manner they ransacked and plundered the building from cellar to attic. The building was located in the most pleasant and healthy portion of the city. It was purely a charitable institution. In it there are on an average 600 or 800 homeless colored orphans.

Question:

1. According to this document, what did rioters do during the Draft Riots of 1863?

Section Questions:

1. All of these documents appeared in New York's major newspapers at the time. What types of people do you think read these newspapers? Do these newspapers seem sympathetic to the rioters? Explain.
2. Find 2 quotes to support your claim that the newspaper were or were not sympathetic to the rioters.
3. Find 2 quotes to support your claim that the newspaper were or were not sympathetic to the rioters.

5.3 Emancipation Proclamation

From the beginning of the Civil War, Lincoln insisted that the goal was to preserve the union, not to free the slaves. In part, he took this position to retain the loyalty of the four Border States, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. As the war progressed, the Confederacy used slave labor to supply their cause—for example, to build fortifications or work in factories—and Lincoln changed his policy. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued the first part of the Emancipation Proclamation, which stated that in any state that had not returned to the union by the following January 1st, the slaves would be declared free. Then, on January 1, 1863, he issued the document below, following through on his promise. As you read, try to determine why Lincoln freed the slaves. Out of a sincere opposition to slavery? As a strategic move to help win the war and preserve the Union?

The Emancipation Proclamation

Source: *The Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863*(Figure 5.1).

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 in rebellion against the United States, shall be forever free...

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... do order and designate [appoint] the following States as being in rebellion:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia.

And I hereby call 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 will be received into the armed service of the United States.

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.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Questions:

1. The Civil War ended in 1865. According to the Emancipation Proclamation, why did Lincoln decide to free the slaves before the war had even ended?
2. Lincoln lists many of states but leaves out the following four slave states: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri. These states had slaves but were not part of the Confederacy (they were not fighting against the Union). What happened to the slaves in these states? You may use your outside sources to answer this question.
3. **Close Reading:** Why do you think he calls the act a “military necessity” and “invoke the considerate judgment of mankind” in the last section?

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 deprive such persons, or any of them, in any effects they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day

From The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass –Frederick Douglass

Source: Excerpt from *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 1881.

President Lincoln did me the honor to invite me to discuss the best way to induce (persuade) the slaves in the rebel states to escape. Lincoln was alarmed about the increasing opposition to the war in the North, and the mad cry against it being an abolition war. Lincoln worried that an early peace might be forced upon him which would leave all those who had not escaped in slavery.

I was impressed by this kind consideration because before he had said that his goal was to save the Union, with or without slavery. What he said on this day showed a deeper moral conviction against slavery than I had ever seen before in anything spoken or written by him. I listened with the deepest interest and profoundest satisfaction, and, at his suggestion, agreed to organize men who would go into the rebel states, and carry the news of emancipation, and urge the slaves to come within our boundaries....

I refer to this conversation because I think that, on Mr. Lincoln's part, it is evidence that the proclamation, so far at least as he was concerned, was not passed merely as a 'necessity.'

In mid-1863, after the Emancipation Proclamation had been announced, President Lincoln called Frederick Douglass to the White House to speak with him. Douglass recounts the event here in his autobiography.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When did Douglass write this document? When did the meeting and the Emancipation take place? How might that affect Douglass's memory of Lincoln and his evaluation of the Emancipation Proclamation?
2. **Contextualization:** According to Douglass, what was happening in the North in 1863?
3. **Close Reading:** According to Douglass, what was Lincoln concerned about?
4. **Close Reading:** What is Douglass's conclusion about Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation?

5.4 The Political Cartoons of Thomas Nast

Thomas Nast is perhaps the most famous political cartoonist in American history. He worked for the New York-based weekly magazine *Harper's Weekly*. Nast and *Harper's* supported the North in the Civil War, taking a liberal and somewhat elitist Republican position. Both of the cartoons below feature a white female character called 'Liberty'—a common symbol of the period. What does the symbol remind you of? Note the dates of the cartoons and the similarities and differences between them.

Franchise –Thomas Nast

Source: A political cartoon drawn by Nast in 1865.(Figure 5.2).

Vocabulary

franchise

The right to vote

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who drew these cartoons? What magazine were his cartoons published in? What do you know about this magazine?
2. **Contextualization:** When were the two cartoons drawn? What do you know about this time period?
3. **Sourcing:** Think back to the differences between Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans. Before looking at the cartoons, do you predict this cartoonist would be in favor of Radical Reconstruction? Why or why not?
4. Describe the African American man in this cartoon. Why do you think he's on crutches?
5. What is Liberty asking for?
6. What is the message of this cartoon?

Colored Rule in a Reconstructed (?) State - Nast

Source: A political cartoon drawn by Nast in 1874.(Figure 5.3).

Section Questions:

1. In what ways are these cartoons similar?
2. In what ways are these cartoons different?
3. Why might the cartoons have different messages?
4. What do these cartoons tell us about the how the North felt about freedmen during Reconstruction?



FIGURE 5.2

FRANCHISE. AND NOT THIS MAN?

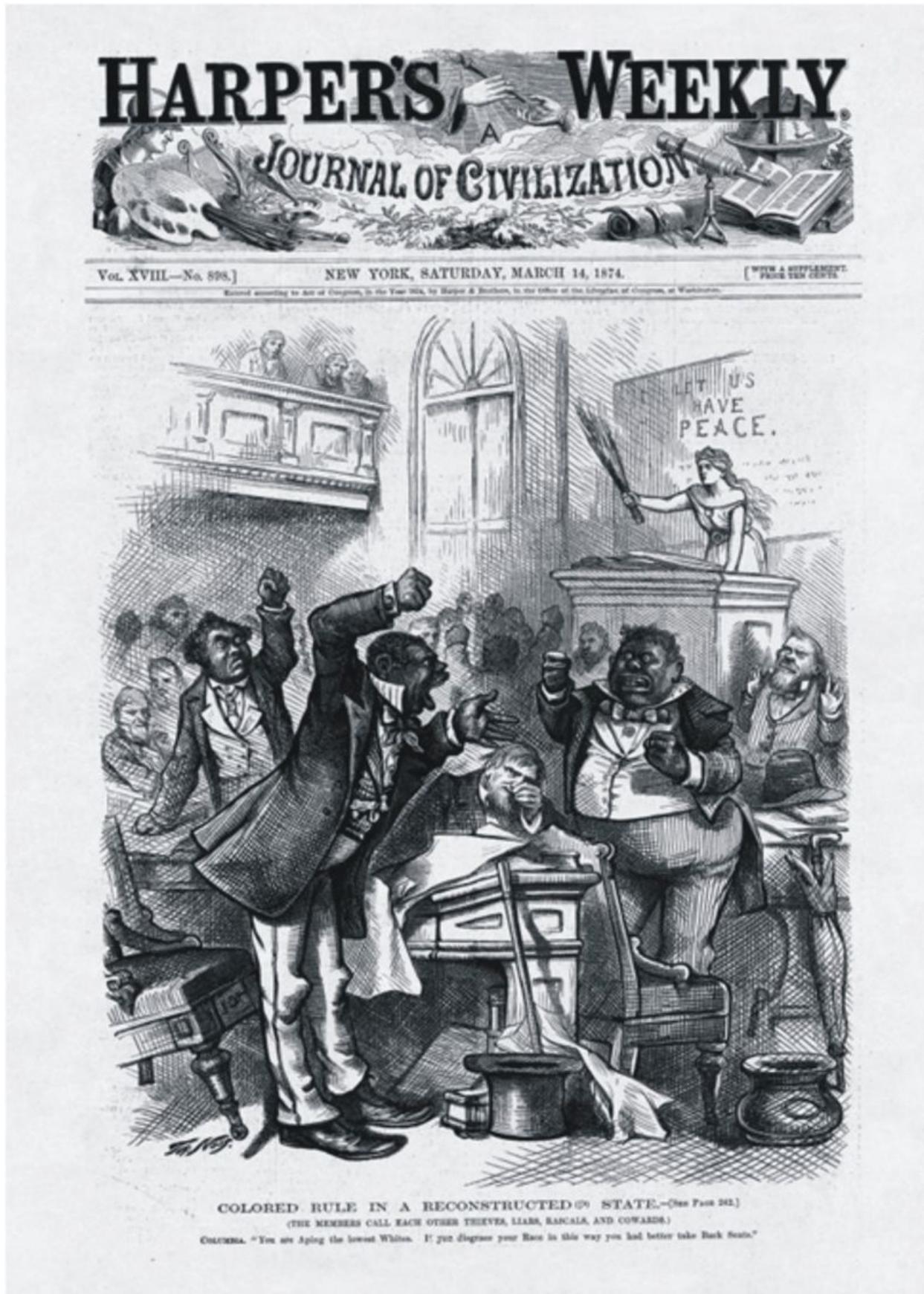


FIGURE 5.3

Columbia. (The members call each other thieves, liars, rascals, and cowards.) "You are Aping the lowest Whites. If you disgrace your Race in this way you had better take Back Seats."

5.5 Andrew Johnson vs. Thaddeus Stevens

After Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, he was succeeded as president by Andrew Johnson, a Tennessean who sympathized with the South. During debates over Reconstruction—how to treat the freed slaves and rebuild the South—a group of Radical Republicans in Congress thought Johnson was too kind to the South. Read the following speeches from Andrew Johnson and Senator Thaddeus Stevens and consider which plan was more likely to be successful.

Cleveland, Ohio Speech –Andrew Johnson

Source: This campaign speech was delivered on September 3, 1866 in Cleveland, Ohio. Johnson was trying to get people to support his ideas, but he was booed by the crowd of Radical Republicans.

Before the Civil War there were 4,000,000 black people held as slaves by about 340,000 people living in the South. That is, 340,000 slave owners paid all the living expenses of the slaves. Then, the war began and the slaves were freed.

Now we come to the [Radical Republicans]. And what do they want? To spend \$12,000,000 a year to build schools and find jobs for these freed slaves. We have already spent \$3,000,000,000 to set them free and give them a fair chance to take care of themselves -then these [Radical Republicans] ask for \$12,000,000 to help them.

Veto of the First Reconstruction Act –Andrew Johnson

Source: This speech was delivered to the United States Congress on March 2, 1867 by Andrew Johnson after he vetoed the First Reconstruction Act, a plan by the Radical Republicans that would have given freedmen the right to vote.

The Radical Republicans also want to force the South to give blacks the right to vote. The blacks have not asked for the right to vote; most of them have no idea what it means. The Southern states should not be forced to do anything they don't want to do. To force the right to vote out of the hands of the white people and into the hands of the blacks is against the law.

Speech to Congress - Thaddeus Stevens Speech

Source: This speech was delivered to the United States Congress on March 19, 1867.

Freed slaves should have the right to vote. The Southern states should be ruled by the Army until they learn how to accept blacks as their equals.

The cause of the war was slavery. We have freed the slaves. It is our responsibility to protect them, and help them until they are able to provide for themselves.

Four million people have just been freed from slavery. They have no education, have never worked for money, and don't know about their rights. Unless they become independent, they will have to once again become the servants of their old masters.

We must make the freed slaves independent so that their old masters can't force them to work unfairly. This can only be done by giving them a small plot of land to farm.

I propose that each freed slave who is a male adult, or the head of a family, will receive forty acres of land, (with \$100 to build a house).

5.6 Sharecropping

After the Civil War, America debated how to handle the millions of freed slaves. The eventual outcome was a system of sharecropping, in which plantation owners retained possession of their land and allowed freedmen to farm small parts of it. In return, the landowner received a percentage of the crop. The documents below include a photograph of sharecroppers and a sharecropping contract. As you examine them, compare the sharecropping system to the Radical Republican's plan to give each freedman "40 acres and a mule." Which would be better for the freed slaves? Which would be better for the landowners? Which would be fairer?

Black Sharecroppers Picking Cotton in Georgia

Source: Black sharecroppers picking cotton in Georgia, photograph by T.W. Ingersoll, 1898. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Figure 5.4).



FIGURE 5.4

Question:

1. Describe what you see in this picture. What is this a picture of? Why do you think that?

A Sharecropping Contract: 1882

Source: A sharecropping contract from 1882, from the collection of Grimes Family Papers held in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

To everyone renting land, the following conditions must be agreed to:

Every sharecropper must be responsible for all farming gear placed in his hands, and if not returned must be paid for unless it is worn out by use.

Nothing can be sold from their (sharecroppers') crops until my rent is all paid, and all amounts they owe me are paid in full.

I am to gin & pack all of the cotton and charge every sharecropper an eighteenth of his part, the cropper to furnish his part of the bagging, ties, & twine.

The sale of every sharecropper's part of the cotton to be made by me when and where I choose to sell, and after taking all they owe me.

For every 30 acres of land (rented by sharecroppers), I will provide a mule team, plow, and farming tools. The sharecroppers can have half of the cotton, corn, peas, pumpkins, and potatoes they grow if the following conditions are followed, but—if not—they are to have only two-fifths.

For every mule or horse furnished by me there must be 1000 good sized rails (logs) hauled, and the fence repaired if I so direct. All sharecroppers must haul rails (logs) and work on the fence whenever I may order. The wood must be split and the fence repaired before corn is planted. No cotton must be planted by sharecroppers on their home patches of land. No sharecropper is to work off the plantation when there is any work for them to do for me.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When and where was this contract written?
2. What did the sharecropper have to do in order to use the plantation owner's land, farming tools, and mules?
3. Do you think this is a fair contract? Why or Why not?
4. **Close Reading:** What parts of this contract do you think caused the sharecroppers to be in debt to plantation owners?
5. Does this contract seem more or less extreme than the impression you had of sharecropping after you read the textbook? Explain.

5.7 Reconstructions

You have examined cartoons by Thomas Nast about Reconstruction, and you have read about both the post-war debate about the freedmen and the sharecropping system that replaced slavery. This section adds the text of the three Constitutional amendments passed after the war, an example of a discriminatory local 'Black Code' from Louisiana, and two more eyewitness accounts about the condition of Reconstruction-era African Americans. Use these documents and others you have read to decide whether Blacks were really free during this period in American history.

The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments

Source: The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution are sometimes called the “Reconstruction Amendments.” They were passed in order to abolish slavery and to establish the rights of former slaves.(Figure below).

Image:

The 13th Amendment

13th Amendment: 1865

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime where of the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

14th Amendment: 1868

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction (laws) 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 (limit) the privileges or immunities (rights) 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.

15th Amendment: 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.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When were the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments passed?
2. **Contextualization:** What was going on in the United States at this time?
3. **Close Reading:** What rights did the amendments guarantee for American citizens?

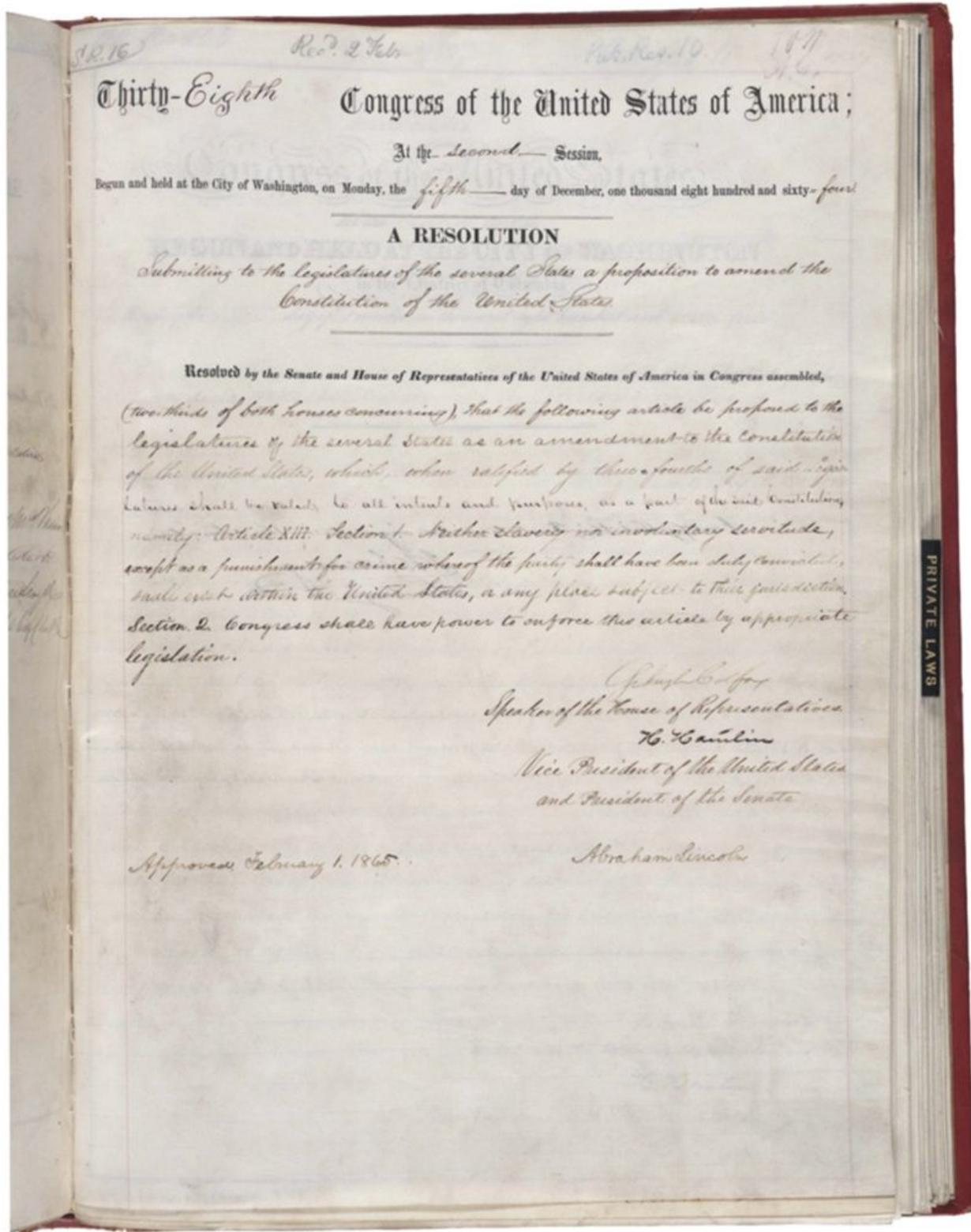


FIGURE 5.5

Black Codes

Source: An example of “Black Codes,” from laws passed in Opelousas, Louisiana immediately after the Civil War.

No negro or freedmen shall be allowed to come within the limits of the town of Opelousas without special permission from his employers. . . . Whoever breaks this law will go to jail and work for two days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house in town under any circumstances. No negro or freedman shall live within the town who does not work for some white person or former owner. No public meetings of negroes or freedmen shall be allowed within the town. No freedman shall be allowed to carry firearms, or any kind of weapons. No freedman shall sell or exchange any article of merchandise within the limits of Opelousas without permission in writing from his employer.

In the years following the Civil War—throughout the South—state, city, and town governments passed laws to restrict the rights of free African-American men and women. These laws were often called “Black Codes.”

Henry Adams Statement

Source: Excerpt from Senate Report 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session (1880). Former slave Henry Adams made this statement before the U.S. government in 1880 about the early days of his freedom after the Civil War.

In September I asked the boss to let me go to the city of Shreveport. He said, “All right, when will you come back?” I told him “next week.” He said, “You had better carry a pass.” I said, “I will see whether I am free by going without a pass.”

I met four white men about six miles south of town. One of them asked me who I belonged to. I told him no one. So him and two others struck me with a stick and told me they were going to kill me and every other Negro who told them that they did not belong to anyone. They left me and I then went on to Shreveport. I saw over twelve colored men and women, beat, shot and hung between there and Shreveport.

Sunday I went back home. The boss was not at home. I asked the madame (the boss’s wife), “where was the boss?” She said, “You should say ‘master’. You all are not free. . . and you shall call every white lady ‘missus’ and every white man ‘master.’”

During the same week the madame took a stick and beat one of the young colored girls, who was about fifteen years of age. The boss came the next day and whipped the same girl nearly to death. . . After the whipping a large number of young colored people decided to leave that place for Shreveport. (On our way), out came about forty armed white men and shot at us and took my horse. They said they were going to kill everyone they found leaving their masters.

Report by a Northern White Man

Source: Sydney Andrews, a Northern white man, quoted in the Joint Report on Reconstruction, 1866

Many of the negroes. . . common plantation negroes, and workers in the towns and villages, were supporting little schools themselves. Everywhere I found them hoping to get their children into schools. I often noticed that workers in stores and men working in warehouses, and cart drivers on the streets, had spelling books with them, and were studying them during the time they were not working. Go outside any large town in the south, and you will see children and in many cases grown negroes, sitting in the sun alongside their cabins studying.

In 1865 the United States government created the Freedmen's Bureau to help former slaves in Southern states. The Freedmen's Bureau helped people by providing medical supplies, health care and establishing schools. The creation of schools for former slaves was an important part of Reconstruction. Before the Civil War, Southern states outlawed the teaching of reading and writing to slaves.

5.8 References

1. . [The Emancipation Proclamation](#) . Public Domain
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CHAPTER 6

The Gilded Age and the Rise of American Power

Chapter Outline

- 6.1 BUFFALO SOLDIERS
 - 6.2 CHINESE IMMIGRATION
 - 6.3 FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
 - 6.4 JACOB RIIS
 - 6.5 POPULISM
 - 6.6 ELECTORAL COLLEGE MAPS –THE HEYDAY OF POPULISM
 - 6.7 PULLMAN STRIKE
 - 6.8 USS MAINE
 - 6.9 THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
 - 6.10 REFERENCES
-

6.1 Buffalo Soldiers

The Buffalo Soldiers were members of the U.S. Army's 10th Cavalry—a regiment of African-American soldiers organized in 1866. The term eventually came to apply to four regiments of cavalry and two of infantry. The Buffalo Soldiers participated in the Spanish-American War in Cuba, including the famous charge up San Juan Hill led by future president Teddy Roosevelt. Below you will find two accounts of the Buffalo Soldiers in the Spanish-American war, one by Roosevelt and one published in the magazine *The Atlantic Monthly*. As you read, try to determine whether the Buffalo Soldiers were respected by their white compatriots.

The Rough Riders - Teddy Roosevelt

Source: Excerpt from Theodore Roosevelt, The Rough Riders, 1905. The book is an account of the Rough Riders' battles.

None of the white regulars or Rough Riders showed the slightest sign of weakening; but under the strain the colored infantrymen (who had none of their officers) began to get a little uneasy and to drift to the rear, either helping wounded men, or saying that they wished to find their own regiments. This I could not allow, as it was depleting my line, so I jumped up, and walking a few yards to the rear, drew my revolver, halted the retreating soldiers, and called out to them... saying: "Now, I shall be very sorry to hurt you, and you don't know whether or not I will keep my word, but my men can tell you that I always do;" whereupon my cow-punchers, hunters, and miners solemnly nodded their heads and commented in chorus, exactly as if in a comic opera, "He always does; he always does!"

This was the end of the trouble, for the "smoked Yankees"—as the Spaniards called the colored soldiers—flashed their white teeth at one another, as they broke into broad grins, and I had no more trouble with them, they seeming to accept me as one of their own officers. The colored cavalry-men had already so accepted me; in return, the Rough Riders, although for the most part Southwesterners, who have a strong color prejudice, grew to accept them with hearty good-will as comrades, and were entirely willing, in their own phrase, "to drink out of the same canteen." All the regular officers did so well, it is hard to draw any distinction; but particular praise should be given to the officers of the Ninth and Tenth for their work, and under their leadership the colored troops did as well as any soldiers could possibly do.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Why would Teddy Roosevelt write an account of the Battle of San Juan Hill? What do you think his main purpose was?
2. **Close Reading:** Does Roosevelt present African American troops as equal to white troops? Explain your answer.
3. Based on all that you have read, what were white attitudes towards the African American soldiers who fought in the Battle of San Juan Hill?

“The Negro in the Regular Army” –from The Atlantic Monthly

Source: Excerpt from Oswald G. Villard, “The Negro in the Regular Army,” The Atlantic Monthly, June 1903. The Atlantic Monthly was a literary magazine published in Boston that was founded in 1857.

It was not until the battle of Santiago, however, that the bulk of the American people realized that the standing army comprised regiments composed wholly of black men...

In the battle at Santiago, the four colored regiments won praise from all sides, particularly for their advance upon Kettle Hill, in which the Rough Riders also figured. From the very beginning of the movement of the army after its landing [in Cuba], the negro troops were in the front of the fighting, and contributed largely to the successful result. Although they suffered heavy losses, especially in officers, the men fought with the same gallantry they had displayed on the plains, as is attested by the honors awarded. In every company there were instances of personal gallantry. The first sergeants especially lived up to the responsibilities placed upon them. The color sergeant of the Tenth Cavalry, Adam Houston, bore to the front not only his own flags, but those of the Third Cavalry when their color sergeant was shot down. In several emergencies where troops or companies lost their white officers, the senior sergeants took command and handled their men in a faultless manner, notably in the Tenth Cavalry.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who do you think read this magazine? What do you think the magazine’s white readers thought about African Americans? Why?
2. **Close Reading:** How does the magazine describe the fighting of African Americans in Cuba?

Vocabulary

Gallantry

Courageous behavior

6.2 Chinese Immigration

Beginning around 1850, thousands of Chinese immigrants came to the West Coast of the United States to mine for gold and work building America's transcontinental railroad. But over the next few decades, attitudes toward the Chinese soured. They were not allowed to give testimony in court or become naturalized citizens, and the state of California passed a law against interracial marriage. The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882, specifically prohibited Chinese immigration. As you read the documents below, try to understand why the American Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act.

“The Chinese Must Go”

Source: The page below comes from a play called “The Chinese Must Go:” A Farce in Four Acts by Henry Grimm, published in San Francisco, 1879. In just the first page, you will be able to see many of the common stereotypes of Chinese immigrants in the 19th century.(Figure 6.1).

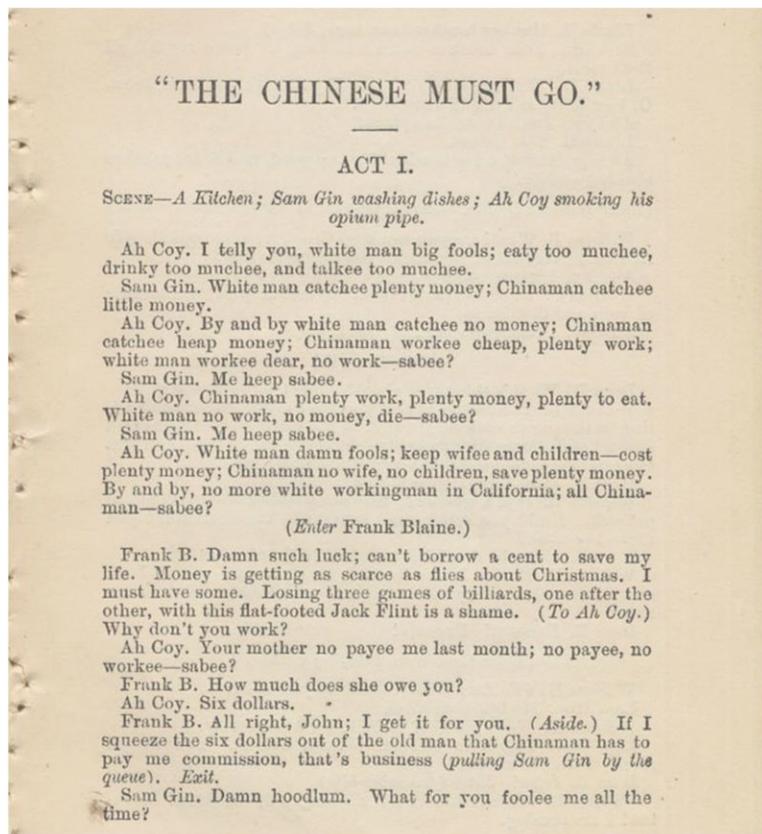


FIGURE 6.1

“THE CHINESE MUST GO”

ACT I.

Ah Coy. I telly you, white man big fools; eaty too muchee, drinky too muchee, and talkee too muchee.

Sam Gin. White man catchee plenty money; Chinaman catchee little money.

Ah Coy. By and by white man catchee no money; Chinaman catchee heap money; Chinaman workee cheap, plenty work; white man workee dear, no work–sabee?

Sam Gin. He heep sabee.

Ah Coy. Chinaman plenty work, plenty money, plenty to eat. White man no work, no money, die–sabee?

Sam Gin. Me heep sabee.

Ah Coy. White man damn fools; keep wifee and children–cost plenty money; Chinaman no wife, no children, save plenty money. By and by, no more white workingman in California; all Chinaman–sabee?

Ah Coy. Your mother no payee me last month; no payee, no workee–sabee?

Frank B. How much does she owe you?

Ah Coy. Six dollars.

Sam Gin. Damn hoodlum. What for you foolee me all the time?

SCENE—A Kitchen; Sam Gin washing dishes; Ah Coy smoking his opium pipe.

(Enter Frank Blaine.)

Frank B. Damn such luck; can't borrow a cent to save my life. Money is getting as scarce as flies about Christmas. I must have some. Losing three games of billiards, one after the other, with this flat-footed Jack Flint is a shame. *(To Ah Coy.)* Why don't you work?

Frank B. All right, John; I get it for you. *(Aside.)* If I squeeze the six dollars out of the old man that Chinaman has to pay me commission, that's business *(pulling Sam Gin by the queue)*. *Exit.*

Question:

1. If this document were your ONLY piece of evidence, how would you answer the question: 'Why did Americans pass the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act?'

The Chinese Question –Nast

Source: The cartoon was drawn by Thomas Nast for Harper's Weekly, a Northern magazine. In this cartoon, we see Columbia, the feminine symbol of the United States, protecting a Chinese man against a gang of Irish and German thugs. At the bottom it says "Hands off-Gentlemen! America means fair play for all men." (Figure 6.2).

Question:

1. If this document were your ONLY piece of evidence, how would you answer the question: 'Why did Americans pass the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act?'

Workingmen of San Francisco

Source: "An Address From the Workingmen of San Francisco to Their Brothers Throughout the Pacific Coast." An excerpt from a speech to the workingmen of San Francisco on August 16, 1888.

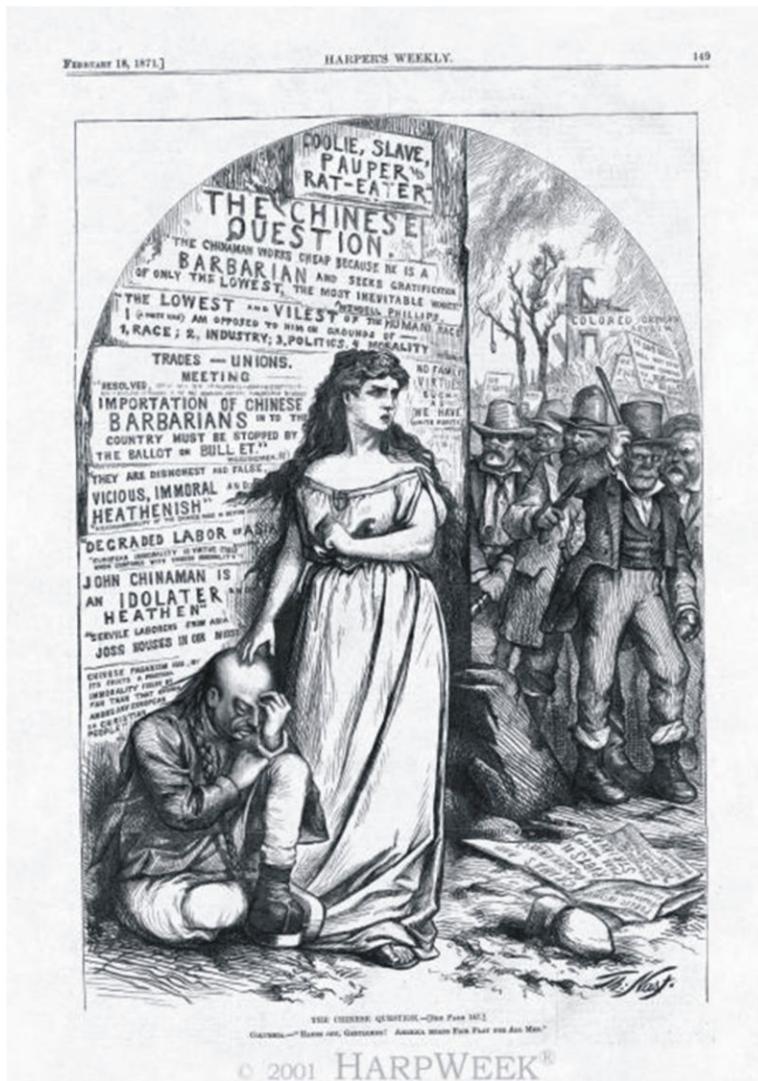


FIGURE 6.2

“Hands off-Gentlemen! America means fair play for all men.”

The danger is, that while we have been sleeping in fancied security, believing that the tide of Chinese immigration to our State had been checked and was in a fair way to be entirely stopped, our opponents, the pro-China wealthy men of the land, have been wide-awake and have succeeded in reviving the importation of this Chinese slave-labor. So that now, hundreds and thousands of Chinese are every week flocking into our State.

Today, every avenue to labor, of every sort, is crowded with Chinese slave labor worse than it was eight years ago. The boot, shoe and cigar industries are almost entirely in their hands. In the manufacture of men's overalls and women's and children's underwear they run over three thousand sewing machines night and day. They monopolize nearly all the farming done to supply the market with all sorts of vegetables. This state of things brings about a terrible competition between our own people, who must live as civilized Americans, and the Chinese, who live like degraded slaves. We should all understand that this state of things cannot be much longer endured.

We have met here in San Francisco tonight to raise our voice to you in warning of a great danger that seems to us imminent, and threatens our almost utter destruction as a prosperous community.

Vocabulary

Imminent

about to happen

Question:

1. If this document were your ONLY piece of evidence, how would you answer the question: 'Why did Americans pass the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act?'

6.3 Friends of the Indian

Some Americans tried to remove Native Americans from their land, but others wanted to help “civilize” them. One group founded to accomplish this, the Friends of the Indian, opened schools to educate and Europeanize the Indians. As you read these documents, think about whether members of the group were truly “friends” to the Indians they helped. Were they well-intentioned? Did their work make the Indians better off?

Diaries of Alice Fletcher

Source: Alice Fletcher was an ethnologist (someone who studies and compares the language, religion, customs, and culture of groups of people). In the 1880s she lived among a number of Native American tribes to learn about their customs. She became a founder of the “Friends of the Indians.” In the diary entries below, she writes about her experiences on the Sioux Reservation in 1881.

Wednesday A.M. Rainy again and we can't get on. Buffalo-chip is a Medicine man, has little positive humor, rather sober and dignified. A queer childish consciousness. This morning he took a stick and with queer mumblings, he raised it to and fro. This was to gain better weather. It is a strange thing to sit and witness actual heathen performances. One realizes the power and gift of spiritual life by the blessed Lord. I needed to see all this to realize the truth of “I am the way, the truth and the life”. The darkness and poverty of their mental life is pitiful. . . .

This A.M. I have been teaching Wajapa more arithmetic, trying to make the figures clear to him. One feels so sorry for them, so longs to broaden and deepen and brighten their life.

An old Indian sat there and when we came in, said, “How you do?” and extended his hand. Quite polite to give his sole English.

White Thunder was on the bed. He was not very friendly toward me, I thought. We all sat on chairs. Several other Indians there, two young men and an old man. Swift Bear came in and stayed.

While we sat there, White Thunder's wife began to cook. She made bread and baked it, terrible stuff, heavy and poor. Coffee and some sort of stripped and dried meat boiled with pork. A cloth was put on the floor between White Thunder's bed and the stove and the meal served on china plates and cups and saucers.

A young pretty girl came in, brought in meat and looked bright and pleasing. This was the wife's younger sister, had been at Carlisle school. She is about eighteen years old.

I understand that White Thunder wants to marry this girl as his second wife. She declines. It is rather startling and unpleasant to think about this woman's future. I hope she will hold out.

After the meal, White Thunder began his speech. It seemed to me that the speech lacked in friendliness. He wanted to know what we were here for.

I said that I had their good at heart. I had heard that this summer many of the children were coming home from the eastern schools. These children can all speak English and understand figures. Now what I propose is that the chiefs and the leading men will spend a part of every day with some of the children and learn the meaning and use of figures and master as much English as possible. If they can learn but little, that little will help them to protect themselves against the white men who wish to cheat them.

Swift Bear received this with interest. White Thunder did not say a word. This visit was rather uninteresting. I felt the influence of White Thunder to be less single and noble, in some ways.

They want to go to work but have nothing to go to work with - want cattle, chickens, hogs to raise as on a farm. They have nothing - they want to go to work, &c. &c.

Sitting Bull explained that has thrown away the old ways and desires to make his way toward civilization. He wants for the sake of the women, to turn away from the old ways. The game [buffalo] gone, he wants to walk in the way of work. For themselves, they can't change but for their children and the future they want to change their life.

They want to go to work but have nothing to go to work with - want cattle, chickens, hogs, to raise on a farm.

October 5, 1881

October 15, 1881

October 27, 1881

Called on Sitting Bull Oct. 27, 1881, about 12.30 P.M. He received me with much state, sitting at the left of his tent. Some 13 of his men came in, several old ones.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What is her perspective? Who is the audience?
2. **Contextualization:** How does Alice Fletcher see the world? What was happening to Native Americans at this time?
3. Do you trust the document? Why or why not?

“School Days of an Indian Girl” –Zitkala-Sa

Source: The excerpt below was written by Zitkala-Sa, or Red Bird, a Sioux from a reservation in South Dakota. (Her English name was Gertrude Simmons Bonnin). She describes her experiences at age 8 in a school for Native Americans. She ultimately attended college and then began a lifetime of work to improve the lives of Native Americans. The excerpt below was published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1900.

Late in the morning, my friend said she had overheard the paleface woman talk about cutting our long, heavy hair. Our mothers had taught us that only unskilled warriors who were captured had their hair cut by the enemy. Among our people, short hair was worn by mourners and by cowards!

I watched my chance and when no one noticed I disappeared....On my hands and knees I crawled under the bed and cuddled myself in a dark corner.

Women and girls entered the room. I held my breath and watched them open closet doors and peep behind large trunks. What caused them to snoop and look under the bed I do not know. I remember being dragged out, though I resisted by kicking and scratching wildly. In spite of myself, I was carried downstairs and tied fast in a chair.

I cried aloud, shaking my head all the while until I felt the cold blades of the scissors against my neck, and heard them gnaw off one of my thick braids.

Then I lost my spirit. Since the day I was taken from my mother I had suffered extreme indignities. In my anguish I moaned for my mother, but no one came to comfort me. Not a soul reasoned quietly with me, as my own mother used to do; for now I was only one of many little animals driven by a herder.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What was their audience? How trustworthy is it?

Section Question:

1. Based on both documents, were the Friends of the Indian well-intentioned? Were they truly “friends of the Indian?”

6.4 Jacob Riis

How the Other Half Lives –Jacob Riis

Source: Excerpts from Jacob Riis’s book How the Other Half Lives, 1890. Jacob Riis was a “muckraker” who photographed poverty in New York City’s slums in the 1880s. Riis tried to improve the conditions for the poor by making richer people aware of how the poor lived.

The Italian comes in at the bottom. In the slums he is welcomed as a tenant who “makes less trouble” than the Irishman: is content to live in a pig-sty and lets the rent collector rob him.

Ordinarily he is easily enough governed by authority—except for Sunday, when he settles down to a game of cards and lets loose all his bad passions. Like the Chinese, the Italian is a born gambler. His soul is in the game from the moment the cards are on the table, and very frequently his knife is in it too before the game is ended.

Red and yellow are the holiday colors of Chinatown, but they do not lend brightness in Mott Street... Rather, the colors only add a general dullness. Whatever happens in Chinatown goes on behind closed doors in stealth and secretiveness. His business, as his domestic life, shuns the light, less because there is anything to conceal than because that is the way of the man. The stranger who enters through the doorway is received with sudden silence, a sullen stare, and an angry “Vat you vant?” that breathes annoyance and distrust.

Poverty always goes along with dirt and disease, and Jewtown is no exception. The managers of the Eastern Dispensary, which is in the very heart of their district, told the whole story when they said: “The diseases these people suffer from are not due to intemperance or immorality, but to ignorance, want of suitable food, and the foul air in which they live and work.” The homes of the Hebrew quarter are its workshops also... Every member of the family, from the youngest to the oldest, works, shut in the stuffy rooms, where meals are cooked and clothing washed and dried besides, all day long. It is not unusual to find a dozen persons—men women, and children—at work in a single small room... It has happened more than once that a child recovering from small-pox, and in the most contagious stage of the disease, has been found crawling among heaps of half-finished clothing that the next day would be offered for sale on the counter of a Broadway store. . .

The Italian in New York

Chinatown

Jewtown

Source: Riis’s caption for this image is “Growler Gang in Session (Robbing a Lush).” (Figure 6.3).

Source: Riis’s caption for the following photo was “Street Arabs in Sleeping Quarters.” It was taken at some time during the 1880s and included in How the Other Half Lives. (Figure 6.4).

Section Questions:

Use both the text and photographs to answer these questions.



FIGURE 6.3

“Growler Gang in Session (Robbing a Lush).”



FIGURE 6.4

“Street Arabs in Sleeping Quarters”

1. **Sourcing:** Who created these documents? What was his purpose in writing? Who do you think was his audience?
2. Do the photographs look natural to you or posed?
3. **Close Reading:** What is Riis's attitude toward the people he writes about? Cite specific phrases to support your answer.
4. Is there a contradiction between Riis's purpose in writing and his view of ethnic communities? Explain why or why not.

6.5 Populism

In the decades following the Civil War, the prices of agricultural crops fell and life became very hard for farmers in the American West, who struggled to make a living. They established a series of organizations to represent their interests, including The Grange in 1867 and the Farmers' Alliance in 1876. The most successful organization, founded in 1892 was the Populist Party, a political group intended to promote farmer-friendly legislation. The Populists gained adherents in the South in addition to the West and nominated competitive presidential candidates in 1892 and 1896. However, the party failed to appeal to urban working people and never achieved a majority. As the new century dawned, the Populist Party weakened and eventually disbanded. The documents below show the range of motivations behind Populism, including temperance, economic distress, and racism.

Speech to the Women's Christian Temperance Union - Mary Elizabeth Lease, 1890

Source: Speech by Mary Elizabeth Lease to the Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1890. Lease became politically involved as a speaker for the rights of workers and farmers. She had powerful voice and charismatic speaking style. The Women's Christian Temperance Union was a women's movement against alcohol.

The mightiest movement the world has known in two thousand years... is sending out the happiest message to oppressed humanity that the world has heard since John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness that the world's Redeemer was coming to relieve the world's misery.

To this sterile and remote region, infested by savage beasts and still more savage men, the women of the New England States, the women of the cultured East, came with husbands, sons and brothers to help them build up a home.... We endured hardships, and dangers; hours of loneliness, fear and sorrow... We toiled in the cabin and in the field; we helped our loved ones to make the prairie blossom...

Yet, after all our years of toil and deprivation, dangers and hardships, our homes are being taken from us by an infamous [wicked] system of mortgage foreclosure. It takes from us at the rate of five hundred a month the homes that represent the best years of our life, our toil, our hopes, our happiness. How did it happen? The government, siding with Wall Street, broke its contracts with the people.... As Senator Plumb [of Kansas] tells us, "Our debts were increased, while the means to pay them [cash] was decreased."

No more millionaires, and no more paupers; no more gold kings, silver kings and oil kings, and no more little waifs of humanity starving for a crust of bread. We shall have the golden age of which Isaiah sang and the prophets have so long foretold; when the farmers shall be prosperous and happy, dwelling under their own vine and fig tree; when the laborer shall have that for which he toils... When we shall have not a government of the people by capitalists, but a government of the people, by the people.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? Who was the intended audience?
2. **Contextualization:** What was happening for farmers at the time this document was written? To what extent were women involved in politics at this time?
3. **Close reading:** How did Lease want to make her audience feel? What specific passages show this?

Cross of Gold - William Jennings Bryan

Source: Speech delivered by William Jennings Bryan at the Democratic National Convention in July 1896. It is considered one of the most famous speeches in American history. The passage below is an excerpt.

The merchant at the corner store is as much a businessman as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day...is as much a businessman as the man who [works on Wall Street].

We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen....

It is for these that we speak. We are fighting in the defense of our homes and our families. 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 us.

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

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

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

A 1925 recording of Bryan reading the speech is available at <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5354/> .

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Where is Bryan speaking? What is the purpose of his speech?
2. **Context:** Based on the speech, how do you think farmers and workers were feeling about business and industry? Find a quote to support your answer.
3. **Close reading:** What is the main point of his speech?
4. **Close reading:** What makes the speech so powerful? Pick the line that you think is most powerful and explain your choice.

Section Questions:

1. How are Bryan's speech and Lease's speech similar? How are they different?
2. Why do you think speakers like Lease and Bryan were so popular with farmers in the 1890s?

A White Man's Day –Raleigh News and Observer

Source: The following article appeared in the Democratic newspaper, News and Observer, on October 21, 1898.(Figure 6.5).

The article describes a speech by Democratic Senator Ben Tillman who was convincing the large crowd to vote Democratic in the upcoming election.

Tillman said that he could not understand why whites in North Carolina did not use their large majority to prevent negro domination. He blamed both Democrats and Populists for their continued division, but appealed to the

A WHITE MAN'S DAY.

Eight to Ten Thousand People Out.

TILLMAN MAKES A GREAT SPEECH FOR
DEMOCRACY

Yesterday was a great day for Fayetteville and all this Cape Fear country. It was the occasion of the speaking in behalf of the restoration of white rule in North Carolina by Senator Ben R. Tillman, the Liberator of South Carolina.

Instead of the beautiful October weather which we had been having, the weather changed on Thursday night. It began to rain about 1 o'clock. Friday morning opened with a down-pour and there were showers during the most of the day. It is certain that many thousands of those who live some distance from the country railway stations were deterred from starting out in such weather, the rain being at its worst about the time the most of them would have to start from their homes. But notwithstanding this there was a greater crowd in Fayetteville and at the speaking than the old town has seen since the centennial of '89.

The number has been variously estimated at from seven to ten thousand. Many of the multitude who lined the streets and filled the windows en route were not able to attend the speaking.

112 The great outpouring of the people under such adverse circumstances is

FIGURE 6.5

Populists to re-unite with the Democrats. When they had restored white rule, they would have plenty of time to settle their differences. By taking his advice the Populists would reinforce the silver-backed dollar and help keep the Republican goldbugs from making policy.

The crowd yelled with delight at every attack on the Republicans.

A WHITE MAN'S DAY.

Eight to Ten Thousand People Listen.

TILLMAN MAKES A GREAT SPEECH FOR DEMOCRACY

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What party does Tillman represent?
2. **Sourcing:** Who is he trying to convince to vote Democratic?
3. **Close Reading:** What are two things that Tillman promises will happen if the Democrats win?

How Long Will This Last? –Raleigh News and Observer

Source: The following political cartoon appeared in the Democratic newspaper, News and Observer, on August 13, 1898.(Figure 6.6).



FIGURE 6.6

Pant leg is labeled, THE NEGRO. Figure being stepped upon is labeled, WHITE MAN. Bottom reads, A SERIOUS QUESTION - HOW LONG WILL THIS LAST?

Populist Speech - Gov. Daniel Russell

Source: The following speech was published in a Populist newspaper on October 26, 1898. In this speech, Republican Governor Russell declares that he wants the election to be peaceful.(Figure 6.7).

I have been told that several political meetings have been broken up by armed men, using threats, intimidation, and, in some cases, actual violence; that in other cases property has been actually destroyed, and citizens fired on, that

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States secures to every State in this Union a republican form of government, protection from invasion and freedom from domestic violence; and,

WHEREAS, The Constitution of North Carolina guarantees to all the people of the State the inherent right to fully regulate their own internal government; to peacefully assemble for the purpose of consulting for their common good; to hold peaceable and quiet elections; and to discharge and exercise in an orderly and quiet way, the manifold duties and privileges of good citizenship; and,

WHEREAS, The Constitution of this State, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, forbid that any citizen shall be deprived or restrained of his liberty, but upon indictment for, and conviction of crime; and,

WHEREAS, It is ordained in the same Constitution and laws of this State that the writs for the protection of the citizen, and the processes of the courts for the protection of society, shall never be suspended, neither by usurping Executives nor by turbulent mobs, using the weapons of intimidation and violence; and,

WHEREAS, It has been made known to me, by the public press, by numerous letters, by the oral statements of divers citizens of the State and by formal written statements, that the political canvass, now going forward, has been made the occasion and pretext for bringing about conditions of lawlessness in certain counties in this State, such, for example, as Richmond and Robeson Counties; and,

WHEREAS, It has been made known to me in such a direct and reliable way, that I cannot doubt its truthfulness, that certain counties lying along the southern border of this State have been actually invaded by certain armed and lawless men from another

FIGURE 6.7

several citizens have been taken from their homes at night and whipped; that in several counties peaceful citizens have been intimidated and terrorized by threats of violence to their persons and their property, until they remove their names from the voter registration.

Therefore, I, Daniel L. Russell, Governor of the State of North Carolina, by virtue of authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws, will use all lawful efforts to preserve the peace; and to secure to all the people the quiet enjoyment of all their rights of free citizenship.

And I do further commend and require that all persons who may have entered this State from other states, to leave this State upon pain of being arrested and dealt with according to law.

By the Governor,

DANIEL L. RUSSELL.

Guiding Questions:

1. Governor Russell says that there's been violence. What party do you think is behind the violence?
2. Who do you think is being attacked? Why would those people be attacked?
3. Do you think this speech had any effect on the violence? Why or why not?

3. What regions of the country tended to vote Democratic in 1896? What might those regions have had in common?
4. How did the electoral map change between 1892 and 1896? What happened to the states that had voted for Weaver's Populist ticket in 1892? What states switched from Democratic to Republican? Which states switched in the other direction?

6.7 Pullman Strike

The Pullman Palace Car Company manufactured luxurious sleeper cars for trains. The company's built a whole town, Pullman, Illinois, to house its factories. Workers were forced to live there, to pay fixed rents, and to shop at company-run stores. In the 1893 recession, Pullman lowered the wages it paid workers but not the prices it charged them. In protest, the workers went on strike. To support their cause, the Eugene V. Debs' American Railway Union called a boycott of all Pullman cars, clogging rail yards. Eventually, a federal court ordered the ARU to end its boycott, and the strike ended.

The strike was highly controversial. As you read the following newspaper articles from the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Times*, try to determine which paper supported the business owners and which one favored the strikers. The documents are paired—the first two show the newspapers' differing coverage as the strike began; the second two show coverage of the beginning of the boycott, and so on.

Chicago Times, May 12, 1894

Source: The following two articles were written the day after the strike began. One article is from the Chicago Times, and the other is from the Chicago Tribune.

The strike of yesterday was ordered by a committee representing every department at the Pullman works. This committee was in session all night Thursday night, and finally came to the conclusion to order a strike 4:30 o'clock yesterday morning....

The position of the company is that no increase in wages is possible under the present conditions.... The position of the men is that they are receiving less than a living wage, to which they are entitled.

PULLMAN MEN OUT

Nearly 4,000 Throw Down Their Tools and Quit

Refuse to Work Till Wrongs are Righted

Firing Three Men Starts It

Almost the entire force of men employed in the Pullman shops went out on strike yesterday. Out of the 4,800 men and women employed in the various departments there were probably not over 800 at work at 6 o'clock last evening. The immediate cause of the strike was the laying off of three men in the iron machine shop. The real but remote cause is the question of wages over which the men have long been unhappy.

Chicago Tribune, May 12, 1894

PULLMAN MEN OUT

LAY OFFS THE CAUSE

Committeemen Laid Off and Their Comrades Act

Two thousand employees in the Pullman car works struck yesterday, leaving 800 others at their posts. This was not enough to keep the works going, so a notice was posted on the big gates at 6 o'clock saying: "These shops closed

until further notice.”....

The walk-out was a complete surprise to the officials.... Mr. Pullman had offered to allow the men the privilege of examining the books of the company to verify his statement that the works were running at a loss. When the men quit work at 6 o'clock Thursday evening none of them had any idea of striking.... But the Grievance Committee of Forty-six held a session. . . until 4:30 o'clock in the morning.... One department at a time, the men went out so that by 10 o'clock 1500 men were out... Only 800 came back after lunch....

Vocabulary

Grievance

complaint

Chicago Times, June 28, 1894

Source: The following two articles were written on the third day of the national railway boycott.

All the western half of the United States has begun to feel the paralysis of the American Railway Union's boycott of Pullman. At every important division point in the west, southwest, and northwest there are trains blockaded because the American Railway Union men will not run them with Pullman cars attached. Some roads are absolutely and utterly blockaded, others only feel the embargo slightly, but it grows in strength with every hour.

The six o'clock train on the Great Western started out with two Pullman sleeper cars and one Pullman diner. The conductor rang the bell, the train stopped, the whole crew got down and cut off those three cars. The train pulled out without the Pullmans. It was the most decisive thing the boycotters have done yet.

NOT A WHEEL TURNS IN THE WEST

Complete Shutdown of All Roads in the Territory Beyond the Missouri River

It May Be the Biggest Tie-Up in All History

Chicago Tribune, June 26, 1894

The American Railway Union became aggressive yesterday in its efforts to force a settlement between Mr. Pullman and his striking employees. . . . Its freight service was at a standstill all day and the same is practically true of other roads. In no case, however, did the strikers prevent the departure of any regular passenger trains from Chicago. . . .

Deb's master stroke, however, occurred at midnight, when every employee on the Santa Fe belonging to the American Railway Union was ordered out. Whether the men will obey the order will be learned today.

DEBS IS A DICTATOR

His Warfare on the Railroads is Waged Effectively

So far no marked violence has been attempted.... Chief Brennan says he has 2,000 men who can be gathered at any point inside of an hour.

Vocabulary

Dictator

leader with total power

Chicago Times July 7, 1894

Source: The two following articles were written after federal troops had been in Chicago for three days.

MEN NOT AWED BY SOLDIERS**MOST OF THE ROADS AT A STANDSTILL****Railway Union is Confident of Winning Against Armed Capital**

Despite the presence of United States troops and the mobilization of five regiments of state militia, despite threats of **martial law** and total extermination of the strikers by bullet, the great strike begun by the American Railway Union holds three-fourths of the roads running out of Chicago. . . .

If the soldiers are sent to the southwest section of the city, bloodshed and perhaps death will follow today, for this is the most lawless part in the city... But the **perpetrators** are not American Railway Union men. The people engaged in this outrageous work of destruction are not strikers... The persons who set the fires yesterday are young hoodlums. . . .

Vocabulary

Martial law

military law

Perpetrator

person committing an act, often a crime

Chicago Tribune July 7, 1894

YARDS FIRE SWEEPED**Hundreds of Freight Cars, Loaded and Empty, Burn****Rioters Prevent Firemen from Saving the Property**

The yards from Brighton Park to 61 st Street were lit on fire last night by the rioters. Between 600 and 700 freight cars have been destroyed, many of them loaded. Miles and miles of costly track are in a snarled tangle of heat-twisted rails. Not less than \$750,00—possibly \$1,000,000 of property—has been sacrificed to the mob of drunken Anarchists and rebels. That is the record of the night's work by the Debs strikers.

Chicago Times, July 15, 1894

Source: The following two articles were written as the strike was coming to an end. On July 10, Debs and other American Railway officers were arrested for violating a court order. They were held for several hours until posting \$10,000 bail.

President Debs then told the men the situation was more favorable than it had been at any time since the men went on strike. He said that telegrams from twenty-five points west of the Mississippi showed that the roads were completely tied up. Debs said, "I cannot stop now... I propose to work harder than ever and teach a lesson to those bigoted idiots. The managers refuse to work for peace."

DEBS SURE HE CAN WIN

Says the Battle is But Begun

More than 1,000 railroad men held an enthusiastic meeting yesterday afternoon, the speakers were President Debs and Vice-President Howard.

"There are men who have returned to their work, but they are traitors. We are better without them. We must unite as strong as iron, but let us be peaceful in this contest. Bloodshed is **unwarranted** and will not win."

Vocabulary

Unwarranted—unnecessary

Chicago Tribune, July 15, 1894

He said "The Northwestern will not be turning a wheel tonight." At midnight every wheel on the Northwestern had turned. The Northwestern people are inclined to look at Mr. Deb's declaration as a huge joke. . . .

WITH A DULL THUD

The Strike Collapses with Wonderful Rapidity

DEBS' WILD ASSERTIONS

He is Still Defiant While His "Union" Crumbles About Him

Eugene V. Debs' statements were like the last flicker of a candle that is almost burned out. The men who first answered his calls for help deserted him. Those who followed his banner of revolt and lost their positions also **denounced** him. The very fabric of the American Railway Union was falling upon his head and support was rapidly slipping from under his feet. . . .

Vocabulary

Rapidity
speed

Assertion

statement

Denounce

speak against

Section Questions:

1. What events does each entry focus on? How do the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Times* differ in the details they emphasize?
2. What specific words does each newspaper use to describe the strikers?
3. Which newspaper do you think was more supportive of the workers? Which newspaper was more supportive of Pullman?

6.8 USS Maine

On February 15, 1898, an explosion in Cuba's Havana Harbor sunk the ship the *U.S.S. Maine*. Of 354 people onboard, 266 died. It is unclear what caused the explosion, or whether it occurred on the ship or near it, but Cuba was a colony of Spain, and sensationalistic American newspapers blamed Spain for the attack. Amid popular calls to "Remember the *Maine*," the U.S. declared war on Spain. The Spanish-American war, in which the U.S. won Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, marked the emergence of America as a leading world power. As you read the documents below, try to determine what really happened to the *Maine*, thinking carefully about what kind of evidence each source uses to support its argument.

New York Journal and Advertiser

Source: Excerpt from New York Journal and Advertiser, February 17, 1898. Purchased by William Randolph Hearst in 1895, the Journal published investigative and human interest stories that used a highly emotional writing style and included banner headlines and graphic images.

The Spaniards, it is believed, arranged to have the Maine drop anchor over a harbor mine. Wires connected the mine to the magazine of the ship. If this is true, the brutal nature of the Spaniards will be shown by the fact that they waited to explode the mine until all the men had gone to sleep.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt says he is convinced that the destruction of the Maine in Havana Harbor was not an accident. The suspicion that the Maine was purposely blown up grows stronger every hour. Not a single fact to the contrary has been produced...

DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEMY

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident.

The Journal Offers \$50,000 Reward for the Conviction of the Criminals Who Sent 258 American Sailors to Their Death.

Naval Officers All Agree That the Ship Was Destroyed on Purpose.

NAVAL OFFICERS THINK THE MAINE WAS DESTROYED BY A SPANISH MINE.

George Bryson, the Journal's special reporter at Havana, writes that it is the secret opinion of many people in Havana that the war ship Maine was destroyed by a mine and 258 men were killed on purpose by the Spanish. This is the opinion of several American naval authorities.

Spanish officials are protesting too much that they did not do it. Our government has ordered an investigation. This newspaper has sent divers to Havana to report on the condition of the wreck. This newspaper is also offering a \$50,000 reward for exclusive evidence that will convict whoever is responsible.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of newspaper was this article published in? How does this influence its trustworthiness?
2. If you had read this article in 1898, what would you believe caused the Maine explosion? What evidence for this conclusion does the article provide?

Maine's Hull Will Decide - New York Times

Source: *New York Times*, February 17, 1898.

It has been a busy day for the Navy Department. The war ship Maine was destroyed in Havana Harbor last night. Officials in Washington and Havana have been sending cables all night long. Secretary Long was asked whether he thought this was the work of the enemy. He replied: "I do not. I am influenced by the fact that Captain Sigsbee has not yet reported to the Navy Department. It seems he is waiting to write a full report. So long as he has not made a decision, I certainly cannot. I should think from the signs, however, that there was an accident—that the magazine exploded. How that came about I do not know. For the present, at least, no other war ship will be sent to Havana."

Captain Schuley, who knows a great deal about war ships, did not entertain the idea that the Maine had been destroyed on purpose. He said that fires would sometimes start in the coal bunkers, and he told of such a fire on board another war ship that started very close to the magazine. The fire became so hot that the heat blistered the steel wall between the fire and the ammunition before the bunkers and magazine were flooded with water to stop the fire. He did not believe that the Spanish or Cubans in Havana had either the information or the equipment necessary to blow up the magazine, while the Maine was under guard.

Established in 1851, the New York Times provided investigative coverage of local New York issues and events, as well as national and international news.

MAINE'S HULL WILL DECIDE

Divers Will Inspect the Ship's Hull to Find Out Whether the Explosion Was from the Outside or Inside.

Magazines of War Ships Sometimes Blow Up Because of Too Much Heat Inside –

Hard to Blow Up the Magazine from the Outside.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of newspaper was this article published in? How does this influence its trustworthiness?
2. If you had read this article in 1898, what would you believe caused the Maine explosion? What evidence for this conclusion does the article provide?

Section Questions:

1. Which of the two articles is more believable? Cite specific examples from the text to support your claim.

6.9 The Spanish-American War

The sinking of the U.S.S. Maine may have provided an immediate justification for war with Spain, but other events in America and the world can be thought of as causes of the war. Considering the documents below alongside those you have already read, what caused the Spanish-American war?

Reconcentration Camps –Fitzhugh Lee

Source: Excerpt from unsigned enclosure included with telegram sent by Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. Consul-General in Cuba, November 27, 1897. Havana, Cuba.

SIR:... [W]e will relate to you what we saw with our own eyes:

Four hundred and sixty women and children thrown on the ground, heaped pell-mell as animals, some in a dying condition, others sick and others dead, without the slightest cleanliness, nor the least help...

The circumstances are the following: complete accumulation of bodies dead and alive, so that it was impossible to take one step without walking over them; the greatest want of cleanliness, want of light, air, and water; the food lacking in quality and quantity what was necessary to sustain life...

By the late 1800s, the Spanish were losing control of their colony, Cuba. Concerned about guerilla warfare in the countryside, they moved rural Cubans to “reconcentration” camps where the Spanish claimed they would be better able to protect them. However, people around the world saw newspaper reports that described horrible conditions in the camps for the Cuban people, who were called “reconcentrados.” This account was sent to Washington, D.C., by Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. Consul- General in Havana, who said its author was “a man of integrity and character.” A consul-general is a government official living in a foreign city whose job is to protect U.S. citizens and promote trade. He would make periodic reports to his superiors in the U.S. Dept. of State.

...Among the many deaths we witnessed there was one scene impossible to forget. There is still alive the only living witness, a young girl of 18 years, whom we found seemingly lifeless on the ground; on her right-hand side was the body of a young mother, cold and rigid, but with her young child still alive clinging to her dead breast; on her left-hand side was also the corpse of a dead woman holding her son in a dead embrace...

From all this we deduct that the number of deaths among the reconcentrados has amounted to 77 percent.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who was Fitzhugh Lee and why did he write this report?
2. **Close Reading:** Notice Lee’s graphic descriptions of living conditions. How do these details affect you as you read? Why might these descriptions be so detailed?
3. **Contextualizing:** If they could have seen this letter, how do you think people in the U.S. in 1897 might have reacted to this description of the reconcentration camps?

March of the Flag –Albert Beveridge

Source: Excerpt from Albert J. Beveridge’s Senate campaign speech, September 16, 1898. Beveridge gave this speech while he was campaigning to become a senator for Indiana. The speech helped him win the election and made him one of the leading advocates of American expansion.

Fellow citizens, it is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world;... It is a mighty people that he has planted on this soil... It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon his chosen people;... 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... William McKinley is continuing the policy that Jefferson began...

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. I answer, We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent.

They ask us how we will govern these new possessions. I answer: If England can govern foreign lands, so can America. If Germany can govern foreign lands, so can America. If they can supervise protectorates, so can America....

What does all this mean for every one of us? It means opportunity for all the glorious young manhood of the republic, the most virile, ambitious, impatient, militant manhood the world has ever seen. It means that the resources and the commerce of these immensely rich dominions will be increased...

Ah! as our commerce spreads, the flag of liberty will circle the globe... And, as their thunders salute the flag, benighted peoples will know that the voice of Liberty is speaking, at last, for them; that civilization is dawning, at last, for them Liberty and Civilization, those children of Christ’s gospel... Fellow Americans, we are God’s chosen people....

In Cuba, alone, there are 15,000,000 acres of forest unacquainted with the axe. There are exhaustless mines of iron.... There are millions of acres yet unexplored.... It means new employment and better wages for every laboring man in the Union....

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** For what purpose was this speech written? How does that influence what you can expect of it?
2. **Close Reading:** What do the following phrases suggest about Beveridge’s view of Americans as compared with people of other nations?
 - a. “noble land that God has given us”
 - b. “applies only to those who are capable of self-government”
 - c. “civilization is dawning, at last, for them”
3. **Contextualizing:** According to Beveridge, what else was going on in the U.S. and the rest of the world that made expansion a good idea?

6.10 References

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CHAPTER **7**

The Progressive Era

Chapter Outline

- 7.1 JAPANESE SEGREGATION
 - 7.2 PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL REFORMERS
 - 7.3 THE PROGRESSIVES AND CORRUPTION
 - 7.4 WASHINGTON AND DUBOIS
 - 7.5 REFERENCES
-

7.1 Japanese Segregation

By 1906, Chinese people had been immigrating to San Francisco for decades, but Japanese immigrants were few and had arrived only recently. In 1906 the San Francisco Board of Education ordered Japanese students to attend Chinese schools. President Theodore Roosevelt opposed this decision and attempted to have the decision reversed. It was unusual for the president to intervene in such a local issue.

Public Speech – Theodore Roosevelt

Source: Public speech by Roosevelt, December 1905.

It is unwise to depart from the old American tradition and to discriminate for or against any man who desired to come here as a citizen. We cannot afford to consider whether he is Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile; whether he is Englishman or Irishman, Frenchman or German, Japanese, Italian, Scandinavian, Slav, or Magyar.

The class of Chinese laborers are undesirable immigrants to this country, because of their numbers, the low wages for which they work, and their low standard of living.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. Do you trust what Roosevelt says in this document?

Letter to Friend – Theodore Roosevelt

Source: Letter from Roosevelt to a friend on May 6, 1905, in which he criticizes the California Legislature's recent move to restrict immigration from Japan.

The California Legislature has the right to protest against the immigration of Japanese laborers. Their cheapness and clannishness make them a challenge to our laboring class, and you may not know that they have begun to present a serious problem in Hawaii—all the more serious because they keep entirely to themselves. Furthermore, I understand that the Japanese themselves do not permit any foreigners to own land in Japan.

I would not have objected at all to the California Legislature passing a resolution, courteous and proper in its terms, which would really have achieved their goal. But I do object to, and feel humiliated by, the foolish offensiveness of the resolution they passed.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. Do you trust what Roosevelt says in this document?

Message to Congress – Theodore Roosevelt

Source: Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, December 4, 1906.

Here and there a most unworthy feeling has manifested itself toward the Japanese [such as] shutting them out of the common schools of San Francisco [and] mutterings against them in one or two other places, because of their efficiency as workers. To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity.

It's absurd that the mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence that would plunge us into war. A city should not be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. Do you trust what Roosevelt says in this document?

Roosevelt Letter to Secretary Metcalf

Source: Letter from Roosevelt to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Victor Metcalf, who went to San Francisco to investigate the Japanese segregation crisis, November 27, 1906.

The White House

Washington, Nov 27, 1906

My Dear Secretary Metcalf:

....I had a talk with the Japanese Ambassador and told him that in my judgment the only way to prevent constant friction between the United States and Japan was to keep the movement of the citizens of each country into the other as restricted as possible to students, travelers, business men and the like. It was necessary that no Japanese laboring men—that is, of the coolie class—come into the United States.... The Ambassador agreed with this view and said that he had always been against Japanese coolies going to America or Hawaii. Of course, San Francisco's action will make it difficult for most Japanese to agree with this view. But I hope my message will smooth over their feelings....

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. Do you trust what Roosevelt says in this document?

Do Not Embarrass the Administration - Political Cartoon

Source: This cartoon was published in *Harper's Weekly*, a New York-based magazine, in November 1906. It shows Secretary of Commerce and Labor Metcalf speaking to a young schoolboy, who represents San Francisco. (Figure 7.1).

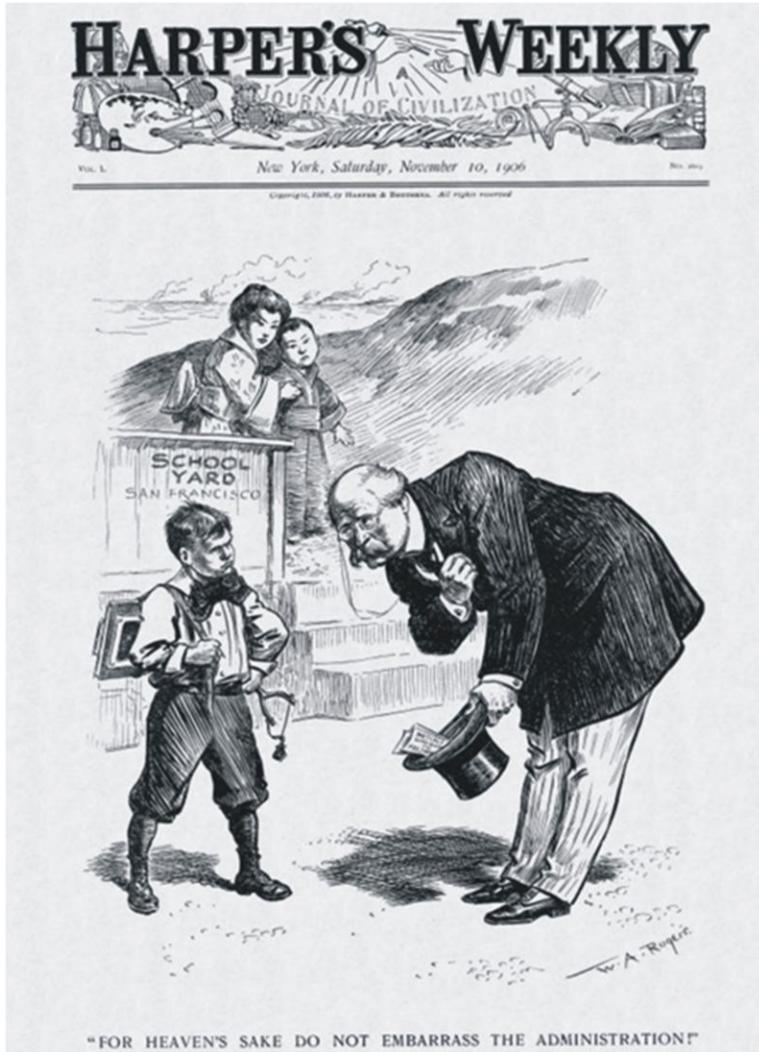


FIGURE 7.1

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. How does this source information influence your interpretation of the document?

Section Question:

1. Based on the documents provided, why did President Roosevelt intervene in Japanese segregation? Support your answer with specific evidence from the documents.

7.2 Progressive Social Reformers

Beginning around 1870, a Christian movement called the Social Gospel sought to apply the teachings of Jesus in the urban condition, helping immigrants and the poor and fighting vices such as alcoholism. Organizations such as the Salvation Army and the YMCA were formed as a part of this movement. One offshoot of the Social Gospel was the settlement house movement, in which well-educated white Christian women established houses in poor urban areas, from which they worked to educate the poor and help them out of poverty. The most famous such effort, Hull House, was established on the south side of Chicago by Jane Addams. As you read the documents about Hull House below, think about the attitude that advocates of the Social Gospel held toward the people they tried to help.

The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets

Source: Excerpt from Jane Addams, The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets, 1909. As more and more young immigrants moved from farms in the country to urban areas, dance halls became a popular form of recreation. Many progressive reformers found these dance halls to be inappropriate and pushed to create alternative forms of entertainment for youth, like amusement parks.

One Sunday night at twelve o'clock I walked past a large public dance hall. As I was standing by the rail, a young man approached me and quite simply asked me to introduce him to some 'nice girl,' saying that he did not know anyone there. I replied that a public dance hall was not the best place in which to look for a nice girl, and he said: 'But I'm awfully lonesome since I came to Chicago.' And then he added rather defiantly: 'Some nice girls do come here. It's one of the best halls in town.' . . .

The public dance halls are filled with frivolous and irresponsible young people in a feverish search for pleasure. They are not a substitute for the old dances on the village green in which all of the older people in the village participated. Chaperonage then was not a social duty but natural and inevitable....

Let us fix modern city so that it shall be free from the wickedness and weakness which tempt the young people who are living in its tenement houses and working in its factories.

Vocabulary

Defiantly

boldly opposing

Frivolous

Not having serious purpose or value

Chaperonage

adult supervision

Tenement

run-down and overcrowded apartment

“Dance Halls” –Louise de Koven Bowen

Source: Excerpts from an article by a Progressive social reformer, Louise de Koven Bowen, called “Dance Halls,” published in June 1911.

In these same halls obscene language is permitted, and even the girls carry on indecent conversation, cursing a lot, while the less sophisticated girls stand around listening, scandalized but fascinated....

Many of the halls are poorly lighted. There is very little protection in case of fire...

A city law should be passed covering the following points:....

2. All dance halls should be made to comply with the regulations of the Building and Fire Departments so as to insure proper sanitation and adequate fire protection....

3. The sale of liquor in dance halls or in buildings connected with them should be prohibited....

8. People under the influence of liquor or known prostitutes should not be permitted in dance halls....

11. There should be an inspector of dance halls who should have in his department a corps of assistants who would regularly inspect the halls and make reports concerning them to him weekly.

The dances are short—four to five minutes; the intermissions are long—fifteen to twenty minutes; thus ample opportunity is given for drinking.

7. No immoral dancing or familiarity should be tolerated.

Vocabulary

familiarity

inappropriate or offensive language or behavior

Passage from *Twenty Years at Hull-house*

Source: Excerpt from Jane Addams’ book, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, (1910). This passage comes from a chapter called “Immigrants and Their Children.”

An Italian girl who has had lessons in cooking will help her mother to connect the entire family with American food and household habits. That the mother has never baked bread in Italy—only mixed it in her own house and then taken it out to the village oven—makes all the more valuable her daughter’s understanding of the complicated cooking stove. The same thing is true of the girl who learns to sew, and more than anything else, perhaps, of the girl who receives the first simple instruction in the care of little children—that skillful care which every tenement-house baby requires if he is to live through his second summer.

Through civic instruction in the public schools, the Italian woman slowly becomes urbanized, and the habits of her entire family change. The public schools in the immigrant neighborhoods deserve all the praise as Americanizing forces.

I Came a Stranger: The Story of a Hull-House Girl

*Source: The document below was written by Hilda Satt Polacheck in the 1950s, in her book *I Came a Stranger: The Story of a Hull-House Girl*. She tells about her memories of Hull House from 1896.*

Several days before Christmas 1896 one of my Irish playmates suggested that I go with her to a Christmas party at Hull-House....

I asked her if there would be any Jewish children at the party. She said that there were Jewish children at the parties every year....

I then began to understand that things might be different in America. In Poland it had not been safe for Jewish children to be on the streets on Christmas.

At the party, the children of the Hull-House Music School sang some songs, that I later found out were called "Christmas carols." I shall never forget the sweetness of those voices. I could not connect this beautiful party with any hatred or superstition that existed among the people of Poland.

As I look back, I know that I became an American at this party. I was with children who had been brought here from all over the world, with their fathers and mothers, in search of a free and happy life. And we were all having a good time at a party, as the guests of an American, Jane Addams.

Section Questions:

1. How do you think immigrants viewed progressive reformers like Jane Addams? As genuinely helpful? As overly judgmental? Provide three pieces of evidence from the documents in support of your argument.

7.3 The Progressives and Corruption

In addition to poverty and social vices, the progressives worked against corruption. In the late 19th century and beyond, many cities were run by political 'machines,' which traded political favors and government contracts for votes and money. The heads of these machines were called 'bosses.' The machine in New York City was called Tammany Hall, and the most famous boss was Boss Tweed.

The Shame of Cities - Lincoln Steffens

Source: Excerpt from a book by muckraker Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of Cities*, published in 1904.

The typical American citizen is a business man. . . . The spirit of business is profit, not patriotism; individual gain, not national prosperity. "My business is sacred," says the business man in his heart. "Whatever helps my business, is good; it must be. Whatever hurts it, is wrong; it must be. A bribe is bad, that is, it is a bad thing to take; but it is not so bad to give one, not if it is necessary to my business."

And it's all a moral weakness. Oh, we are good—on Sunday, and we are "fearfully patriotic" on the Fourth of July. But the bribe we pay to the janitor is the little brother of the bribe passed to the councilman to sell a city street, and the father of the deal made by the president of the railroad, who agrees to use air-brakes only if he is given stock in the air-brake company.

New advances in printing technology during the 1890's made magazines and other publications inexpensive to print. Magazines became available to a broader middle-class audience. Lincoln Steffens was well known for writing magazine articles about child labor, prisons, religion and political machines.

Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: McClure, Philips Co., 1904), 1–18.

We are responsible, not our leaders, since we follow them. We let them divert our loyalty from the United States to some "party"; we let them boss the party and turn our democracies into autocracies. We cheat our government and we let our leaders loot it, and we let them bribe our sovereignty from us. We are content to let them pass bad laws, giving away public property in exchange for money.

Vocabulary

Divert

redirect, change

Autocracy

rule by one person

Sovereignty

independence

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this document? What was the intended audience?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time in history?
3. **Contextualization:** Why might this document not give you the whole picture?
4. **Close Reading:** What was the author trying to convince the reader of? What words does he use to do so?

“On the Shame of Cities” –George Plunkitt

Source: Excerpt from a talk by George Plunkitt, a political boss in New York City. The talk was called “On the Shame of Cities,” recorded in 1905. (Graft is another word for corruption and bribes). In this talk, Plunkitt responds to Lincoln Steffens’s book, The Shame of the Cities.

Steffens made one good point in his book. He said he found that Philadelphia, ruled almost entirely by Americans, was more corrupt than New York, where the Irish do almost all the governin’. I could have told him that before he did any investigatin’ if he had come to me. The Irish was born to rule, and they’re the honestest people in the world. Show me the Irishman who would steal a roof off an orphanage! He don’t exist. Of course, if an Irishman had the political pull and the roof was in bad shape, he might get the city authorities to put on a new one and get the contract for himself, and buy the old roof at a bargain-but that’s honest graft. . .

One reason why the Irishman is more honest in politics than many Americans is that he is grateful to the country and the city that gave him protection and prosperity when he was driven by oppression from Ireland. His one thought is to serve the city which gave him a home. His friends here often have a good place in one of the city departments picked out for him while he is still in Ireland. Is it any wonder that he has a tender spot in his heart for old New York when he is on its salary list the mornin’ after he lands?

I’ve been readin’ a book by Lincoln Steffens on *The Shame of the Cities*. Steffens means well, but like all reformers, he don’t know how to make distinctions. He can’t see no difference between honest graft and dishonest graft and, consequently, he gets things all mixed up.... For instance, I ain’t no looter. The looter hogs it. I never hogged. I made my money in politics, but at the same time, I served the organization and got more big improvements for New York City than any other livin’ man.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this document? What was the intended audience?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time in history?
3. **Contextualization:** Why might this document not give you the whole picture?
4. **Close Reading:** What was the author trying to convince the reader of? What words does he use to do so?

Section Questions:

1. What do Steffens and Plunkitt disagree about? Who do you find more persuasive? Why?
2. How do you think Steffens would respond to Plunkitt’s arguments?

7.4 Washington and Dubois

After Reconstruction and during the Jim Crow era, two African-American leaders emerged with very different ideas of how African-Americans could improve their place in society. Read the documents below and try to discern the differences. How would followers of each man live their lives?

Atlanta Compromise Speech - Booker T. Washington

Source: Excerpt from Booker T. Washington's 'Atlanta Compromise' speech, 1895

Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our freedom we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more attractive than starting a dairy farm or garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days passed a friendly ship and sent out a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly ship 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 ship, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are".... The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water. To those of my race I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are"—cast it down in making friends with the Southern white man, who is your next-door neighbor. Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service.... 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.... To those of the white race who look to foreign immigrants for the prosperity of the South, I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes, whose fidelity and love you have tested.... As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past... so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach.... 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.

Booker T. Washington was born a slave in 1856 and was nine years old when slavery ended. He became the principal of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, a school designed to teach blacks industrial skills. Washington was a skillful politician and speaker, and he won the support of whites in the North and South who donated money to the school. On September 18, 1895, Booker T. Washington spoke before a mostly white audience in Atlanta.

Vocabulary

Vessel

ship

Heeding

listening to

Injunction

order

Fidelity

loyalty

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this document?
2. **Sourcing:** What was his job?
3. **Sourcing:** Who was the audience?
4. **Sourcing:** What might have been his purpose in writing it?
5. **Contextualization:** What else was going on

The Souls of Black Folk - W.E.B. DuBois

Source: A book by W.E.B. DuBois called *The Souls of Black Folk*.

Easily the most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876 is the rise of Mr. Booker T. Washington. His leadership began at the time when Civil War memories and ideals were rapidly passing; a day of astonishing commercial development was dawning; a sense of doubt and hesitation overtook the freedmen's sons. Mr. Washington came at the psychological moment when whites were a little ashamed of having paid so much attention to Negroes [during Reconstruction], and were concentrating their energy on dollars.

Mr. Washington practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. He asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things—

First, political power;

Second, insistence on civil rights;

Third, higher education of Negro youth,

—and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the pacifying of the South. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro; 2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro; 3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

Mr. Washington's doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro's shoulders and stand aside as critical spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the nation, and the hands of none of us are clean if we do not all work on righting these great wrongs.

*The most influential public critique of Booker T. Washington came in 1903 when black leader and intellectual W.E.B. DuBois published an essay in his book, *The Souls of Black Folk*. DuBois rejected Washington's message and instead called for political power, insistence on civil rights, and the higher education of Negro youth. DuBois was born and raised a free man in Massachusetts and was the first African American to earn a PhD from Harvard.*

Vocabulary**Pacifying**

calming down

Palm branch

peace offering

Disfranchisement

taking away the right to vote

Spectators

onlookers

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** When was it written?
3. **Sourcing:** What do you expect Dubois will say?
4. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time?
5. **Contextualization:** Based on this document, what do you think African-Americans might have been feeling?
6. **Close Reading:** What is Dubois's criticism of Washington?
7. **Close Reading:** In your opinion, what is the most powerful phrase in Dubois's critique?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Taken together, what do these two documents tell you about American race relations around the turn of the 20th century?

7.5 References

1. . <http://www.harpweek.com/09Cartoon/BrowseByDateCartoon.asp?Month=November&Date=10> . Public Domain

CHAPTER **8**

World War I

Chapter Outline

- 8.1 THE PALMER RAIDS
 - 8.2 THE ESPIONAGE AND SEDITION ACTS
 - 8.3 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS DEBATE
 - 8.4 PROHIBITION
 - 8.5 CHICAGO RACE RIOTS
 - 8.6 WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
 - 8.7 REFERENCES
-

8.1 The Palmer Raids

In 1917, a revolution toppled Russia's Czar, and replaced him with a communist government. Also, immediately after World War One, the country experienced high inflation, high unemployment, and a number of labor strikes. Against this backdrop, the United States began arresting and deporting anyone suspected of "radical" thinking (e.g., Communism, socialism, anarchism, pro-labor). These arrests became known as the "Palmer Raids" after the Attorney General of the United States, A. Mitchell Palmer.

The Case Against the "Reds" –A. Mitchell Palmer

Source: Excerpt from an essay written by A. Mitchell Palmer called "The Case Against the 'Reds,'" 1920.

Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution a year ago. It was eating its way into the homes of the American workmen, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into schools, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, burning up the foundations of society.

It has been impossible in so short a space to review the entire menace of the internal revolution in this country, but this may serve to arouse the American citizen to its reality, its danger, and the great need of united effort to stamp it out, under our feet, if needs be. It is being done. The Department of Justice will pursue the attack of these "Reds" upon the Government of the United States with vigilance, and no alien, advocating the overthrow of existing law and order in this country, shall escape arrest and prompt deportation.

My information showed that thousands of aliens supported communism in this country. Aliens who were making the same glittering promises of lawlessness and criminal rule to Americans, that they had made to the Russian peasants. The whole purpose of communism appears to be a mass organization of the criminals of the world to overthrow the decencies of private life, to usurp property that they have not earned, to disrupt the present order of life. Communism distorts our social law.

Vocabulary

Aliens

Foreigners

Usurp

take over

Distort

Twist out of shape

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What is his perspective?

2. **Sourcing:** What do you predict he will say?
3. **Close reading:** Palmer says, “Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution a year ago.” What is he referring to? How do these words make the reader feel?
4. **Close Reading:** How does Palmer describe Communism? Why does he think it’s dangerous?

Deportation Statement –Emma Goldman

Source: Excerpt from the statement Emma Goldman gave at her deportation hearings. Goldman was an anarchist and socialist who sympathized with the working poor. She was deported during the Palmer Raids.

Emma Goldman

New York, October 27, 1919

I wish to register my protest against these proceedings, whose very spirit is nothing less than a revival of the ancient days of the Spanish Inquisition or Czarist Russia [when anyone who disagreed with the government was deported or killed]. Today so-called aliens are deported. Tomorrow American citizens will be banished. Already some “patriots” are suggesting that some native-born American citizens should be exiled.

The free expression of the hopes of a people is the greatest and only safety in a sane society. The object of the deportations and of the anti-anarchist law is to stifle the voice of the people, to muzzle every aspiration of labor. That is the real and terrible menace of these proceedings. Their goal is to exile and banish every one who does not agree with the lies that our leaders of industry continue to spread.

Vocabulary

Banish=Exile=Deported=

Kicked out of the country

Aspiration

hope or ambition

Menace

danger, threat

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What is her perspective?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you predict she will say?
3. **Close Reading:** According to Goldman, what is the goal of the Palmer raids? What is wrong with them?
4. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Considering both of these documents, why did Palmer arrest thousands of people and deport hundreds between 1919-1920?

8.2 The Espionage and Sedition Acts

During World War One, the U.S. Congress passed several laws, the Espionage and Sedition Acts, that criminalized certain acts deemed threatening to the war effort. Some people thought these laws unconstitutionally restricted free speech, while others thought they were necessary. The documents below include Wikipedia articles on the Espionage and Sedition Acts and an excerpt from a famous court case in which the Acts were challenged. The document set concludes with a speech by the socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. After giving the speech, Debs was prosecuted under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. After reading all of the documents, decide whether you think Debs was guilty.

Wikipedia on the Espionage Act

Source: Excerpt from the Wikipedia articles on the Espionage Act.

The Espionage Act of 1917 was a United States federal law passed shortly after entering World War I, on June 15, 1917, which made it a crime for a person:

Thus, while “espionage” is usually defined as a clandestine activity of getting secret information and passing it on to the enemy, the law vastly extended the meaning of the term to include also the openly carried expressing of political opinions, without revealing any secret, and by persons who had no connection with the enemy - as long as the expressing of such opinions was construed as helping the enemy.

The legislation was passed at the urging of President Woodrow Wilson, who feared any widespread dissent in time of war, thinking that it constituted a real threat to an American victory.

- To convey information with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the armed forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies. This was punishable by death or by imprisonment for not more than 30 years.
- To convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies and whoever when the United States is at war, to cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or to willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States. This was punishable by a maximum \$USD 10,000 fine (almost \$170,000 in today’s dollars) and 20 years in prison.

Source: Excerpt from the Wikipedia article on the Sedition Act http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sedition_Act_of_1918

The Sedition Act of 1918 (May 16, 1918) was an amendment to the Espionage Act of 1917 passed at the urging of President Woodrow Wilson, who was concerned that dissent, in time of war, was a significant threat to morale. The passing of this act forbade Americans to use “disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language” about the United States government, flag, or armed forces during war. The act also allowed the Postmaster General to deny mail delivery to dissenters of government policy during wartime.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Where did these documents come from? What do you know about this source?
2. **Sourcing:** How reliable do you consider these documents?
3. How could you corroborate the information from these documents?

Schenck v. United States –Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.

Source: Excerpt from a Supreme Court decision in the case of Schenck v. United States, written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. Schenck was a socialist who opposed the draft in World War I and passed out pamphlets comparing it to slavery. He was prosecuted under the Sedition Act and appealed his case to the Supreme Court, arguing that his pamphlet activity was protected by the 1st Amendment, under freedom of speech. In the decision below, the Supreme Court decided that Schenck was guilty, and that during wartime, the government may limit freedom of speech.

The character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting “Fire!” in a theatre and causing a panic...

The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent...

When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.

1918 Speech –Eugene V. Debs

Source: Eugene Debs delivered the following speech in June 1918. He visited three Socialists who were in prison for opposing the draft, and then spoke, across the street from the jail, for two hours. The excerpt below is only a small segment of a much longer speech.

Comrades, friends and fellow-workers, thank you for this very cordial greeting, this very hearty reception.

Three of our most loyal comrades are paying the penalty for their devotion to the cause of the working class. They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world.

Every one of these Wall Street conspirators and would-be murderers claims to be an arch-patriot; every one of them insists that the war is being waged to make the world safe for democracy. What humbug! What rot! What false pretense! These autocrats, these tyrants, these red-handed robbers and murderers, the “patriots,” while the men who have the courage to stand face to face with them, speak the truth, and fight for their exploited victims—they are the disloyalists and traitors. If this be true, I want to take my place side by side with the traitors in this fight.

Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder. In the Middle Ages when the feudal lords who inhabited the castles, the poor, ignorant serfs had been taught that it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another and to cut one another’s throats for the profit and glory of the lords and barons who held them in contempt. And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives.

In all the history of the world you, the people, have never had a voice in declaring war, and strange as it certainly appears, no war by any nation in any age has ever been declared by the people.

Yours not to reason why; Yours but to do and die.

That is their motto and we object on the part of the awakening workers of this nation.

If war is right let it be declared by the people. You who have your lives to lose, you certainly above all others have the right to decide the momentous issue of war or peace.

It is the minorities who have made the history of this world. It is the few who have had the courage to take their places at the front; who have been true enough to themselves to speak the truth that was in them; who have dared oppose the established order of things; who have espoused the cause of the suffering, struggling poor; who have upheld without regard to personal consequences the cause of freedom and righteousness.

They are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not their but your patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches.

In passing I suggest that we stop a moment to think about the term “landlord.” “LANDLORD!” Lord of the Land! The lord of the land is indeed a superpatriot. This lord who practically owns the earth tells you that we are fighting this war to make the world safe for democracy—he who profiteers at the expense of the people who have been slain and mutilated by multiplied thousands, under pretense of being the great American patriot. It is he, this patriot who is in fact the archenemy of the people; it is he that you need to wipe from power. It is he who is a far greater menace to your liberty and your well-being than the Prussian Junkers (Germans) on the other side of the Atlantic ocean.

Yes, in good time we are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and re-create them as free and humanizing institutions. The world is daily changing before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of socialism is rising.

In due time the hour will strike and this great cause triumphant—the greatest in history—will proclaim the emancipation of the working class and the brotherhood of all mankind.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What type of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Sourcing:** Who is the audience?
3. **Contextualization:** What was happening in the United States and Europe at this time?
4. **Contextualization:** Imagine what the scene might have looked like as Debs delivered this speech. Describe it in a few sentences.
5. **Close Reading:** What is Debs’ main message? What does he try to convince his audience?

Section Questions

1. **Corroboration:** Considering all of these documents, do you think Debs was guilty of violating the Espionage and Sedition Acts? Why?
2. Do you agree with the Espionage and Sedition Acts? Should the government be able to limit free speech during wartime?

8.3 The League of Nations Debate

After the end of World War I, in January 1919, the Allied Powers met at the Paris Peace Conference to decide on the terms of the treaty that would be presented to the defeated Central Powers. The Allies also created the League of Nations, an inter-governmental organization charged with peacefully resolving disputes between nations, promoting disarmament, and protecting human rights.

After the Paris Peace Conference, President Woodrow Wilson returned to the U.S. and tried to persuade Congress to ratify the treaty and join the League of Nations. The first document below is a speech given by Wilson in support of the League. The second is a speech by Republican senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who opposed the league.

League of Nations Speech –Woodrow Wilson

Source: Speech given by President Woodrow Wilson in Pueblo Colorado, September 25, 1919. Wilson toured the country to rally popular support for the treaty of Paris and the League of Nations.

My fellow citizens, as I have crossed the continent, I have perceived more and more that men have been busy creating an absolutely false impression of the treaty of peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

At the front of this great treaty is the Covenant of the League of Nations. Reflect, my fellow citizens that the membership of this great League is going to include all the great fighting nations of the world, as well as the weak ones.

And what do they unite for? They enter into a solemn promise to one another that they will never use their power against one another for aggression; that they never will violate the territorial integrity of a neighbor; that they never will interfere with the political independence of a neighbor; that they will abide by the principle that great populations are entitled to determine their own destiny; and that no matter what differences arise between them they will never resort to war without first submitting their differences to the consideration of the council of the League of Nations, and agreeing that at the end of the six months, even if they do not accept the advice of the council, they will still not go to war for another three months.

I wish that those who oppose this settlement could feel the moral obligation that rests upon us not to turn our backs on the boys who died, but to see the thing through, to see it through to the end and make good their redemption of the world.

For nothing less depends upon this decision, nothing less than liberation and salvation of the world.

You will say, “Is the League an absolute guaranty against war?” No; I do not know any absolute guaranty against the errors of human judgment or the violence of human passions but I tell you this: With a cooling space of nine months for human passion, not much of it will keep hot.

We have accepted the truth of justice and liberty and peace, and this truth is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before.

Vocabulary

Territorial integrity

borders of a country

Abide

accept

Redemption

save from evil

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who is giving this speech? When?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you predict he will say?
3. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time?
4. **Close Reading:** What word would you use to describe the tone of this speech? Provide a quote to support your answer.
5. **Close Reading:** What do you think is Wilson's strongest argument for the League of Nations?

League of Nations Speech –Henry Cabot Lodge

Source: A speech given by Henry Cabot Lodge in Washington, D.C. on August 12, 1919. Cabot Lodge was a ferocious Republican opponent of the Democrat President Woodrow Wilson. Deeply suspicious of any attempt to unnecessarily involve the U.S. in international political matters Cabot Lodge campaigned against U.S. participation in the League of Nations. Cabot Lodge's viewpoint eventually won and the U.S. never joined the League.

Mr. President:

We hear much of visions, but when words describe a present that doesn't exist and future that no man can predict, they are as unreal and short-lived as steam.

Our first ideal is our country. Our ideal is to make her ever stronger and better and finer, because in that way alone can she be of the greatest service to the world's peace and to the welfare of mankind.

The first step to world service is the maintenance of the United States. You may call me selfish if you will, conservative or **reactionary**, or use any other harsh 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.

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 league. Internationalism is to me **repulsive**.

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.

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** plan. For we, too, have our ideals, even if we differ from those who have tried to establish a monopoly of idealism.

Vocabulary

Reactionary

a person who opposes political reform

Allegiance

loyalty

Mongrel

a mutt; a cross-breed

Repulsive

disgusting

Fetter

restrain with chains

Intrigues

secret plans

Aspirations

hopes

Murky

dark and dirty

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who is giving this speech? When?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you predict he will say?
3. **Close Reading:** What word would you use to describe the tone of this speech? Provide a quote to support your answer.
4. **Close Reading:** What do you think is Lodge's strongest argument against the League of Nations?

Section Question:

1. **Corroboration:** Based on both documents, why do you think Henry Cabot Lodge won this debate? Provide quotations to support your answer.

8.4 Prohibition

Since the founding of the republic, some Americans advocated temperance—limits on the consumption of alcohol. Temperance organizations formed and then unified into the American Temperance Union in 1833. In the early 20th century, the cause morphed into the Prohibition movement, which had the support of diverse constituencies including Progressives, many southerners and women, pietist Protestant denominations (for example, Methodists), and the Ku Klux Klan. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution passed in 1919, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcohol. It was repealed in 1933. The documents below include the 18th Amendment, several prohibitionist posters, and an article from the New York Times. Read these documents to find out what problems some people saw in society and why they favored Prohibition.

The 18th Amendment

Source: The United States Constitution.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall both have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall have no power 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 to the States by the Congress.

The US Senate passed the 18th Amendment on December 18, 1917. It was ratified on January 16, 1919, after 36 states approved it. The 18th Amendment, and the enforcement laws accompanying it, established Prohibition of alcohol in the United States. Several states already had Prohibition laws before this amendment. It was eventually repealed by the 21st Amendment on December 5, 1933. It is the only amendment that has ever been completely repealed.

Section 1. After one year from the **ratification** of this **article** the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation or exportation of **intoxicating liquors** in the United States and all its territory is hereby prohibited.

Vocabulary

To ratify

to confirm or pass something, such as an amendment

Intoxicating liquors

alcohol

Article

a section or item in a written document. Until enough states ratified this amendment, it was known as an article.

Questions:

1. What is your first reaction to the 18th amendment?
2. Do you think this amendment could be passed today? Why or why not?
3. Why do you think some Americans in 1918 might have wanted this amendment?

Prohibition and Health

Source: Read at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Temperance Council, Washington D.C., September 20, 1920. The National Temperance Council was created in 1913 to work for Prohibition.(Figure 8.1).

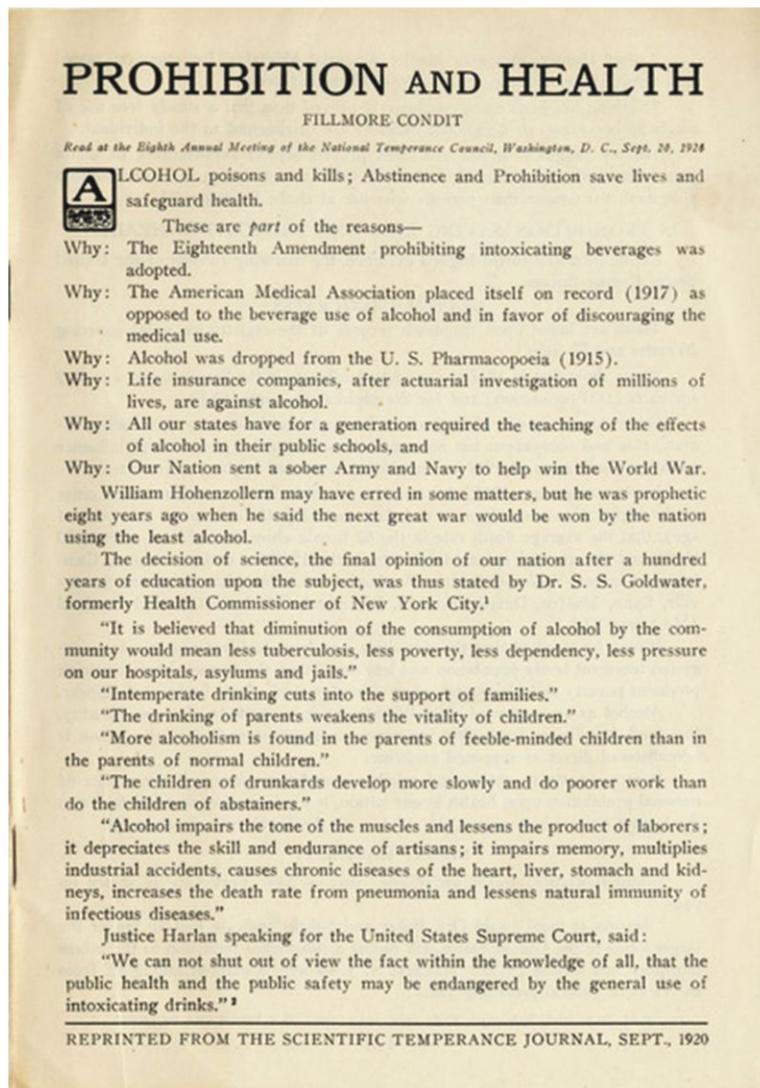


FIGURE 8.1

PROHIBITION AND HEALTH

Dr. S.S. Goldwater, formerly Health Commissioner of New York City, stated the decision of science, the final opinion of our nation after a hundred years of education upon the subject of alcohol.

“Alcohol hurts the tone of the muscles and lessens the product of laborers; it worsens the skill and endurance of artists; it hurts memory, increases industrial accidents, causes diseases of the heart, liver, stomach and kidney, increases the death rate from pneumonia and lessens the body’s natural immunity to disease.”

Justice Harlan speaking for the United States Supreme Court, said:

“We cannot shut out of view the fact that public health and public safety may be harmed by the general use of alcohol.”

Alcohol poisons and kills; Abstinence and Prohibition save lives and safeguard health.

“It is believed that less consumption of alcohol by the community would mean less tuberculosis, less poverty, less dependency, less pressure on our hospitals, asylums and jails.”

Vocabulary

Abstinence

Stopping yourself from doing something (e.g., drinking)

Consumption

eating or drinking

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document written? Was this before or after the passage of the 18th Amendment?
2. **Sourcing:** Why might the National Temperance Council still meet in 1920? What do you predict they will say?
3. **Close Reading:** What does the National Temperance Council claim is caused by alcohol? Do you find these claims convincing?

“Hooch Murder” Bill –New York Times

Source: The New York Times, November 14, 1922.

William H. Anderson, State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, announced in a statement yesterday that the organization would sponsor a measure at the upcoming State Legislature. The measure would be known as the “Hooch Murder” bill. It says a person can be tried for murder, and punished accordingly, if they are suspected of selling alcohol that resulted in the death of the person drinking it. Commenting on the measure, Mr. Anderson said:

....

’HOOCH MURDER’ BILL DRAFTED BY ANDERSON

Anti-Saloon Head Aims to Reach Those Whose Drinks Cause Death.

“This bill is intended for whoever it may hit, but it is especially directed at the immoral foreigner, usually an alien, who had largely stopped killing with a knife from hate or with a gun for hire, and has gone into the preparation and thoughtless selling of poison for profit.”

Vocabulary

Hooch

slang term for alcohol, commonly used in the 1920s to refer to illegal whiskey

Alien

a foreigner who is not a citizen

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document written? Was this before or after the passage of the 18th Amendment?
2. **Close Reading:** What is the “Hooch Murder Bill”?
3. **Close Reading:** Based on this document, who is the Anti-Saloon League blaming for the sale of alcohol during Prohibition? Why do you think they’re singling out this group?

Alcohol and Degeneracy

Source: Poster published in 1913 by the Scientific Temperance and American Issue Publishing Company.(Figure 8.2).

Vocabulary

Degeneracy

being in decline; having qualities that are not normal or desirable

Children in Misery

Source: Poster published in 1913 by the Scientific Temperance Federation and American Issue Publishing Company.(Figure 8.3).

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When were these posters made? Was that before or after the passage of the 18th Amendment?
2. **Sourcing:** Who published these posters? What was their perspective?
3. **Close Reading:** According to these posters, what are two reasons why Prohibition is a good idea?
4. **Close Reading:** Look at the words used in Document C. These were considered “scientific” categories. What does that tell you about science at this time?
5. **Context:** Using these posters, explain some of the beliefs about children that were common in the early 20th century. Do you think these beliefs are silly or reasonable? Explain.

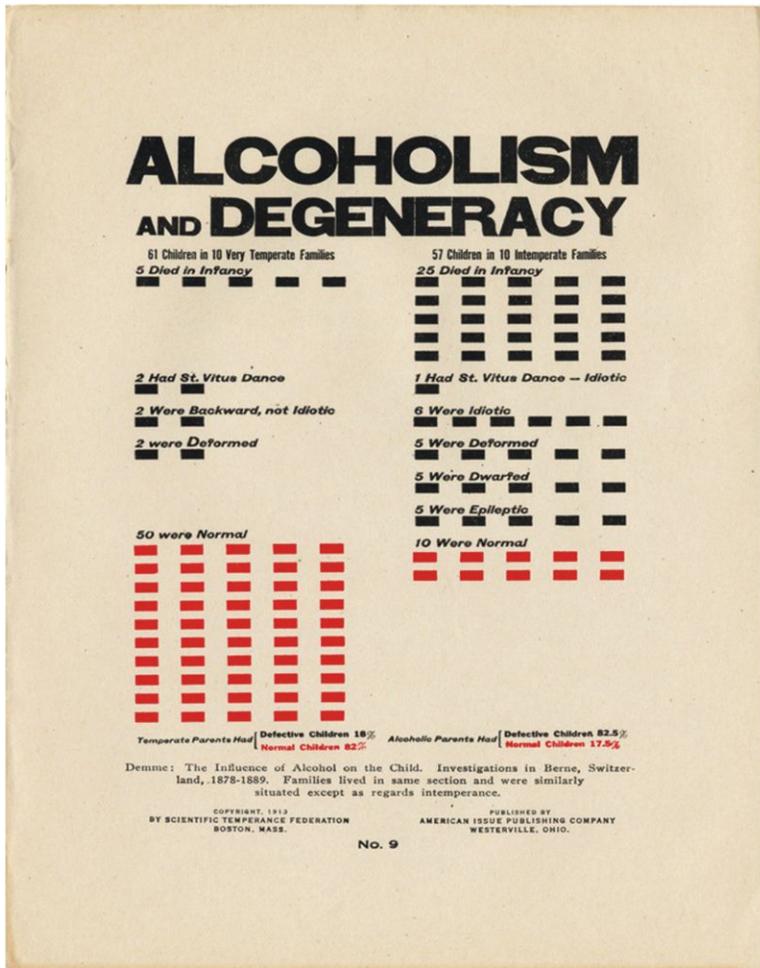


FIGURE 8.2

Section Question:

1. People who supported Prohibition thought it would solve a lot of society's problems. Use the documents to explain what problems they saw in society and why they thought Prohibition would solve these problems.

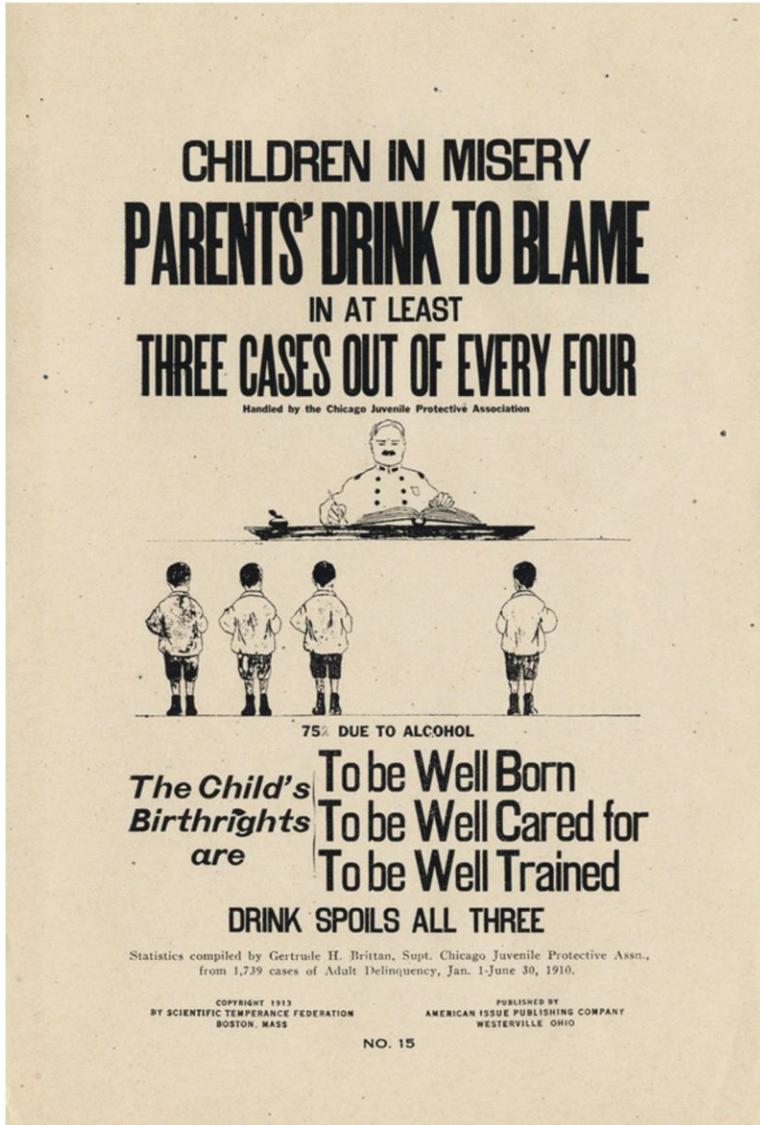


FIGURE 8.3

8.5 Chicago Race Riots

The textbook excerpt below provides introductory information about the Chicago Race Riots of 1919. Read that and then the documents that follow, thinking about what the textbook leaves out. According to each document, what caused the riots?

American Vision Excerpt

Source: The 2006 edition of The American Vision, a high school textbook.

In the summer of 1919, over 20 race riots broke out across the nation. The worst violence occurred in Chicago. On a hot July day, African Americans went to a whites-only beach. Both sides began throwing stones at each other. Whites also threw stones at an African American teenager swimming near the beach to prevent him from coming ashore, and he drowned. A full-scale riot then erupted in the city. Angry African Americans attacked white neighborhoods while whites attacked African American neighborhoods. The riots lasted for several days. In the end, 38 people died—15 white and 23 black—and over 500 were injured.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it created? For what audience?
2. **Sourcing:** How trustworthy do you find this document?
3. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

From Slavery to Freedom - John Hope Franklin

Source: A work of history by John Hope Franklin called From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans. This is from the Eighth Edition, published in 1987, but the book was first published in 1947.. Franklin is a United States historian and past president of the Organization of American Historians and the American Historical Association. More than three million copies of From Freedom to Slavery have been sold. In 1995, Franklin was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.

The most serious racial outbreak occurred in Chicago late in July of the so-called Red Summer.... The riot that began on July 27 had its immediate origin in a fight at Lake Michigan beach. A young African American swimming offshore had drifted into water that was customarily used by whites. White swimmers commanded him to return to his part of the beach, and some threw stones at him. When the young man went down and drowned, blacks declared that he had been murdered.... Distorted rumors circulated among blacks and whites concerning the incident and the subsequent events at the beach. Mobs sprang up in various parts of the city, and during the night there was sporadic fighting. In the next afternoon, white bystanders meddled with blacks as they went home from work. Some were pulled off streetcars and whipped.... On the South Side a group of young blacks stabbed an old Italian peddler to death, and a white laundry operator was also stabbed to death.... Thirty-eight people had been killed, including 15 whites and 23 blacks; of the 537 people injured, 178 were white and 342 were black. There is no record of the racial

identity of the remaining 17. More than 1,000 families, mostly black, were homeless as a result of to the burnings and general destruction of property.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it created? For what audience?
2. **Sourcing:** How trustworthy do you find this document?
3. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?
4. **Corroboration:** Compare this historian’s account to the textbook account above. How are they the same? Where do they differ? Which one is more trustworthy?

The Causes of the Chicago Race Riot –Walter White

Source: From “The Causes of the Chicago Race Riot,” by Walter White, October 1919. This article was published in The Crisis, an African-American newspaper. The author was a leader of the NAACP, an organization devoted to protecting African-American rights.

Whites who are afraid that blacks will move out of the “Black Belt” and into “white” neighborhoods have formed the “Property Owners’ Association” to keep blacks out of white neighborhoods. They discuss ways to keep Negroes in “their part of town.”

In a number of cases during the period from January 1918 to August 1919, there were bombings of colored homes and houses occupied by Negroes outside of the “Black Belt.” During this period no less than twenty bombings took place, yet only two persons have been arrested and neither of the two has been convicted.

Since 1915 the colored population of Chicago has more than doubled, increasing in four years from a little over 50,000 to what is now estimated to be between 125,000 and 150,000. Most blacks lived in the area called the “Black Belt.” Already overcrowded, this so-called “Black Belt” could not possibly hold the doubled colored population. One cannot put ten gallons of water in a five-gallon pail.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? For what audience?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

The Race Riots and their Remedies –W.S. Scarborough

Source: “Race Riots and Their Remedy” by W.S. Scarborough, from The Independent, an African-American newspaper. It is talking about black soldiers who served in World War One in Europe. More than 350,000 African Americans served in World War One, which ended in 1919.(Figure 8.4).

The spirit of the Negro who went across the seas – who was in battle – is different from the spirit of the Negro before the war. He is altogether a new man, with new ideas, new hopes, new dreams, and new desires. He will not quietly accept discrimination, and we should not ask him to do so. It is a new Negro that we have with us now...

The war transformed these men into new creatures – citizens of another type.

Race Riots and Their Remedy

By W. S. Scarborough, D.D.
President of Wilberforce University

THERE is but one remedy for race riots, and that is, justice—a willingness to accord to every man his rights—civil and political. This is the only solution of the vexed question called race prejudice, which is at the bottom of all the race troubles in all sections of our country.

Riots at all times are to be deplored and rioters themselves punished; and nothing I say in this article must be construed as an apology for lawlessness or crime.

The negro is the unfortunate victim in all these outbreaks — unfortunate because of his color, and unfortunate because the odds are against him, and because few people, nowadays, seem to think that he has rights that other men are bound to respect. This is the situation as we face it today.

The spirit of the negro who went across the seas—who was in action, and who went “over the top”—is by no means the spirit of the negro before the war. He is altogether a new man, with new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations and new desires. He will not quietly submit to former conditions without a vigorous protest, and we should not ask him to do so. It is a new negro that we have with us now, and may we not hope also that we have new white men? The war has revolutionized the entire world. It has changed our mode of thinking and our mode of action. New peoples with new thoughts must come to the front now.

When that horde of crude, unlettered and uncultured negroes was brought from the South—drafted against their will—disfranchised and representing nothing—when they were thrust into the cantonment to be converted into soldiers, little did the War Department think that it was creating a new race problem that would have to be dealt with later. This act transformed these men into new creatures—citizens of another type—that which they could not get in times of peace, came to them in times of war, I verily believe that it was providential. Many of these returning soldiers will not go South, but those who do so will demand a change in the treatment of their race.

It was rather unfortunate that the greatest of all wars—the World War—should have found the South in the saddle. It was an opportunity for that section and it made the most of it, so far as the black man is concerned.

The policy of the Administration has been against the black man. The avowed purpose of the Federal au-



A graduate of Oberlin College, Dr. Scarborough has devoted the greater part of his life to the education of his race, being professor of Greek at Wilberforce before he became president

thorities, from the beginning of the war till its close, was to make the negro feel that he is a negro and must occupy a negro's place. This spirit was taken by the white men in uniform across the seas, where every effort was used to have the Allied people understand that the negro had no standing on this side of the Atlantic.

If the negro had not been sent to camp—if he had not been trained in common with the white soldier; if he had not gone across the seas, and if he had not gone “over the top,” and made good; and if he had not expected better treatment on his return to his native land at the hands of those who drafted him and sent him to the trenches, I am sure that he would not be so exasperated over the situation.

He feels the injustice keenly. The negro officers and men now returning have but one story to tell, and they tell it with bitterness and in tears. Yet there is no redress, there is nothing that the negro can do, but wait. He dares not—he must not take the law into his own hands. That is anarchy and leads to riots and lawlessness. The higher and better classes of colored people, like the higher and better classes of white people, are not in sympathy with mob law or anything that is destructive of good government.

The war is now over, the negro soldier has returned. Note his treatment on the railroads, all of which are under Government control. Many of these men in going to their homes with laurels of victory won in their country's defense are not permitted to ride in other than the Jim-crow cars. Many of them have been assaulted and thrown off the cars by Government officials—withstanding their record across seas—simply because of their color. Many of them have not only suffered in this way, but have met death, because they sought better treatment. This is a terrible chapter in our American life, and only the negro's love for good government prevents serious trouble.

The negro is law-abiding and only occasionally shows a retaliatory spirit. Will not the American white people come halfway—put aside their prejudices and play fair with this people that has done so much to help win this war? Negroes are not rioters, but can be made so. It is a heavy burden they carry. They ask no favors, but simply a man's chance in the race of life, and an opportunity to develop the powers that God has given them.

Xenia, Ohio

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FIGURE 8.4

“Race Riots and Their Remedy”

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? For what audience?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

Packers' Force Cut by 15,000 –Chicago Tribune

Source: Article from the Chicago Tribune, the main newspaper in Chicago, April 12, 1919. Many people in Chicago worked at meat-packing factories, where they prepared meat to be shipped around the country. These factories were also called “stockyards.”

Outsiders who are thinking of coming to Chicago to take a “job at the yards” will not find the “welcome” sign out awaiting them.

Another problem is that the factories promised to return every employee who enlisted in the armed forces to “as

good or better” a job than he held when he put on a uniform. [White] men are now returning in increasingly large numbers and none are being turned away.

“No discrimination is being shown in the reducing of our forces,” said an official of one of the packing companies, in discussing reports that southern colored men, who were hired during the war job shortage, were being fired. “It is a case of survival of the fittest, the best man staying on the job. It is a fact that the southern Negro cannot compete with the northerner.”

Packers’ Force Cut by 15,000

It became known yesterday that since the end of the Great War the force of workers has dropped by nearly 15,000. This is due... to a big drop in war orders....

Questions:

1. *Sourcing:* Who wrote this document? When? For what audience?
2. *Close Reading:* According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

Section Question:

1. Considering all of the documents provided, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

8.6 Women's Suffrage

The section below includes documents from the women's suffrage movement, both for and against. The Declaration of Sentiments, from 1848, is the first classic statement from the American Women's Rights movement. The following two documents are texts from anti-suffragists. The set concludes with a photograph of a participant in a pro-suffrage rally. As you examine these documents, attempt to determine why some people supported the Women's Suffrage movement while others opposed it.

The Declaration of Sentiments

Source: The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, two American activists in the movement to abolish slavery organized the first conference to address Women's rights and issues in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The Declaration of the Seneca Falls Convention was signed by sixty-eight women and thirty-two men.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women 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.... Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance (loyalty) to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government....

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations (taking away power) on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise (right to vote).

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He becomes, in marriage, for all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer punishment.

He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of religion, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has given to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies (crimes) which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of insignificant in man.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, —in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document created? By whom?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was happening at this time? How would you expect people to react to the Declaration of Sentiments?

3. **Close Reading:** What other document is the Declaration of Sentiments modeled upon? Cite specific words and phrases that are similar between the two documents.
4. **Close Reading:** Why might the authors of the Declaration of Sentiments have chosen to model their writing on this other document?

Molly Elliot Seawell, *The Ladies' Battle*

Source: Excerpt from Molly Elliot Seawell's The Ladies' Battle, published in 1911. Seawell was an anti-suffragist from Virginia.

It has often been pointed out that women should not pass laws on matters of war and peace, since no woman can do military duty. But this point applies to other issues, too. No woman can have any practical knowledge of shipping and navigation, of the work of train-men on railways, of mining, or of many other subjects of the highest importance. Their legislation, therefore, would not be intelligent, and the laws they devised to help sailors, trainmen, miners, etc., might be highly offensive to the very people they tried to help. If sailors and miners refused to obey the laws, who would have to enforce them? The men!

The entire execution of the law would be in the hands of men, backed up by irresponsible voters (women) who could not lift a finger to catch or punish a criminal. And if all the dangers and difficulties of executing the law lay upon men, what right have women to make the law?

Also, there seems to be a close relationship between suffrage and divorce. Political differences in families, between brothers, for example, who vote on differing sides, do not promote harmony. How much more inharmonious must be political differences between a husband and wife, each of whom has a vote which may be used as a weapon against the other? What is likely to be the state of that family, when the husband votes one ticket, and the wife votes another?

Vocabulary

Devised

designed

Executing

carrying out

Inharmonious

unpleasant

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this document? When?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was happening at this time?
3. **Contextualization:** Consider the date of this document, compared to the date of the Declaration of Sentiments and the dates of the abolition movement. How would you expect people reading this document in 1911 to react?
4. **Close Reading:** What is Seawell's argument? What words and evidence does she use to support her argument? Cite specific quotations.

Anti-Suffrage Newspaper in New York

Source: Article from an anti-suffrage newspaper, The Woman's Protest Against Woman's Suffrage, published in New York by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in October 1912.

The Suffragists' ideal is a kitchen-less house. The Suffragist keeps writing and speaking about pots and pans, and denounces housekeeping as degrading. The Suffragists teach women to revolt against the daily task of tending child and house, and we sadly see the results in the nation's poor health and lowered physique. It is the Suffragist theory that women's sphere in life should be the same as the man's. Is it not clear how this hideous feminism is sapping our vitality as a nation? Is it too much to say that it lies at the root of half the sickness and disease in our country?

There are many wealthy women who support Suffragism, and who do a very dangerous thing in preaching to working women that housework is degrading. As long as a working woman keeps her home clean and well tended, she enjoys the high regard of her neighbors. Yet, now the more weak-minded have been influenced by the Suffragists' snobbish preaching. Such feminism is destroying our national character and warping the natural impulses and beliefs that make a woman's life such a beautiful work of art.

Vocabulary

Degrading

lowering one's character

Sphere

area of influence

Sapping

draining

Vitality

energy

Warping

twisting out of shape

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document written? By whom? What do you predict the document will say?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, why did anti-suffragists oppose suffrage? Cite specific passages.

Rep. John A. Moon Speech

Source: Representative John A. Moon of Tennessee, speech in House of Representatives, January 10, 1918, on the issue of the woman suffrage amendment.

It has been insisted that the real purpose of this amendment is to deprive the Southern States of representation in part in Congress....

In those Southern States where the colored population outnumbers the white, to double the number of ignorant voters by giving the colored woman the right to vote would produce a condition that would be absolutely intolerable. We owe something to the wishes and the sentiments of the people of our sister States struggling to maintain law and order and white supremacy....

We are engaged now in a great foreign war. It is not the proper time to change the whole electoral system... Patriotism, in my judgment, forbids the injection of this issue into national politics at this time.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document written? By whom? What do you predict the document will say?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, why did anti-suffragists oppose suffrage? Cite specific passages.

Kaiser Wilson Poster

Source: Photograph of Suffragist Virginia Arnold posing with banner at a 1917 protest organized by the National Woman's Party.(Figure 8.5).

Kaiser Wilson

Have you forgotten Your Sympathy With The Poor Germans Because They Were Not Self-Governed?

American Woman Are Not Self-Governed.

Take the Beam

Out Of Your Own Eye.

20,000,000

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this sign? When? Who took the photograph?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was going on in the world at this time?
3. **Close Reading:** Who is the sign maker calling "Kaiser Wilson?" What is the sign maker's argument? How would the words on the sign make an American in 1917 feel?
4. **Close Reading:** Do you recognize the allusion made in the last sentence on the sign? Would a person living in 1917 be likely to recognize it? Would this be effective in persuading people to support suffrage?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Considering all of the documents in this section, why did some people oppose suffrage?



FIGURE 8.5

8.7 References

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