The Americans

Primary and Literary Source Readings

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LITERATURE WORKSHEETS

Letter from Christopher Columbus to Gabriel Sanchez, Treasurer for King Ferdinand

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 1

"Because my undertakings have attained success, I know that it will be pleasing to you: these I have determined to relate, so that you may be made acquainted with everything done and discovered in this our voyage. On the thirty-third day after I departed from Cadiz, I came to the Indian sea, where I found many islands inhabited by men without number, of all which I took possession for our most fortunate king, with proclaiming heralds and flying standards, no one objecting.

To the first of these I gave the name of the blessed Saviour, on whose aid relying I had reached this as well as the other islands. But the Indians called it Guanahany. I also called each one of the others by a new name. For I ordered one island to be called Santa Maria of the Conception, another Fernandina, another Isabella, another Juana, and so on with the rest. . . .

This island [Juana] is surrounded by many very safe and wide harbors, not excelled by any others that I have ever seen. Many great and salubrious rivers flow through it. There are also many very high mountains there. All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by various qualities; they are accessible, and full of a great variety of trees stretching up to the stars; the leaves of which I believe are never shed, for I saw them as green and flourishing as they are usually in Spain in the month of May; some of them were blossoming, some were bearing fruit, some were in other conditions; each one was thriving in its own way. The nightingale and various other birds without number were singing, in the month of November, when I was exploring them.

There are besides in the said island Juana seven or eight kinds of palm trees, which far excel ours in height and beauty, just as all the other trees, herbs, and fruits do. There are also excellent pine trees, vast plains and meadows, a variety of birds, a variety of honey, and a variety of metals, excepting iron. In the one which was called Hispana, . . . there are great and beautiful mountains, vast fields, groves, fertile plains, very suitable for planting and cultivating, and for the building of houses.

The convenience of the harbors in this island, and the remarkable number of rivers contributing to the healthfulness of man, exceed belief, unless one has seen them. The trees, pasturage, and fruits of this island differ greatly from those of Juana. This Hispana, moreover, abounds in different kinds of spices, in gold, and in metals. . . .

All of these people lack, as I said above, every kind of iron; they are also without weapons, which indeed are unknown. . . .

. . . They are of simple manners and trustworthy, and very liberal with everything they have, refusing no one who asks for anything they may possess, and even themselves inviting us to ask for things. They show greater love for all others than for themselves; they give valuable things for trifles, being satisfied even with a very small return, or with nothing; however, I forbade that things so small and of no value should be given to them, such as pieces of plate, dishes and glass, likewise keys and shoestraps; although if they were able to obtain these, it seemed to them like getting the most beautiful jewels in the world. . . .

In all these islands there is no difference in the appearance of the people, nor in the manners and language, but all understand each other mutually; a fact that is very important for the end which I suppose to be earnestly desired by our most illustrious king, that is, their conversion to the holy religion of Christ, to which in truth, as far as I can perceive, they are very ready and favorably inclined. . . .

In all these islands, as I have understood, each man is content with only one wife, except the princes or kings, who are permitted to have twenty. The women appear to work more than the men. I was not able to find out surely whether they have individual property, for I saw that one man had the duty of distributing to the others, especially refreshments, food, and things of that kind. . . .

Truly great and wonderful is this, and not corresponding to our merits, but to the holy Christian religion, and to the piety and religion of our sovereigns, because what the human understanding could not attain, that the divine will has granted to human efforts. For God is wont to listen to his servants who love his precepts, even in impossibilities, as has happened to us on the present occasion, who have attained that which hitherto mortal men have never reached.

Christopher Columbus, admiral of the Ocean fleet"

Source: Reprinted in M. Lincoln Schuster, ed., *A Treasury of The World's Great Letters* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940), 63–68.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
A letter from Christopher Columbus

Background of Reading

Columbus, in a letter to Gabriel Sanchez, treasurer for King Ferdinand, describes lands and people encountered on his first voyage.

Background of Writer

Born Christoforo Colombo in Genoa, Italy, Christopher Columbus believed he could find the shortest route to Asia by sailing west. Columbus first sought funding from John II of Portugal but was rejected. He then went to Spain and for six years pleaded his case before the Spanish court. Isabella of Castile and her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, finally financed the voyage, hoping for a heavy return on their investment. The flagship, *Santa María,* called by Columbus "a dull sailer and unfit for discovery," carried a mixed crew of experienced sailors, unemployed men, and ex-convicts. Still in search of a westward route to Asia, Columbus later made three more voyages to America, the last in 1503. The explorer's last years were marked by failure, and he died an unhappy man.

Guided Reading Questions

1. Did Columbus feel that his voyage was a success or a failure? Give an example to support your answer. (Answer: a success; he claimed islands for his king.)

2. What impressed Columbus about the islands? (Possible responses: their beauty; the great variety of vegetation; the gentleness and generosity of the natives.)

3. Why did Columbus think the islands would be ideal for colonization? (Possible responses: islands had convenient, safe harbors; there was an abundance of spices, gold, and metals; the natives had no weapons.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What were some of the outstanding characteristics of the island Columbus called Juana? Describe this island. (Descriptions might include: good harbors; great rivers; high mountains; great trees as green in November as the trees of Spain in May; many birds.)

2. Was Hispana like Juana or different from it? Describe Hispana. (Paragraphs might include: the islands were alike in some ways, different in others. Both islands had mountains, vast fields, groves, fertile plains, convenient harbors, and a variety of metals. The trees, land, fruit, and spices of Hispana differed from those of Juana.)

3. What were the people of these islands like? How did the Europeans react to them? Do you think the nature of the natives worked for or against them? Give examples. (Paragraphs might include: people were of simple manners and trustworthy, generous with all their goods; each man, except princes or kings, had one wife; women worked more than men; goods were distributed among the tribe's members equally. Europeans sometimes tried to take advantage of the natives' generous nature by cheating them; in these cases the natives' gentle nature may have worked against them.)

A Slave's Journey from Africa to Barbados

Olaudah Equiano

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 2

"The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slaveship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror, which I am yet at a loss to describe, nor the feelings of my mind. When I was carried on board I was immediately handled, and tossed up, to see if I were sound, by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had got into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, which was very different from any I had ever heard, united to confirm me in this belief. . . .

When I looked round the ship and saw . . . a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little, I found some black people about me, who I believed were some of those who brought me on board, and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and long hair. They told me I was not. . . .

I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life; so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across, I think, the windlass, and tied my feet while the other flogged me severely. . . .

In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind . . . but still I feared I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so savage a manner; for I had never seen among any people such instances of brutal cruelty; and this not only shown towards us blacks, but also to some of the whites themselves. One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on deck, flogged so unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast, that he died in consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute. . . .

The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome, that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious [many] perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness amongst the slaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice [greed], as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myself I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters.

Olaudah Equiano"

Source: Reprinted in Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
A Slave's Journey from Africa to Barbados

Background of Reading

Equiano's autobiography details the author's experiences from the beginning of his life as a slave to his eventual freedom in England.

Background of Writer

Olaudah Equiano was kidnapped as a boy from the area that is now Nigeria, sold to British slave traders in 1756, and sent to the Caribbean island of Barbados. In 1766 Equiano bought his freedom, traveled to England, worked there as a barber and servant, and became involved in the antislavery movement.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What differences did Equiano notice between his captors and himself? (Answers: differences in complexion, hair, language.)

2. What did Equiano fear would happen to him once he was aboard the ship? (Answer: he would be killed and eaten.)

3. What does Equiano say is the indirect cause of all the sickness and dying on the ship? (Answer: the greed of the purchasers.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. After being taken aboard the ship, why did Equiano wish to die? Why did some slaves feel that death would be preferable to life as they experienced it? (Possible responses: he was sick; he wished to put an end to his suffering. Death would end their physical pain; they did not want to be enslaved and foresaw no release from their captivity.) Why do you think the slavers did not take better care of their "property"? (Possible responses: did not view the captured Africans as people; did not think they could recoup at sale time the extra expense of treating the slaves better.)

2. Identify a situation in which a person's self-preservation—his or her will to live—might give way to despair, resulting in a wish for death. Explain your answer. (Possible responses: being held a political hostage such as those in the Middle East; being a long-term prisoner of war such as in a German concentration camp; terminal physical illness; drug addiction.)

Letter from Judge Samuel Sewall Regarding Relations with the Indians

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 3

Samuel Sewall was a prominent judge and Puritan leader who tried to secure just treatment for the Indians. This excerpt is from a letter Sewall wrote to Sir William Ashurst on May 3, 1700.

"Last fall, I had notice of my being entrusted with a share in managing the Indian affairs, and presently upon it, the Commissioners were pleased to appoint me their secretary. As I account it an honor to be thus employed, so according to my mean ability, I shall endeavor faithfully to serve the Corporation and Commissioners, as I shall receive instructions from them.

I have met with an observation of some grave divines, that ordinarily when God intends good to a nation, He is pleased to make use of some of themselves to be instrumental in conveying of that good unto them. Now God has furnished several of the Indians with considerable abilities for the work of the ministry, and teaching school. And therefore I am apt to believe that if the Indians so qualified were more taken notice of in suitable rewards, it would conduce very much to the propagation of the Gospel among them. Besides the content they might have in a provision of necessary food and raiment [clothing], the respect and honor of it would quicken their industry and allure others to take pains in fitting themselves for a fruitful discharge of those offices.

One thing more I would crave leave to suggest. We have had a very long and grievous war with the Eastern Indians, and it is of great concernment to His Majesty's interests here that a peace be concluded with them upon firm and sure foundations; which in my poor opinion cannot well be while our articles of accord with them remain so very general as they do. I should think it requisite that convenient tracts of land should be set out to them; and that by plain and natural boundaries, as much as may be—as lakes, rivers, mountains, rocks—upon which for any Englishman to encroach should be accounted a crime. Except this be done, I fear their own jealousies, and the French friars, will persuade them that the English, as they increase and think they want more room, will never leave till they have crowded them quite out of all their lands. And it will be a vain attempt for us to offer Heaven to them if they take up prejudices against us, as if we did grudge them a living upon their own earth.

The Savoy Confession of Faith, English on one side and Indian on the other, has been lately printed here; as also several sermons of the president's [the president of Harvard College, Increase Mather] have been transcribed into Indian and printed; which I hope in God's time will have a very good effect. To see it and be employed in giving Your Honor an account of it would be a very desirable piece of service to [me]."

Source: Massachusetts Historical Society Collections. 6th series, I, pp. 231–233. Reprinted in Encyclopaedia Britannica, *1493–1754: Discovering a New World,* Vol. 1 of *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968), 315.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
Letter from Judge Samuel Sewall Regarding Relations with the Indians

Background of Reading

The letter was written by Sewall to Sir William Ashurst to express concern about such problems as determining fair boundaries for Indian lands and recruiting Indian missionaries to spread Christianity.

Background of Writer

American jurist Samuel Sewall was born in Bishopstoke, England, in 1652 and was educated at Harvard College. From 1681 to 1684 he managed the only licensed press in Boston, and in 1683 he was named deputy to the general court for the settlement of Westfield in Massachusetts. Sewall was made magistrate over the Massachusetts Bay Colony and served as a judge at the colony's sensational witch trials in 1692. He later publicly admitted his wrong decisions in the witch trials, which condemned nineteen people to death.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What was Sewall's position on the Board of Commissioners? (Answer: secretary.)

2. What abilities did Sewall believe the Indians possessed? (Answer: abilities for the work of ministry and teaching school.)

3. What did Sewall feel had to be done to ensure peace with the Indians? (Answer: convenient tracts of land had to be set aside for Indians, upon which English encroachment would be a crime.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What reasons did Sewall give for dealing fairly with the Indians? (Possible responses: to help spread Christianity; to keep the French from influencing the Indians; to keep the Indians from becoming prejudiced against the English.)

2. How did Sewall's position differ from that of other Puritans? (Possible responses: Sewall favored fair treatment for Indians; he recognized Indians' rights to land.)

3. If Sewall's suggestions had been implemented, how might relations between the Indians and settlers have changed? (Paragraphs might include: there might have been fewer conflicts and deaths; Indians might have accepted Christianity more readily; settlers might have been able to devote more time to exploring and settling new lands.)

from A Plan for the Union of Great Britain and the Colonies

Joseph Galloway

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 4

Joseph Galloway was a leader in Pennsylvania politics. He proposed a plan to solve the problem of colonial government by giving the colonies greater representation within the British empire. This plan was at first favorably received, but it was later defeated by a single vote and subsequently expunged from the minutes of the Continental Congress.

"*Resolved,* That this Congress will apply to His Majesty for a redress of grievances, under which his faithful subjects in America labour, and assure him that the colonies hold in abhorrence the idea of being considered independent communities of the British Government, and most ardently desire the establishment of a political union, not only among themselves, but with the mother state, upon those principles of safety and freedom which are essential in the constitution of all free governments, and particularly that of the British Legislature. And as the colonies from their local circumstances cannot be represented in the Parliament of Great Britain, they will humbly propose to His Majesty, and his two Houses of Parliament, the following plan, under which the strength of the whole Empire may be drawn together on any emergency; the interests of both countries advanced; and the rights and liberties of America secured.

A Plan of a proposed Union between Great Britain and the Colonies.

That a British and American legislature, for regulating the administration of the general affairs of America, be proposed and established in America, including all the said colonies; within and under which government, each colony shall retain its present constitution and powers of regulating and governing its own internal police in all cases whatsoever.

That the said government be administered by a President General, to be appointed by the King, and a grand council to be chosen by the Representatives of the people of the several colonies in their respective assemblies, once in every three years.

That the several assemblies shall choose members for the grand council . . . who shall meet at the city of _____ for the first time, being called by the President General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment. That there shall be a new election of members for the grand council every three years; and on the death, removal, or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of Assembly of the colony he represented.

That the grand council shall meet once in every year if they shall think it necessary, and oftener, if occasions shall require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at, by the President General on any emergency.

That the grand council shall have power to choose their Speaker, and shall hold and exercise all the like rights, liberties, and privileges as are held and exercised by and in the House of Commons of Great Britain.

That the President General shall hold his office during the pleasure of the King, and his assent shall be requisite to all Acts of the grand council, and it shall be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

That the President General, by and with the advice and consent of the grand council, hold and exercise all the legislative rights, powers, and authorities, necessary for regulating and administering all the general police and affairs of the colonies, in which Great Britain and the colonies, or any of them, the colonies in general, or more than one colony, are in any manner concerned, as well civil and criminal as commercial.

That the said President General and grand council, be an inferior and distinct branch of the British legislature, united and incorporated with it for the aforesaid general purposes; and that any of the said general regulations may originate, and be formed and digested, either in the Parliament of Great Britain, or in the said grand council; and being prepared, transmitted to the other for their approbation or dissent; and that the assent of both shall be requisite to the validity of all such general acts and statutes.

That in time of war, all bills for granting aides to the Crown, prepared by the grand council and approved by the President General, shall be valid and passed into a law, without the assent of the British Parliament."

Source: Reprinted in Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History,* vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 81–82.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from A Plan for the Union of Great Britain and the Colonies

Background of Reading

Galloway proposed to solve the problem of colonial rule giving American colonies dominion status. Skillful maneuvers by John and Sam Adams and their radical allies swayed the delegates in favor of the Suffolk Resolves instead.

Background of Writer

A wealthy and influential figure in colonial society, Joseph Galloway was a political moderate and speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly from 1766 to 1774. He hoped for reconciliation between the colonies and Britain and feared the consequences of radical deeds or words. When all hope for a peaceful solution faded, Galloway sided with the loyalists. His estates were eventually confiscated, and he ended his days in exile.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What three reasons did Galloway give for his plan? (Answer: to draw together the strength of the empire during any emergency; to advance the interests of Britain and the colonies; to secure the rights and liberties of America.)

2. How would the colonies be governed under Galloway's plan? (Answer: each colony would retain its own constitution and powers of regulating and governing its own internal police; a President General, appointed by the King, and a grand council, chosen by the representatives of the colonists, would administer the laws.)

3. What powers would the grand council possess? (Answer: the right to choose their speaker, and all the rights, liberties, and privileges held by the members of the House of Commons of Great Britain.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What was the proposed relationship between the President General and the grand council in the colonies, and the British legislature? How might some delegates have felt about such a relationship? (Possible responses: President General and grand council would make up an inferior and distinct branch; delegates felt angry because they did not believe themselves to be inferior to other Englishmen.)

2. Why might some delegates have been opposed to the provision that "the assent of both shall be requisite to the validity of all such general acts and statutes"? Why might Samuel Adams have opposed Galloway's plan? (Possible responses: representatives might have felt that Parliament did not need to be consulted regarding laws that affected the colonies; Adams was interested in a more separate form of government and was not interested in reconciliation.)

3. How might the acceptance of this plan by the Continental Congress have changed the course of American history? (Paragraphs may include: would have delayed Revolutionary War by making some concessions to the colonists.)

"The Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga"

Frederika Charlotte Louise, Baroness von Riedesel

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 5

"We reached Saratoga about dark, which was but half an hour's march from the place where we had spent the day. I [Frederika Charlotte Louise, Baroness von Riedesel] was quite wet, and was obliged to remain in that condition, for want of a place to change my apparel. I seated myself near the fire, and undressed the children, and we then laid ourselves upon some straw.—I asked general Phillips, who came to see how I was, why we did not continue our retreat, my husband having pledged himself to cover the movement, and to bring off the army in safety. "My poor lady," said he, "you astonish me. Though quite wet, you have so much courage as to wish to go farther in this weather. What a pity it is that you are not our commanding general! He complains of fatigue, and has determined upon spending the night here, and giving us a supper." It is very true, that general Burgoyne liked to make himself easy, and that he spent half his nights in singing and drinking, and diverting himself. . . . I refreshed myself at 7 o'clock, the next morning, (the 10th of October,) with a cup of tea, and we all expected that we should soon continue our march. . . . About 2 o'clock, we heard again a report of muskets and cannon, and there was much alarm and bustle among our troops. My husband sent me word, that I should immediately retire into a house which was not far off. I got into my calash [carriage] with my children, and when we were near the house, I saw, on the opposite bank of the Hudson, five or six men, who aimed at us with their guns. Without knowing what I did, I threw my children into the back part of the vehicle, and laid myself upon them. At the same moment the fellow fired, and broke the arm of a poor English soldier, who stood behind us, and who being already wounded, sought a shelter. Soon after our arrival, a terrible cannonade began, and the fire was principally directed against the house, where we had hoped to find a refuge, probably because the enemy inferred, from the great number of people who went towards it, that this was the headquarters of the generals, while, in reality, none were there except women and crippled soldiers. We were at last obliged to descend into the cellar, where I laid myself in a corner near the door. My children put their heads upon my knees. An abominable smell, the cries of the children, and my own anguish of mind, did not permit me to close my eyes, during the whole night. On the next morning, the cannonade begun anew, but in a different direction. . . . Eleven cannonballs passed through the house, and made a tremendous noise. A poor soldier, who was about to have a leg amputated, lost the other by one of these balls. All his comrades ran away at that moment, and when they returned, they found him in one corner of the room, in the agonies of death. I was myself in the deepest distress, not so much on account of my own dangers, as of those to which my husband was exposed, who, however, frequently sent me messages, inquiring after my health. . . .

The want of water continuing to distress us, we could not but be extremely glad to find a soldier's wife so spirited as to fetch some from the river, an occupation from which the boldest might have shrunk, as the Americans shot every one who approached it. They told us afterwards that they spared her on account of her sex. . . .

On the 17th of October, the capitulation was carried into effect. The generals waited upon the American general Gates, and the troops surrendered themselves prisoners of war and laid down their arms. . . .

At last, my husband's groom brought me a message to join him with the children. I once more seated myself in my dear calash, and, while riding through the American camp, was gratified to observe that no body looked at us with disrespect, but, on the contrary, greeted us, and seemed touched at the sight of a captive mother with three children. I must candidly confess that I did not present myself, though so situated, with much courage to the enemy, for the thing was entirely new to me. When I drew near the tents, a good looking man advanced towards me, and helped the children from the calash, and kissed and caressed them: he offered me his arm, and tears trembled in his eyes. "You tremble," said he; "do not be alarmed, I pray you." "Sir," cried I, "a countenance so expressive of benevolence, and the kindness which you have evinced towards my children, are sufficient to dispel all apprehension." He then ushered me into the tent of general Gates. . . ."

Source: Reprinted in Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *Building of the Republic: 1689–1783*, vol. 2 of *American History Told by Contemporaries* (New York: Macmillan, 1898), 566–568.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
"The Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga"

Background of Reading

This excerpt is taken from the letters and memoirs of the wife of a German general in Burgoyne's army. It is considered one of the best accounts of conditions in the British army.

Background of Writer

Frederika Charlotte Louise, Baroness von Riedesel, was the wife of General Riedesel, commander of German troops under General Burgoyne. After the surrender to the Americans, both the general and the baroness were held prisoner in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in Virginia.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What civilians accompanied the army? (Answer: wives and children.)

2. Why did the army stop at Saratoga rather than continue their retreat? (Answer: General Burgoyne was tired.)

3. Why did the colonial army attack the house in which the baroness and her children were staying? (Answer: they thought it was the headquarters of the generals.)

4. What happened on October 17? (Answer: British and German troops surrendered to General Gates.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. How did the baroness feel about General Burgoyne? (Possible responses: he was not a good leader of men; he put his own comfort over the safety of his troops and the baroness.)

2. How were the baroness and her children treated after the surrender? Is such treatment usual? Explain your answer. (Paragraphs might include: they were treated kindly and sympathetically. The treatment is not usual, as seen in other wars.)

3. Why did the baroness seem happy and content even though she was technically a prisoner? How was capture by the enemy better than freedom for the baroness? (Paragraphs might include: she no longer had to fear fighting and constant danger such as she and her children had been subjected to; she was relieved that her husband had not been killed.)

from Debates in the Virginia Ratifying Convention

Patrick Henry

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 6

"This Constitution is said to have beautiful features; but when I come to examine these features, sir, they appear to me horribly frightful. Among other deformities, it has an awful squinting; it squints toward monarchy; and does not this raise indignation in the breast of every true American? Your President may easily become king. Your Senate is so imperfectly constructed that your dearest rights may be sacrificed by what may be a small minority; and a very small minority may continue forever unchangeably this government, although horridly defective. Where are your checks in this government? Your strongholds will be in the hands of your enemies. It is on a supposition that your American governors shall be honest, that all the good qualities of this government are founded; but its defective and imperfect construction puts it in their power to perpetrate the worst of mischiefs, should they be bad men; and, sir, would not all the world, from the Eastern to the Western Hemisphere, blame our distracted folly in resting our rights upon the contingency of our rulers being good or bad? Show me that age and country where the rights and liberties of the people were placed on the sole chance of their rulers being good men, without a consequent loss of liberty! I say that the loss of that dearest privilege has ever followed, with absolute certainty, every such mad attempt.

If your American chief be a man of ambition and abilities, how easy is it for him to render himself absolute! The army is in his hands, and if he be a man of address, it will be attached to him, and it will be the subject of long meditation with him to seize the first auspicious moment to accomplish his design; and, sir, will the American spirit solely relieve you when this happens? I would rather infinitely—and I am sure most of this convention are of the same opinion—have a king, lords, and commons, than a government so replete with such insupportable evils. If we make a king, we may prescribe the rules by which he shall rule his people, and interpose such checks as shall prevent him from infringing them; but the President, in the field, at the head of his army, can prescribe the terms on which he shall reign master, so far that it will puzzle any American ever to get his neck from under the galling yoke. I cannot with patience think of this idea. If ever he violate the laws, one of two things will happen: he will come at the head of the army to carry everything before him; or he will give bail, or do what Mr. Chief-Justice will order him. If he be guilty, will not the recollection of his crimes teach him to make one bold push for the American throne? Will not the immense difference between being master of everything and being ignominiously tried and punished powerfully excite him to make this bold push? But, sir, where is the existing force to punish him? Can he not, at the head of his army, beat down every opposition? Away with your President! we shall have a king: the army will salute him monarch; your militia will leave you, and assist in making him king, and fight against you: and what have you to oppose this force? What will then become of you and your rights? Will not absolute despotism ensue?"

Source: David J. Brewer, ed., *The World's Best Orations*, vols. 6–10 (Metuchen, N.J.: Mini-Print, 1970), 2495–2496.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from Debates in the Virginia Ratifying Convention

Background of Reading

Patrick Henry's denunciation of the Constitutional Convention expressed the fears and resentments of all who opposed the Constitution.

Background of Writer

Patrick Henry was born in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1736. From 1751 to 1760, he worked as a storekeeper and farmer. He was admitted to the Virginia bar in 1760. Henry introduced seven resolutions against the Stamp Act during his term in the House of Burgesses. In 1774 he became a member of the revolutionary convention in Virginia and there delivered his speech containing the now-famous words "Give me liberty or give me death." Henry served as a delegate to the First and Second Continental Congresses. He also served as Virginia's governor from 1776 to 1779 and from 1784 to 1786.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What kind of government did Patrick Henry fear would develop out of the new Constitution? (Answer: a monarchy.)

2. Upon what false assumption did Henry state that the government was founded? (Answer: American governors will be honest.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Explain why Henry felt that a king would be preferable to a President under the new Constitution. (Possible responses: a king could be limited by written laws and rules; checks on a king's power could be imposed.)

2. How would you counteract Henry's objections? (Possible responses: the President is elected and paid by the people and is therefore their servant; the Constitution contains checks on the President by the Congress and the courts; most people seeking office are interested more in the good of the country than in personal gain.)

3. Explain why you agree or disagree with Patrick Henry's opinion. (Paragraphs might include: agree—one man should not have all the power since power tends to corrupt; disagree—there is an adequate system of checks and balances to keep the President's power from becoming absolute.)

from Cohens *v.* Virginia *(1821)*

Chief Justice John Marshall

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 7

"But a constitution is framed for ages to come and is designed to approach immortality as nearly as human institutions can approach it. Its course cannot always be tranquil. It is exposed to storms and tempests, and its framers must be unwise statesmen indeed if they have not provided it, so far as its nature will permit, with the means of self-preservation from the perils it may be destined to encounter. No government ought to be so defective in its organization as not to contain within itself the means of securing the execution of its own laws against other dangers than those which occur every day. . . .

That the United States form, for many, and for most important purposes, a single nation, has not yet been denied. In war we are one people. In making peace, we are one people. In all commercial regulations, we are one and the same people. In many other respects, the American people are one; and the government which is alone capable of controlling and managing their interests in all these respects, is the government of the Union. It is their government, and in that character they have no other. America has chosen to be, in many respects, and to many purposes, a nation; and for all these purposes her government is complete; to all these objects, it is competent. The people have declared, that in the exercise of all the powers given for these objects it is supreme. It can, then, in effecting these objects, legitimately control all individuals or governments within the American territory. The constitution and laws of a state, so far as they are repugnant to the constitution and laws of the United States, are absolutely void. These States are constituent parts of the United States. They are members of one great empire—for some purposes sovereign, for some purposes subordinate."

Source: *Cohens* v. *Virginia,* 6 Wheat. 264 (1821). Reprinted in John M. Swarthout and Ernest R. Bartley, eds., *Materials on American National Government,* 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 40.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* Cohens *v.* Virginia *(1821)*

Background of Reading

The opinion of the Court delivered by Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Cohens* v. *Virginia* (1821) is typical of Marshall's views on the Constitution. It demonstrates his strong belief in both the supremacy of the nation over the states and the need for political stability.

Background of Writer

John Marshall, born in 1755, was a protégé of George Washington. He was considered a strong Federalist and became known as the great Chief Justice. Decisions made as Chief Justice helped to establish the Supreme Court as a vigorous and equal third branch of the government. The development of a strong Court in turn helped to create a strong national government that had the right to override the states whenever national and state interests clashed. In fact, many later Court interpretations have rested heavily on the strong principles Marshall created.

Marshall became a lawyer in 1781 after studying law on his own and attending some lectures at William and Mary College. He then joined the Federalist party and served in the Virginia legislature and also as a delegate to the state convention that adopted the new federal Constitution in 1788. Marshall was offered and declined the post of Attorney General under President Washington. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1797 and was appointed to the position of Chief Justice by President Adams on February 4, 1801. He served until his death in 1835. In the case of *Marbury* v. *Madison,* Marshall established the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional. This doctrine, known as judicial review, is still followed today.

Guided Reading Questions

1. How does Marshall believe a constitution should be designed? (Answer: to withstand the test of time—to "approach immortality as nearly as human institutions can.")
2. From what does a constitution need protection? (Answer: from the challenges that it will inevitably encounter.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What evidence does Marshall give that, for most purposes, the United States is a single nation? Do you agree or disagree with his point of view? Give examples from Marshall's opinion to support your opinion. (Paragraphs might include: in war, in making peace, in commercial regulations we are one.)

2. What does Marshall believe should take precedence—the power of the federal government or that of individual states? Why? Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons to support your opinion. (Paragraphs might include: the federal government should be the highest power because states are constituent parts of the United States. They should therefore bow to the federal government in times of disagreement.)

from The Sedition Act

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 8

"*An Act in addition to the act, entitled "An act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States."*

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted* . . . , That if any persons shall unlawfully combine or conspire together, with intent to oppose any measure or measures of the government of the United States, which are or shall be directed by proper authority, or to impede the operation of any law of the United States, or to intimidate or prevent any person holding a place or office in or under the government of the United States, from undertaking, performing or executing his trust or duty; and if any person or persons, with intent as aforesaid, shall counsel, advise or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly, or combination, whether such conspiracy, threatening, counsel, advice, or attempt shall have the proposed effect or not, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction, before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment during a term not less than six months nor exceeding five years; and further, at the discretion of the court may be holden to find sureties for his good behaviour in such sum, and for such time, as the said court may direct.

SEC. 2. That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

SEC. 3. That if any person shall be prosecuted under this act, for the writing or publishing any libel aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the defendant, upon the trial of the cause, to give in evidence in his defence, the truth of the matter contained in the publication charged as a libel. And the jury who shall try the cause, shall have a right to determine the law and the fact, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SEC. 4. That this act shall continue to be in force until March 3, 1801, and no longer."

Source: *U.S. Statutes at Large,* vol. 1, 596–597. Reprinted in Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History,* vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 177–178.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from The Sedition Act

Background of Reading

A reaction to the XYZ correspondence, the Sedition Act demonstrated the Federalist spirit of nationalism. It was part of a four-act bill known as the Alien and Sedition Acts and was primarily aimed at a group of anti-Federalist editors and pamphleteers. Twenty-five persons were arrested and ten were convicted under this law.

Background of Writer

President John Adams was born in Massachusetts on October 30, 1735, and was educated at Harvard College. Adams played a leading role in the adoption of the Declaration of Independence—he spoke out for separation from Great Britain when most colonials still hoped to settle the differences. Blunt, impatient, and vain, Adams never attained real popularity during his long political career. He was the first President to reside in the White House, even though it was only partially completed.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What were the penalties for conviction of conspiracy under Section 1 of the act? (Answer: a fine not to exceed $5,000 and imprisonment for six months to five years.)

2. What were the penalties for conviction of writing or publishing malicious writings against the government under Section 2 of the act? (Answer: a fine not to exceed $2,000 and imprisonment not to exceed two years.)

3. How long was the Sedition Act in effect? (Answer: almost three years—from July 14, 1798, to March 3, 1801.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Explain the circumstances under which Congress or the President might approve a law such as the Alien and Sedition Acts. (Possible responses: in time of war or threat of invasion; when the President or Congress is unduly harassed by the press; in a time of particular unrest or civil strife.)

2. Cite examples of words or phrases from the law that seem to leave it open to wide interpretation by defense attorneys. How would this wording make a case difficult to prosecute? (Possible responses: "with intent to oppose . . . or to impede the operation of any law"; "writing or writings against the government." It would be difficult to draw the line between "writings against the government" and writings of a free press.)

3. As a defense attorney, explain how you would handle a case being tried under this law. (Paragraphs might include: try to show that it is impossible to prove a writer's intent; demonstrate that some writings criticizing the government are valid; point out that freedom of the press is guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.)

"The Star-Spangled Banner"

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 9

Francis Scott Key

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

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

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

Oh! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation!
Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our trust!"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave,
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!"

Source: Reprinted in Encyclopaedia Britannica, *1797–1820: Domestic Expansion and Foreign Entanglements,* vol. 4 of *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968), 354.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
"The Star-Spangled Banner"

Background of Reading

The poem was written by American lawyer Francis Scott Key on board a British frigate during the British bombardment of Fort McHenry in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1814. The poem became popular when put to the tune of an old drinking song, "To Anacreon in Heaven." It became the U.S. national anthem through an act of Congress on March 3, 1931.

Background of Writer

Francis Scott Key was born in Frederick County, Maryland, in 1779. A lawyer by occupation, Key witnessed the British attack on Fort McHenry during the War of 1812. He had boarded the British ship under a flag of truce to arrange for the release of an American prisoner.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What did the poet see at dawn? (Answer: the U.S. flag flying over the ramparts of the fort; the glare of the rockets and other exploding ammunition.)

2. Who did the poet believe would win this conflict? (Answer: his side, the U.S.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. How did the poet feel about being an American? Cite lines from the poem to support your answer. (Possible response: he felt proud and honored to be an American. Cited lines may include: "What so proudly we hail'd"; "the Land of the free, and the home of the brave"; "And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave.")

2. Whose cause did the poet feel was right and just? Why? Quote lines from the poem to support your answers. (Paragraphs may include: he felt his side was right and just because it was the side of freedom. Quoted lines may include: "And where is that band who so vauntingly swore,/That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion/A home and a country should leave us no more?/Their blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps' pollution"; "Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just.")

from Jackson's Message to Congress on Indian Policy

President Andrew Jackson

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 10

"WASHINGTON, *December 7, 1835.*

The plan of removing the aboriginal people who yet remain within the settled portions of the United States to the country west of the Mississippi River approaches its consummation. It was adopted on the most mature consideration of the condition of this race, and ought to be persisted in till the object is accomplished, and prosecuted with as much vigor as a just regard to their circumstances will permit, and as fast as their consent can be obtained. All preceding experiments for the improvement of the Indians have failed. It seems now to be an established fact that they can not live in contact with a civilized community and prosper. Ages of fruitless endeavors have at length brought us to a knowledge of this principle of intercommunication with them. The past we can not recall, but the future we can provide for. Independently of the treaty stipulations into which we have entered with the various tribes for the usufructuary rights [rights to use another's property and enjoy the profits from it] they have ceded to us, no one can doubt the moral duty of the Government of the United States to protect and if possible to preserve and perpetuate the scattered remnants of this race which are left within our borders. In the discharge of this duty an extensive region in the West has been assigned for their permanent residence. . . .

The plan for their removal and reestablishment is founded upon the knowledge we have gained of their character and habits, and has been dictated by a spirit of enlarged liberality. A territory exceeding in extent that relinquished has been granted to each tribe. Of its climate, fertility, and capacity to support an Indian population the representations are highly favorable. To these districts the Indians are removed at the expense of the United States, and with certain supplies of clothing, arms, ammunition, and other indispensable articles; they are also furnished gratuitously with provisions for the period of a year after their arrival at their new homes. In that time, from the nature of the country and of the products raised by them, they can subsist themselves by agricultural labor, if they choose to resort to that mode of life; if they do not they are upon the skirts of the great prairies, where countless herds of buffalo roam, and a short time suffices to adapt their own habits to the changes which a change of the animals destined for their food may require. Ample arrangements have also been made for the support of schools; in some instances council houses and churches are to be erected, dwellings constructed for the chiefs, and mills for common use. Funds have been set apart for the maintenance of the poor; the most necessary mechanical arts have been introduced, and blacksmiths, gunsmiths, wheelwrights, millwrights, etc., are supported among them. Steel and iron, and sometimes salt, are purchased for them, and plows and other farming utensils, domestic animals, looms, spinning wheels, cards, etc., are presented to them. And besides these beneficial arrangements, annuities are in all cases paid, amounting in some instances to more than $30 for each individual of the tribe, and in all cases sufficiently great, if justly divided and prudently expended, to enable them, in addition to their own exertions, to live comfortably. And as a stimulus for exertion, it is now provided by law that "in all cases of the appointment of interpreters or other persons employed for the benefit of the Indians a preference shall be given to persons of Indian descent, if such can be found who are properly qualified for the discharge of the duties."

Such are the arrangements for the physical comfort and for the moral improvement of the Indians. The necessary measures for their political advancement and for their separation from our citizens have not been neglected. The pledge of the United States has been given by Congress that the country destined for the residence of this people shall be forever "secured and guaranteed to them." A country west of Missouri and Arkansas has been assigned to them, into which the white settlements are not to be pushed. No political communities can be formed in that extensive region, except those which are established by the Indians themselves or by the United States for them and with their concurrence. A barrier has thus been raised for their protection against the encroachment of our citizens, and guarding the Indians as far as possible from those evils which have brought them to their present condition."

Source: Reprinted in Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History,* vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 260–261.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from Jackson's Message to Congress on Indian Policy

Background of Reading

Georgia's Indian policy and President Jackson's refusal to follow the Supreme Court's decision on the rights of American Indians led to a plan to remove all remaining Creeks, Cherokees, and other Southern tribes to a reservation west of the Mississippi River. Jackson first outlined his plan to Congress in 1828, and in 1830 Congress authorized one-half million dollars for the removal of Indians. In 1834 it created a special Indian Territory, and in 1835 the Indians relinquished their lands east of the Mississippi. In compensation, the Indians received five million dollars, moving expenses, and alternative tracts of land.

Background of Writer

President Andrew Jackson, the son of Irish immigrants, was born in Waxhaw, South Carolina, on March 15, 1767. He studied law in Salisbury, North Carolina, and was admitted to the bar in 1787. During the War of 1812 Jackson led the Tennessee militia against the Creek Indians and defeated the British at New Orleans. He waged war on the Seminole Indians in Spanish Florida and was appointed governor of Florida in 1819. Although Jackson lost the election of 1824 to John Quincy Adams, he became the seventh President of the U.S. in 1829 and served until 1837. His administration promoted the growth of popular democracy.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What reason was given for the removal of Southern Indians from their land? (Answer: past experience had shown that they could not live in contact with white civilization and prosper.)

2. What were the Indians to be given in exchange for their agreement to resettle? (Answer: moving expenses; clothing; arms; ammunition; land to farm; support for schools; buildings including churches, council houses, houses for chiefs, mills; funds for maintenance of poor; training in mechanical skills and equipment for using new skills; annuities to allow for comfortable living.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Refer to the first question above. Do you think the reason stated for the removal of the Indians was sufficient? just? Explain your answer. (Possible response: no, too often the settlers made no attempt to live in harmony; each culture tried to retain its own characteristics, tended not to be tolerant of any other culture.)

2. Consider the compensation given to the Indians for their land. Would you have provided similar compensation or made other choices? Explain your answer. (Possible response: other choices—much of the compensation offered was from the white-American culture and not what was needed or valued by the Indians who wanted to retain their own culture.)

from Plea to the Legislature of Massachusetts on Behalf of the Insane

Dorothea Dix

"I come to present the strong claims of suffering humanity. . . .

I must confine myself to few examples, but am ready to furnish other and more complete details, if required. If my pictures are displeasing, coarse, and severe, my subjects, it must be recollected, offer no tranquil, refined, or composing features. The condition of human beings, reduced to the extremest states of degradation and misery, cannot be exhibited in softened language, or adorn a polished page. . . .

Springfield. In the jail, one lunatic woman, furiously mad, a state pauper, improperly situated, both in regard to the prisoners, the keepers, and herself. It is a case of extreme self-forgetfulness and oblivion to all the decencies of life, to describe which would be to repeat only the grossest scenes. . . . In the almshouse of the same town is a woman apparently only needing judicious care, and some well-chosen employment, to make it unnecessary to confine her in solitude, in a dreary unfurnished room. Her appeals for employment and companionship are most touching, but the mistress replied "she had no time to attend to her." . . .

Lincoln. A woman in a cage. *Medford.* One idiotic subject chained, and one in a closed stall for seventeen years. *Pepperell.* One often doubly chained, hand and foot; another violent; several peaceable now. *Brookfield.* One man caged, comfortable. . . .

Besides the above, I have seen many who, part of the year, are chained or caged. The use of cages all but universal. Hardly a town but can refer to some not distant period of using them; chains are less common; negligences frequent; willful abuse less frequent than sufferings proceeding from ignorance, or want of consideration. . . .

. . . I give a few illustrations; but description fades before reality.

Danvers. November. Visited the almshouse. A large building, much out of repair. Understand a new one is in contemplation. Here are from fifty-six to sixty inmates, one idiotic, three insane; one of the latter in close confinement at all times.

Long before reaching the house, wild shouts, snatches of rude songs, imprecations and obscene language, fell upon the ear, proceeding from the occupant of a low building, rather remote from the principal building to which my course was directed. Found the mistress, and was conducted to the place which was called "the home" of the forlorn maniac, a young woman, exhibiting a condition of neglect and misery blotting out the faintest idea of comfort, and outraging every sentiment of decency. She had been, I learned, "a respectable person, industrious and worthy. Disappointments and trials shook her mind, and finally, laid prostrate reason and self-control. She became a maniac for life. She had been at Worcester Hospital for a considerable time, and had been returned as incurable." The mistress told me she understood that, "while there, she was comfortable and decent."

Alas, what a change was here exhibited! She had passed from one degree of violence to another, in swift progress. There she stood, clinging to or beating upon the bars of her caged apartment, the contracted size of which afforded space only for increasing accumulations of filth, a foul spectacle. There she stood with naked arms and disheveled hair, the unwashed frame invested with fragments of unclean garments, the air so extremely offensive, though ventilation was afforded on all sides save one, that it was not possible to remain beyond a few moments without retreating for recovery to the outward air. Irritation of body, produced by utter filth and exposure, incited her to the horrid process of tearing off her skin by inches. Her face, neck, and person were thus disfigured to hideousness. She held up a fragment just rent off. To my exclamation of horror, the mistress replied: "Oh, we can't help it. Half the skin is off sometimes. . . ."

It is not few, but many, it is not a part, but the whole, who bear unqualified testimony to this evil. A voice strong and deep comes up from every almshouse and prison in Massachusetts where the insane are or have been protesting against such evils as have been illustrated in the preceding pages.

Gentlemen, I commit to you this sacred cause. Your action upon this subject will affect the present and future condition of hundreds and of thousands."

Source: Dorothea Dix, Memorial delivered to the Massachusetts Legislature, January 1843. Reprinted in Encyclopaedia Britannica, *1841–1849: Manifest Destiny*, vol. 7 of *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1974), 97–106.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from Plea to the Legislature of Massachusetts on Behalf of the Insane

Background of Reading

In 1841 Dorothea Dix discovered insane people in an East Cambridge, Massachusetts, jail. Appalled by the conditions, she spent two years investigating jails, almshouses, and asylums in Massachusetts. Her report was effective; Massachusetts legislators worked out more adequate and humane provisions for care of the insane.

Background of Writer

Dorothea Dix was born in 1802 in Hampden, Maine. In 1820 she established a school for girls in Boston and served as its head for fifteen years. Her work for the improvement of conditions in almshouses and prisons resulted in reform in twenty states, Canada, and Europe. During the American Civil War, she served with the Union army as superintendent of women nurses. Dix's writings include *On Behalf of the Insane Poor* and *Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline in the United States.*

Guided Reading Questions

1. To whom did Dix submit her report? (Answer: the legislature of Massachusetts.)

2. List examples of the places insane people were kept. (Answers: cages; closets; cellars; stalls; pens.)

3. What injustice was being done to the insane and to the convicts living with the insane? (Answers: the insane were forced to live under conditions that were an outrage against humanity; convicts were doomed to listen to the ravings of the insane.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Why did Dix take her findings to the legislature? What did she call upon the legislators to do? (Answer: she believed it was their moral responsibility to protect the insane. She asked the legislators to put aside local and political differences and work as one for justice.)

2. What do you think is the role of government in providing aid for citizens who for some reason cannot help themselves? (Possible responses: some students may feel it is the government's responsibility; others may feel it is the responsibility of individuals, private organizations, or churches.)

from Walden and Civil Disobedience

Henry David Thoreau

"I heartily accept the motto,—"That government is best which governs least;" and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe,—"That government is best which governs not at all;" and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. . . . The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. Witness the present Mexican war, the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure. . . .

But, to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but *at once* a better government. Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it.

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue, to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience?—in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? . . .

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government today? I answer that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as *my* government which is the *slave's* government also. . . .

Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once? Men generally, under such a government as this, think that they ought to wait until they have persuaded the majority to alter them. They think that, if they should resist, the remedy would be worse than the evil. . . .

I have paid no poll-tax for six years. I was put into a jail once on this account, for one night; and, as I stood considering the walls of solid stone, two or three feet thick, the door of wood and iron, a foot thick, and the iron grating which strained the light, I could not help being struck with the foolishness of that institution which treated me as if I were mere flesh and blood and bones, to be locked up. I wondered that it should have concluded at length that this was the best use it could put me to, and had never thought to avail itself of my services in some way. I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through, before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not for a moment feel confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar. I felt as if I alone of all my townsmen had paid my tax. They plainly did not know how to treat me, but behaved like persons who are underbred. In every threat and in every compliment there was a blunder; for they thought that my chief desire was to stand the other side of that stone wall. I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hindrance, and *they* were really all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body. . . .

Thus the State never intentionally confronts a man's sense, intellectual or moral, but only his body, his senses. It is not armed with superior wit or honesty, but with superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion. Let us see who is the strongest."

Source: Henry David Thoreau, *Walden and Civil Disobedience*, ed. Owen Thomas (New York: Norton, 1966), 224–236.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* Walden and Civil Disobedience

Background of Reading

"Civil Disobedience" (1844) expresses opposition to two things Thoreau considered immoral: U.S. aggression against Mexico, and slavery as a legal institution.

Background of Writer

Henry David Thoreau was born in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1817 and was educated at Harvard College. Known as a writer, philosopher, and naturalist, Thoreau took Ralph Waldo Emerson's ideas about self-reliance to heart. At age twenty-eight Thoreau began his experiment in "essential" living at Walden Pond near Concord. He built a small cabin there, supported himself by doing odd jobs, and concentrated on mental and spiritual activities. However, he was not a hermit. During his two years at Walden Pond, Thoreau often walked into Concord, visited family and friends, and entertained guests at his cabin. *Walden* (1854) is the record of his life at the pond. Many of the ideas in *Walden* had appeared earlier in Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience."

Guided Reading Questions

1. What kind of government did Thoreau think is best? (Answer: one that governs little or not at all.)

2. How did he view the Mexican War? (Answer: as the work of a few individuals, not of the country as a whole.)

3. Why, in Thoreau's opinion, did the majority continue to rule? (Answer: the majority is physically the strongest.)

4. According to Thoreau, what is a person's only obligation? (Answer: to do what he or she thinks is right.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Does Thoreau's style of questioning achieve its purpose, which is to involve the reader? How? (Possible response: yes—by allowing the reader to answer each question for himself or herself.)

2. Are there times when it is necessary to go against the government by directly disobeying a law? Give reasons for your answer. (Possible responses: no—because laws protect as well as restrict; yes—if the law is against one's moral principles, because each person must decide for himself or herself what is morally right.)

from Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter About Harpers Ferry Raid

James A. Seddon

"JAMES A. SEDDON TO R. M. T. HUNTER.

ST. JAMES PARISH, LOUISIANA, *December 26th, 1859.*

My DEAR SIR: I have only now on my return from a distant plantation received your very interesting letter of the —Inst. Despite my great disinclination to obtrude upon your valuable time, I had just determined to write you for counsel and information on the emergencies of the time and am both relieved and flattered by your overture to confidence. I am spending the winter here partly from considerations of health but mainly from the claims of imperative private business. I left Virginia with great reluctance just as the Harpers Ferry Raid had occurred for I knew it to be a crisis of great moment to our State and Country and of deep interest to your political fortunes in which as a sincere friend I always cherished a lively concern. It was too early however to judge the effects of the events occurring or of the feelings they would excite, and since, I have been so engaged in affairs and so removed from sources of correct information, rarely ever seeing a paper from V[irgini]a or the North, that I feel real diffidence in forming or expressing opinions on the aspect of public affairs. I must venture however to say that in my humble opinion the train of events and the course of public conduct and opinion upon them, especially in V[irgini]a have been injudiciously and alarmingly mismanaged and misdirected, and I hold the unsound judgment, insatiate vanity and selfish policy of our fussy Governor mainly responsible for them. The Harper's Ferry affair ought to have been treated and represented either in its best light as the mad folly of a few deluded cranks branded fanatics, or, more truly, as the vulgar crime and outrage of a squad of reckless desperate Ruffians, ripe for any scheme of repaine and murder, and they should have been accordingly tried and executed as execrable criminals in the simplest and most summary manner. There should not have been the chance offered of elevating them to *political* offenders or making them representatives and champions of Northern Sentiment. Indeed, our Honorable Governor, seduced by the passion of oratorical display, commenced by a picturesque description of them as heroes and martyrs, and, by insisting on holding them as the chiefs of an organized conspiracy at the North, has provoked and in a measure invoked the sympathy and approbation of large masses and of established organs of public opinion at the North (who might otherwise have been frowned and rebuked through a correct estimate of public opinion as to the base criminality of the fanatics and their deeds into shame and silence) to them as veritable heroes and martyrs, exponents and champions of the North immolated for their love of liberty and aid to the oppressed to the Molach for Southern Slavery.

In V[irgini]a and throughout the South with corresponding policy, all possible representations have been made and agencies adopted to make these infamous felons grand political criminals—to hold the whole North or at least the whole Republican party identified with them and to spread the greatest excitement and indignation against that whole section and its people. In short, for I can't dwell, with his favorite policy of swaggering and bullying, Wise has *exploited* this whole affair to his own selfish aggrandizement, to aid his vain hopes for the Presidency and to strengthen the fragment of a Southern party he heads. And as the result, has conjured a Devil neither he nor perhaps any other can lay, and, arraying the roused pride and animosities of both sections against each other, has brought on a *real crisis* of imminent peril to both. Of course, I do not mean that the Harpers Ferry outrage was not a fact and indication of deep significance, and that it ought to have awakened earnest reflection and timely preparation for even the worst at the South, but it ought to have been viewed and met calmly and firmly, and made a means of added strength to us both North and South, not a cause of irritation and prejudice in the one and of excitement and depression in the other."

Source: Charles H. Ambler, ed., "Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1916, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1918), 280–282.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter About Harpers Ferry Raid

Background of Reading

The letter was written to Senator Robert Hunter of Virginia by James A. Seddon after John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.

Background of Writer

James A. Seddon, a prominent Virginia lawyer, felt Brown's raid was an isolated violent incident, not evidence of a Northern conspiracy.

Guided Reading Questions

1. How does Seddon feel the raid on Harpers Ferry should have been treated? (Answer: as an act of fanatics or a crime of reckless ruffians.)

2. Whom does Seddon feel is responsible for mishandling the situation? (Answer: Virginia Governor Wise.)

3. What does Seddon feel was the governor's reason for exploiting the Harpers Ferry incident? (Answer: to aid his hopes for the Presidency and to strengthen the Southern party that he led.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. In what way does the formal style of the letter affect the reader's interpretation of its content? (Possible response: the serious tone and formal style give the ideas credibility, persuading the reader to believe and accept what Seddon writes.)

2. What words in Seddon's letter indicate his concern about the reaction to the raid? (Answers: hatred; crisis; dangerous; mismanaged; misdirected; unsound judgment.)

3. How does this description of the Harpers Ferry incident differ from what you have learned about the raid? After considering both views, which do you consider more accurate? Why? (Possible responses: some students may believe in the accuracy of this report, since it was written shortly after the incident occurred; others may believe the account to be biased, nonobjective.)

"The Death of Lincoln" *from* Behind the Scenes: Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House

Elizabeth Keckley

"At 11 o'clock at night [April 15, 1865] I was awakened by an old friend and neighbor, Miss M. Brown, with the startling intelligence that the entire Cabinet had been assassinated, and Mr. Lincoln shot, but not mortally wounded. When I heard the words I felt as if the blood had been frozen in my veins, and that my lungs must collapse for the want of air. Mr. Lincoln shot! the Cabinet assassinated! What could it mean? The streets were alive with wondering, awe-stricken people. Rumors flew thick and fast, and the wildest reports came with every new arrival. The words were repeated with blanched cheeks and quivering lips. I waked Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, and told them that the President was shot, and that I must go to the White House. I could not remain in a state of uncertainty. I felt that the house would not hold me. They tried to quiet me, but gentle words could not calm the wild tempest. They quickly dressed themselves, and we sallied out into the street to drift with the excited throng. We walked rapidly towards the White House, and on our way passed the residence of Secretary Seward, which was surrounded by armed soldiers, keeping back all intruders with the point of the bayonet. We hurried on, and as we approached the White House, saw that it too was surrounded with soldiers. Every entrance was strongly guarded, and no one was permitted to pass. The guard at the gate told us that Mr. Lincoln had not been brought home, but refused to give any other information. More excited than ever, we wandered down the street. Grief and anxiety were making me weak, and as we joined the outskirts of a large crowd, I began to feel as meek and humble as a penitent child. A gray-haired old man was passing. I caught a glimpse of his face, and it seemed so full of kindness and sorrow that I gently touched his arm, and imploringly asked:

"Will you please, sir, to tell me whether Mr. Lincoln is dead or not?"

"Not dead," he replied, "but dying. God help us!" and with a heavy step he passed on.

"Not dead, but dying! then indeed God help us!"

We learned that the President was mortally wounded—that he had been shot down in his box at the theatre, and that he was not expected to live till morning; then we returned home with heavy hearts. I could not sleep. I wanted to go to Mrs. Lincoln, as I pictured her wild with grief; but then I did not know where to find her, and I must wait till morning. Never did the hours drag so slowly. Every moment seemed an age, and I could do nothing but walk about and hold my arms in mental agony.

Morning came at last, and a sad morning was it. The flags that floated so gayly yesterday now were draped in black, and hung in silent folds at half-mast. The President was dead, and a nation was mourning for him. Every house was draped in black, and every face wore a solemn look. People spoke in subdued tones, and glided whisperingly, wonderingly, silently about the streets.

About eleven o'clock on Saturday morning a carriage drove up to the door, and a messenger asked for "Elizabeth Keckley."

"Who wants her?" I asked.

"I come from Mrs. Lincoln. If you are Mrs. Keckley, come with me immediately to the White House."

I hastily put on my shawl and bonnet, and was driven at a rapid rate to the White House. Everything about the building was sad and solemn. I was quickly shown to Mrs. Lincoln's room, and on entering, saw Mrs. L. tossing uneasily about upon a bed. . . .

She was nearly exhausted with grief, and when she became a little quiet, I asked and received permission to go into the Guests' Room, where the body of the President lay in state. . . . Never did I enter the solemn chamber of death with such palpitating heart and trembling footsteps as I entered it that day. No common mortal had died. The Moses of my people had fallen in the hour of his triumph. Fame had woven her choicest chaplet for his brow. Though the brow was cold and pale in death, the chaplet should not fade, for God had studded it with the glory of the eternal stars.

. . . I gazed long at the face, and turned away with tears in my eyes and a choking sensation in my throat. Ah! never was man so widely mourned before. The whole world bowed their heads in grief when Abraham Lincoln died."

Source: Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes: Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968), 184–191.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING

"The Death of Lincoln" *from* Behind the Scenes: Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House

Background of Reading

Only hours after Lincoln's death, Mary Todd Lincoln sent for her close friend Elizabeth Keckley. Keckley describes her meeting with Mrs. Lincoln and her own grief over the death of the President.

Background of Writer

Elizabeth Keckley was born a slave in Virginia. After winning her freedom, she became a prominent dressmaker in Washington, D.C. She was hired by Mary Todd Lincoln as a seamstress and later became Mrs. Lincoln's close and trusted friend.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What evidence showed how the city reacted to the death of the President? (Answer: flags at half-mast; flags and houses draped in black; people silent and subdued.)

2. What was the condition of Mrs. Lincoln when Keckley arrived? (Answer: tossing uneasily and nearly exhausted with grief.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What words help describe Keckley's feelings about Lincoln's death? (Answers might include: "blood had been frozen in my veins"; "lungs must collapse"; "tears"; "choking sensation.")

2. What do you think is Keckley's most moving description of Lincoln? Explain the reasons for your choice. (Possible responses: "no common mortal"; "the Moses of my people.")

3. Prepare a eulogy for Lincoln that shows the human, caring side of the President. (Eulogies may include words from the reading or other descriptions that show the compassionate, humane side of Lincoln.)

from Address to Congress on Reconstruction

Thaddeus Stevens

"Nearly six years ago a bloody war arose between different sections of the United States. Eleven States, possessing a very large extent of territory, and ten or twelve million people, aimed to sever their connection with the Union, and to form an independent empire, founded on the avowed principle of human slavery and excluding every free State from this confederacy. They did not claim to raise an insurrection to reform the Government of the country—a rebellion against the laws—but they asserted their entire independence of that Government and of all obligations to its laws. They were satisfied that the United States should maintain its old Constitution and laws. . . . No one then pretended that the eleven States had any rights under the Constitution of the United States, or any right to interfere in the legislation of the country. . . .

The Federal arms triumphed. The confederate armies and government surrendered unconditionally. The law of nations then fixed their condition. They were subject to the controlling power of the conquerors. . . .

In this country the whole sovereignty rests with the people, and is exercised through their Representatives in Congress assembled. The legislative power is the sole guardian of that sovereignty. No other branch of the Government, no other Department, no other officer of the Government, possesses one single particle of the sovereignty of the nation. . . .

. . . Since, then, the President cannot enact, alter, or modify a single law; cannot even create a petty office within his own sphere of duties; if, in short, he is the mere servant of the people, who issue their commands to him through Congress, whence does he derive the constitutional power to create new States; to remodel old ones; to dictate organic laws; to fix the qualification of voters; to declare that States are republican and entitled to command Congress to admit their Representatives? . . .

To reconstruct the nation, to admit new States, to guaranty republican governments to old States are all legislative acts. The President claims the right to exercise them. Congress denies it and asserts the right to belong to the legislative branch. . . .

. . . The President is for exonerating the conquered rebels from all the expense and damages of the war, and for compelling the loyal citizens to pay the whole debt caused by the rebellion. He insists that those of our people who were plundered and their property burned or destroyed by rebel raiders shall not be indemnified, but shall retain their own property, most of which was declared forfeited by the Congress of the United States. He desires that the traitors (having sternly executed that most important leader, Rickety Weirze, as a high example) should be exempt from further fine, imprisonment, forfeiture, exile, or capital punishment, and be declared entitled to all the rights of loyal citizens. He desires that the States created by him shall be acknowledged as valid States, while at the same time he inconsistently declares that the old rebel States are in full existence, and always have been, and have equal rights with the loyal States. . . .

. . . There are several good reasons for the passage of this bill [radical reconstruction]. In the first place, it is just. I am now confining my argument to negro suffrage in the rebel States. Have not loyal blacks quite as good a right to choose rulers and make laws as rebel whites? In the second place, it is a necessity in order to protect the loyal white men in the seceded States. The white Union men are in a great minority in each of those States. With them the blacks would act in a body; and it is believed that in each of said States, except one, the two united would form a majority, control the States, and protect themselves. . . .

Another good reason is, it would insure the ascendency of the Union party. Do you avow the party purpose? exclaims some horror-stricken demagogue. I do. For I believe, on my conscience, that on the continued ascendency of that party depends the safety of this great nation. If impartial suffrage is excluded in the rebel States then every one of them is sure to send a solid rebel representative delegation to Congress, and cast a solid rebel electoral vote. They, with their kindred Copperheads of the North, would always elect the President and control Congress. . . . For these, among other reasons, I am for negro suffrage in every rebel State. If it be just, it should not be denied; if it be necessary, it should be adopted; if it be a punishment to traitors, they deserve it."

Source: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 2d Session Part I, January 3, 1867.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from Address to Congress on Reconstruction

Background of Reading

Thaddeus Stevens, a leader of the Radical Republicans, delivered this speech in favor of a harsh Reconstruction program on January 3, 1867. Congress passed the program over President Johnson's veto on March 2, 1867.

Background of Author

Thaddeus Stevens was born in Danville, Vermont, in 1792 and was educated at Dartmouth College. He practiced law in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where he argued cases on behalf of fugitive slaves. From 1849 to 1853 Stevens served as a member of the House of Representatives for the Whig party. Reelected to Congress as a Republican in 1859, he established himself as an extremist in his attitude toward slavery and openly expressed satisfaction when the Southern states seceded. After the Civil War, Stevens led the Radical Republicans and played an important role in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson.

Guided Reading Questions

1. With whom did Stevens believe the sovereignty of government rests? (Answer: the people.)

2. What three reasons did Stevens give for supporting Reconstruction? (Answer: it was fair to give blacks the vote; it would protect Southern whites who had remained loyal to the Union; it would insure the power of the Union party.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. On what argument did Stevens base his opinion that the Confederate States had no rights under the Constitution? (Possible response: the Confederate States were not rebellious states trying to change the laws of the U.S. but rather had declared their independence of the U.S.)

2. Do you agree or disagree with Stevens's perceptions? Give examples to support your opinion. (Possible response: agree—the Confederacy was a separate country and so no longer had any rights under the Constitution.)

3. On what did Stevens base his opinion that the President could not set the rules for dealing with the defeated Confederacy? (Possible response: government in the U.S. rests with the people and is exercised through their representatives in Congress.)

from A Speech by Chief Joseph on Behalf of the Nez Percé

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 16

"At last I was granted permission to come to Washington and bring my friend Yellow Bull and our interpreter [Arthur Chapman] with me. I am glad we came. I have shaken hands with a great many friends, but there are some things I want to know which no one seems able to explain. I can not understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles, and then breaks his word. Such a Government has something wrong about it. I can not understand why so many chiefs are allowed to talk so many different ways, and promise so many different things. I have seen the Great Father Chief [the President], the next Great Chief [Secretary of the Interior], the Commissioner Chief [Hayt], the Law Chief [General Butler], and many other law chiefs [congressmen], and they all say they are my friends, and that I shall have justice; but while their mouths all talk right, I do not understand why nothing is done for my people. I have heard talk and talk, but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country, now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for all my horses and cattle. Good words will not give me back my children. Good words will not make good the promise of your War Chief General Miles. Good words will not give my people good health and stop them from dying. Good words will not get my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misrepresentations have been made, too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men about the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. Give them the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect the rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented when penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth, and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented, nor will he grow and prosper. I have asked some of the great white chiefs where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he shall stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They can not tell me.

I only ask of the Government to be treated as all other men are treated. If I can not go to my own home, let me have a home in some country where my people will not die so fast. I would like to go to Bitter Root Valley [on the Idaho-Montana border]. There my people would be healthy; where they are now they are dying. Three have died since I left my camp to come to Washington.

When I think of our condition my heart is heavy. I see men of my race treated as outlaws and driven from country to country, or shot down like animals.

I know that my race must change. We can not hold our own with the white men as we are. We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. If the Indian breaks the law, punish him by the law. If the white man breaks the law, punish him also.

Let me be a free man—free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and talk and act for myself—and I will obey every law, or submit to the penalty.

Whenever the white man treats an Indian as they treat each other, then we will have no more wars. We shall all be alike—brothers of one father and one mother, with one sky above us and one country around us, and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land, and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands from the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race are waiting and praying. I hope that no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people.

In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat has spoken for his people.

April 1879"

Source: Chief Joseph, "An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs," *North American Review* (April 1879).

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from A Speech by Chief Joseph on Behalf of the Nez Percé

Background of Reading

Chief Joseph was invited to Washington, D.C., where he petitioned President Theodore Roosevelt and General Nelson Miles to return the Nez Percé to their ancestral lands.

Background of Writer

Chief Joseph, whose American Indian name was In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat (Thunder Traveling over the Mountains), was born about 1840 in the Wallowa Valley of Oregon. He was chief of the Nez Percé from 1873 until his death in 1904. Considered a brilliant military strategist and a humane, just leader, Chief Joseph refused to recognize the Indian agreement of 1863, in which the Nez Percé gave up the Wallowa Valley and agreed to relocate to the Lapwai Reservation in Idaho. Chief Joseph led his people in a desperate and ultimately unsuccessful one-thousand-mile retreat from the U.S. Army. The Nez Percé were able to hold out for five days just thirty miles from the Canadian border before they were forced to surrender. Chief Joseph devoted his remaining years to educating his people, improving their status, and reconciling them to the ways of white civilization.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What does Chief Joseph not understand about the white man? (Answers: how the government sends men to fight the Indians and breaks its word; why so many officials can promise so many different things; why nothing is done for the Indians although promises have been made.)

2. Where would Chief Joseph like to take his people? Why? (Answer: to Bitter Root Valley on the Idaho-Montana border so that they might be healthy.)

3. What does Chief Joseph ask for his people? (Answers: an even chance to live as others live; a chance to be recognized as men; a chance for the same law to work alike for all; a chance to be free.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Chief Joseph cannot understand why so much has been promised to his people, but nothing has been done. "Good words do not last long unless they amount to something." What losses cannot by paid for by good words? What do you think might have been done to compensate the Indians for their losses? (Possible responses: losses—people being killed; land overrun by white settlers; destruction of ancestors' graves; lost horses and cattle; unfulfilled promises; suffering and death of children; lost homes, where Indians could live in peace and care for themselves. Compensations—keeping of promises; providing sufficient good land for a tribe to support itself; respect for the Indian culture.)

2. Chief Joseph makes very clear the Indians' philosophy about life, the earth, and peaceful existence. What is this philosophy? From your own experience, do you think this way of life is possible? Why or why not? (Responses may include: everyone should be treated alike and answer to the same law; everyone should have an even chance to live and grow; everyone was made by the same Great Spirit Chief. Some students may think that this way of life is possible; others may think it is an idealistic rather than realistic approach.)

from The Gospel of Wealth

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 17

Andrew Carnegie

"It is ever to be remembered that one of the chief obstacles which the philanthropist meets in his efforts to do real and permanent good in this world, is the practice of indiscriminate giving; and the duty of the millionaire is to resolve to cease giving to objects that are not clearly proved to his satisfaction to be deserving. . . .

Bearing in mind these considerations, let us endeavor to present some of the best uses to which a millionaire can devote the surplus of which he should regard himself as only the trustee.

First. Standing apart by itself there is the founding of a university by men enormously rich, such men as must necessarily be few in any country. . . .

Second. The result of my own study of the question, What is the best gift which can be given to a community? is that a free library occupies the first place, provided the community will accept and maintain it as a public institution, as much a part of the city property as its public schools, and, indeed, an adjunct to these. . . .

Third. We have another most important department in which great sums can be worthily used—the founding or extension of hospitals, medical colleges, laboratories, and other institutions connected with the alleviation of human suffering, and especially with the prevention rather than with the cure of human ills. . . .

Fourth. In the very front rank of benefactions public parks should be placed, always provided that the community undertakes to maintain, beautify, and preserve them inviolate. . . .

Fifth. We have another good use for surplus wealth in providing our cities with halls suitable for meetings of all kinds, and for concerts of elevating music. . . .

Sixth. In another respect we are still much behind Europe. A form of benevolence which is not uncommon there is providing swimming-baths for the people. The donors of these have been wise enough to require the city benefited to maintain them at its own expense, and as proof of the contention that everything should never be done for any one or for any community, but that the recipients should invariably be called upon to do a part, it is significant that it is found essential for the popular success of these healthful establishments to exact a nominal charge for their use.

Seventh. Churches as fields for the use of surplus wealth have purposely been reserved for the last, because, these being sectarian, every man will be governed in his action in regard to them by his own attachments; therefore gifts to churches, it may be said, are not, in one sense, gifts to the community at large, but to special classes. Nevertheless, every millionaire may know of a district where the little cheap, uncomfortable, and altogether unworthy wooden structure stands at the cross-roads, in which the whole neighborhood gathers on Sunday, and which, independently of the form of the doctrines taught, is the center of social life and source of neighborly feeling."

Source: Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth*, ed. Edward C. Kirkland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 31–46.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* The Gospel of Wealth

Background of Reading

The *Gospel of Wealth* contains twelve essays that first appeared in numerous leading periodicals between 1886 and 1899. In this book, which was widely influential in the U.S. and Europe, Carnegie outlines how a philanthropist can put his money to use for the community.

Background of Writer

Andrew Carnegie was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1835. The son of a Scottish weaver, he came to America in 1848 and began his career working in a bobbin factory for two dollars a week. Carnegie later worked as a messenger boy, a telegrapher, and a private secretary, advancing until he became superintendent of the Pittsburgh division of the Pennsylvania Railroad. During the Civil War he served in the military transportation and government telegraph service of the War Department. By the 1890's, Carnegie had created the most powerful company in the steel industry, and when he sold his share of the company, he claimed a fortune of $300 million. Carnegie's philanthropies included 2,507 libraries, the Carnegie Institute of Technology, the Carnegie Institution in Washington, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Temple of Peace at the Hague, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. At his death Carnegie had given away more than $300 million.

Guided Reading Questions

1. According to Carnegie, what is one of the chief obstacles that hinders the philanthropist in the job of accomplishing lasting good? (Answer: the practice of indiscriminate giving.)

2. What is the duty of the millionaire? (Answer: to stop giving to charities or institutions that are not deserving.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Which organizations does Carnegie say should be the focus of philanthropists' giving? (Organizations should include: universities; free libraries; hospitals, medical colleges, laboratories, and other institutions connected with the alleviation of human suffering; public parks; halls suitable for meetings and for concerts; public swimming pools; churches.)

2. What restrictions are placed on the giving? What do these restrictions tell you about Carnegie's philosophy of giving? (Restrictions include: the community must maintain and operate the library as a public institution; the community must maintain, beautify, and preserve public parks; the city and individuals should be responsible for maintaining pools. Carnegie's philosophy of giving: the receiver must maintain facilities and operate them for the benefit of the community.)

from Testimony Before the U.S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 18

Samuel Gompers

"The reduction of the hours of labor reaches the very root of society. It gives the workingman better conditions and better opportunities, and makes of him what has been too long neglected—a consumer instead of a mere producer. . . .

. . . The general reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day would reach further than any other reformatory measure; it would be of more lasting benefit; it would create a greater spirit in the workingman; it would make him a better citizen, a better father, a better husband, a better man in general. . . .

. . . Strikes ought to be, and in well-organized trades unions they are, the last means which workingmen resort to to protect themselves against the almost never satisfied greed of the employers. Besides this, the strike is, in many instances, the only remedy within our reach as long as legislation is entirely indifferent to the interests of labor. . . .

. . . [T]he organizations of labor are the conservators of the public peace; for when strikes occur among men who are unorganized, often acting upon ill-considered plans, hastily adopted, acting upon passion, and sometimes not knowing what they have gone on strike for, except possibly some fancied grievance, and hardly knowing by what means they can or may remedy their grievances, each acts upon his own account without the restraint of organization, and feels that he serves the cause of the strike best when he does something that just occurs to him; while the man who belongs to a trades union that is of some years' standing is, by the very fact of his membership of the organization and his experience there, taught to abide by the decision of the majority. . . . Trades unions are not barbarous, nor are they the outgrowth of barbarism. On the contrary they are only possible where civilization exists. . . . Wherever trades unions have organized and are most firmly organized, there are the right[s] of the people most respected. A people may be educated, but to me it appears that the greatest amount of intelligence exists in that country or that State where the people are best able to defend their rights, and their liberties as against those who are desirous of undermining them. Trades unions are organizations that instill into men a higher motive-power and give them a higher goal to look to. . . .

. . . The trades unions are by no means an outgrowth of socialistic or communistic ideas or principles, but the socialistic and communistic notions are evolved from some of the trades unions' movements. . . .

I believe that the existence of the trades-union movement, more especially where the unionists are better organized, has evoked a spirit and a demand for reform, but has held in check the more radical elements in society."

Source: Samuel Gompers, testimony before U.S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, August 16, 1883, *Relations Between Labor and Capital, Report and Testimony,* 48th Cong. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), I, 293–295, 299, 367–368, 373–375.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from Testimony Before the U.S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor

Background of Reading

Gompers's testimony was delivered to a Senate committee investigating the relations between labor and capital. Gompers explains the prevailing goals and tactics of the trade union movement.

Background of Writer

Samuel Gompers, born in London, England, in 1850, had only four years of formal education. He was apprenticed to a cigar maker in the East End of London and migrated with his family to New York City in 1863. There Gompers became active in the social clubs, fraternal orders, and labor unions of the lower East Side. Gompers was one of the chief founders—and in 1881 became the first president—of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the U.S. and Canada, which became the American Federation of Labor in 1886. A leader in the movement to organize a national federation of labor unions, Gompers served as AFL president every year from 1886 to 1924, except 1895. He placed great emphasis on cooperation between capital and labor as a means of obtaining the demands of the workers.

Guided Reading Questions

1. According to Gompers, what reform would make a greater difference than any other? (Answer: an eight-hour workday.)

2. What is the last means workers should resort to in protecting themselves against the greed of employers? (Answer: a strike.) 3. What political ideas did Gompers believe developed out of some trade union movement? (Answer: socialistic and communistic ideals.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What, according to Gompers, would be the effect on the American public of an eight-hour workday? (Response should include: better conditions and opportunities created by a shorter workday would turn the worker into a consumer rather than a producer; it would make him a better worker, father, citizen, and man.)

2. How does Gompers defend the existence of trade unions? (Paragraphs should include: organized unions protect the rights of workers; unions instill higher motives and give workers higher goals; unions have evoked spirit and demand for reform while holding in check more radical elements of society.)

from The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study

Residents of the South End House

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 19

"Almost every boy in the tenement-house quarters of the district is [a] member of a gang. The boy who does not belong to one is not only the exception but the very rare exception.

There are certain characteristics in the makeup and life of all gangs. To begin with, every gang has a "corner" where its members meet. This "hangout," as it is sometimes called, may be in the center of a block, but still the gang speak of it as the "corner." The size of a gang varies: it may number five or forty. As a rule, all the boys composing it come from the immediate vicinity of the corner. Every gang has one or more leaders; and of course its character depends very much upon the leaders, for, as one of the boys expressed it, the leader says "'Come,' and the push move." As a matter of fact, a gang if at all large has two leaders and sometimes three.

In order to show the different kinds of leadership, let me describe the qualities possessed by the three types in a large gang. First of all, there is the gang's "bully." He is the best "scrapper" in the gang. Many a hard-won battle has paved the way to this enviable position; but the position, often attained with so much difficulty, is not a sinecure. The bully not only has to defend the honor of the gang but may have to defend his title at anytime against the ambition of some "growing" member of the gang. Next, there is the gang's "judge"; all matters in dispute are finally submitted to him if no agreement is reached. The boy who enjoys this honor has gained it not by election but by selection. The boys have gradually found out that he does not take sides, but is fair-minded. Finally, there is the gang's "counselor"—the boy whom the gang looks to for its schemes both of pleasure and of mischief. In small gangs the bully may also be the judge and counselor, and even in large gangs it frequently happens that one boy dispenses both the latter functions. Here is the ward boss in embryo. . . .

It is interesting to know what becomes of these various gangs when the boys get to be seventeen or eighteen years old. The more respectable gangs, as a rule, club together and hire a room. The more vicious gangs prefer to use what little money they have in carousing. If by any chance they get a room, their rowdyism will cause their ejection either by the landlord or by the police. Consequently, they have to fall back on the corner or some saloon, as their meeting place. They nearly always seek a back street or the wharves, unfrequented by the police."

Source: Residents and associates of the South End House, *The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study,* ed. Robert A. Woods (Boston, 1899). Reprinted in Encyclopaedia Britannica, *1895–1904: Populism, Imperialism, and Reform,* vol. 12 of *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968), 220–221.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study

Background of Reading

The book was written by residents of the South End House, a settlement house in Boston.

Background of Writers

The authors of these observations on life in the slums of Boston were the young men and women—from middle- and upper-class families—who lived and worked with the poor in the South End House. Their findings have provided sociologists with useful insights into life in the slums.

Guided Reading Questions

1. According to this reading, what characteristics are typical of gangs? (Answer: a "corner" where members meet; membership from the vicinity of the corner; one or more leaders.)

2. What are the three types of leaders? (Answer: bully—the defender of the gang; judge—the settler of disputes; counselor—the one who develops schemes of pleasure and mischief.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What is the difference between the leadership of a small gang and that of a large gang? Why do you think there is a difference? (Paragraphs might include: small gangs often have only one leader, who assumes all three leadership roles; larger gangs often need more leaders to supervise a greater number of members.

2. What purpose do you think the gangs serve? What happens to the gangs as members reach seventeen or eighteen years old? (Paragraphs may include: the gangs provide a society, support, and activity that would otherwise be missing from members' lives. More respectable gangs group together and hire a room; more vicious gangs often become hounded by the police.)

from Address to Congress on the Philippines

Albert Jeremiah Beveridge

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 20

"The Philippines are ours forever,—"territory belonging to the United States," as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as his chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world. . . .

The Declaration does not contemplate that all government must have the consent of the governed. It announces that man's "inalienable rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are established among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of those rights, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are the important things; "consent of the governed" is one of the means to those ends. . . .

. . . There is in the ocean no constitutional argument against the march of the flag, for the oceans, too, are ours. With more extended coast lines than any nation of history; with a commerce vaster than any other people ever dreamed of, and that commerce yet only in its beginnings; with naval traditions equaling those of England or of Greece, and the work of our navy only just begun; with the air of the ocean in our nostrils and the blood of a sailor ancestry in our veins; with the shores of all the continents calling us, the great Republic before I die will be the acknowledged lord of the world's high seas. And over them the Republic will hold dominion, by virtue of the strength God has given it, for the peace of the world and the betterment of man. . . .

What shall history say of us? Shall it say that we renounced that holy trust, left the savage to his base condition, the wilderness to the reign of waste, deserted duty, abandoned glory, forgot our sordid profit even, because we feared our strength and read the charter of our powers with the doubter's eye and the quibbler's mind? Shall it say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history's noblest work, we declined that great commission? Our fathers would not have had it so. No! They founded no paralytic government, incapable of the simplest acts of administration. They planted no sluggard people, passive while the world's work calls them. They established no reactionary nation. They unfurled no retreating flag.

That flag has never paused in its onward march. Who dares halt it now—now when history's largest events are carrying it forward; now when we are at last one people, strong enough for any task, great enough for any glory destiny can bestow? . . .

Blind indeed is he who sees not the hand of God in events so vast, so harmonious, so benign. Reactionary indeed is the mind that perceives not that this vital people is the strongest of the saving forces of the world; that our place, therefore, is at the head of the constructing and redeeming nations of the earth; and that to stand aside while events march on is a surrender of our interests, a betrayal of our duty as blind as it is base. Craven indeed is the heart that fears to perform a work so golden and so noble; that dares not to win a glory so immortal. . . .

Pray God that spirit never fails. Pray God the time may never come when Mammon and the love of ease shall so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny. Pray God the time may never come when American heroism is but a legend."

Source: Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, address before the U.S. Senate, *Congressional Globe*, 56th Cong. vol. 33, Part 1, 704–712. Reprinted in A. Craig Baird, ed., *American Public Addresses*, 1740–1952 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 202–210.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from Address to Congress on the Philippines

Background of Reading

Beveridge's nationalistic speech was based on his commercial and economic beliefs and on his concept of Americans as the people who were chosen by God to lead in the regeneration of the world.

Background of Writer

Albert Jeremiah Beveridge was born on October 6, 1862, in Highland County, Ohio. After graduating from Indiana Asbury University (now DePauw), he entered the law office of Senator Joseph McDonald in 1886. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1899, where he remained until 1912. A popular campaign speaker, Beveridge delivered the keynote speech at the national convention of the Progressive party in 1912. He was also a correspondent for *Collier's* magazine and spent his last years writing several books and numerous magazine and newspaper articles.

Guided Reading Questions

1. According to Beveridge, what territory belongs to the U.S.? (Answer: the Philippines.)

2. What document does Beveridge cite as the authority for U.S. claims to the Philippines? (Answer: the Constitution.)

3. What markets does Beveridge say should be explored in addition to the Philippines? (Answer: China's.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What arguments does Beveridge give for the expansion of the American empire? (Paragraphs might include: the oceans belong to the U.S.; the U.S. already has expansive commerce, a great naval tradition, and a sailor ancestry; not to expand would be to shirk our responsibility; not to expand would be cowardly and lazy.)

2. Whose hand does the writer see in America's destiny? Do you agree? (Paragraphs might include: God's hand. Some students will agree with Beveridge's arguments; many will disagree, saying that the author is only justifying Americans' desire for expansion.)

"The Man with the Muck Rake"

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 21

Theodore Roosevelt

"The first requisite in the public servants who are to deal in this shape with corporations, whether as legislators or as executives, is honesty. This honesty can be no respecter of persons. There can be no such thing as unilateral honesty. The danger is not really from corrupt corporations; it springs from the corruption itself, whether exercised for or against corporations.

The eighth commandment reads, "Thou shalt not steal." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the rich man." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the poor man." It reads simply and plainly, "Thou shalt not steal." No good whatever will come from that warped and mock morality which denounces the misdeeds of men of wealth and forgets the misdeeds practised at their expense; which denounces bribery, but blinds itself to blackmail; which foams with rage if a corporation secures favors by improper methods, and merely leers with hideous mirth if the corporation is itself wronged. The only public servant who can be trusted honestly to protect the rights of the public against the misdeeds of a corporation is that public man who will just as surely protect the corporation itself from wrongful aggression. If a public man is willing to yield to popular clamor and do wrong to the men of wealth or to rich corporations, it may be set down as certain that if the opportunity comes he will secretly and furtively do wrong to the public in the interest of a corporation.

But, in addition to honesty, we need sanity. No honesty will make a public man useful if that man is timid or foolish, if he is a hot-headed zealot or an impracticable visionary. As we strive for reform, we find that it is not at all merely the case of a long uphill pull. On the contrary, there is almost as much of breeching work as of collar work; to depend only on traces means that there will soon be a runaway and an upset. . . .

On the other hand, the wild preachers of unrest and discontent, the wild agitators against the entire existing order, the men who act crookedly, whether because of sinister design or from mere puzzle-headedness, the men who preach destruction without proposing any substitute for what they intend to destroy, or who propose a substitute which would be far worse than the existing evils,—all these men are the most dangerous opponents of real reform. If they get their way, they will lead the people into a deeper pit than any into which they could fall under the present system. If they fail to get their way, they will still do incalculable harm by provoking the kind of reaction which, in its revolt against the senseless evil of their teaching, would enthrone more securely than ever the very evils which their misguided followers believe they are attacking.

More important than aught else is the development of the broadest sympathy of man for man. The welfare of the wageworker, the welfare of the tiller of the soil—upon this depends the welfare of the entire country; their good is not to be sought in pulling down others; but their good must be the prime object of all our statesmanship.

Materially we must strive to secure a broader economic opportunity for all men, so that each shall have a better chance to show the stuff of which he is made. Spiritually and ethically we must strive to bring about clean living and right thinking. We appreciate that the things of the body are important; but we appreciate also that the things of the soul are immeasurably more important. The foundation-stone of national life is, and ever must be, the high individual character of the average citizen."

Source: Theodore Roosevelt, speech delivered at the laying of the cornerstone of the Office Building for the House of Representatives, April 14, 1906. Reprinted in Carl G. Brandt and Edward M. Shafter, Jr., eds., *Selected American Speeches on Basic Issues (1850–1950)* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 284–286.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
"The Man with the Muck Rake"

Background of Reading

Delivered in Washington, D.C., on April 14, 1906, this speech contains Roosevelt's immortal references to the "Man with the Muck Rake."

Background of Writer

At age 42, Theodore Roosevelt (born October 27, 1858) was the youngest man ever to become President. Affectionately called Teddy or T.R. by the American public, Roosevelt became the inspiration for teddy bears when a political cartoonist drew Roosevelt holding a bear cub. On October 27, 1880, Roosevelt married Alice Hathaway Lee, who died in 1884 after giving birth to a daughter, Alice. In 1886, he married Edith Kermet Carow, a childhood friend. He died of a blood clot in the heart on January 6, 1919. During his life, Roosevelt worked as a cattle rancher, a writer, a civil service commissioner, president of the Board of Police Commissioners of New York City, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and a New York State legislator.

Guided Reading Questions

1. According to Roosevelt, what is the first requirement for public servants? (Answer: honesty.)

2. What is the second requirement? (Answer: sanity.)

3. What kinds of people are the most dangerous opponents of reform? (Answer: those who would destroy the present order but fail to offer a replacement; those whose proposed order is more evil than the existing rule; those who act dishonestly.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Unlike others of his time, Roosevelt does not speak only against the evils of corporations and big business. What else does he oppose? Do you agree or disagree with this philosophy? Give reasons for your opinion. (Possible responses: he also objects to those who commit wrongs against corporations. Some students will agree with Roosevelt that corporations also need protection; others may believe that corporations are so powerful as to need no protection.)

2. What does Roosevelt say is most important for the creation of a fair and just society? What is the foundation of the nation's life? (Paragraphs might include: every man's sympathy with all other men; the high character of the individual.)

from "Automobiles: The Other Side of the Shield"

Frederick Dwight

"The advertising columns of the papers contain daily hymns to them [automobiles]. The proceedings of motor clubs are set forth at length. Our magazines teem with "motor flights" and astonishing tours and articles upon the romance of motoring. All is harmony and enthusiasm. . . .

. . . I propose to set down here some of the peculiar problems of the present time that have been produced by automobiles.

To begin with, although they are performing work in fields of usefulness, they have not as yet proved their necessity. That is, commercially, they are still in the experimental stage—too costly and unreliable to supplant horse-drawn vehicles widely. They are regarded doubtfully by emergency services, such as the fire and ambulance; and as an adjunct to armies have yet to demonstrate their value. The point I wish to make is obvious enough—that at the present time their conspicuous success has been achieved almost wholly as pleasure vehicles, so that their mention suggests to the average person only a new way of enjoying oneself. . . .

The reason, or at least one very conspicuous reason, for this excessive popularity is evident enough. It is the stimulation produced by motoring. Every rider knows the exultation arising from feeling the strength of the animal under him, and this sensation is reproduced and intensified in the easy and constant power of an automobile. But from the same circumstance arises its greatest menace. There is always a temptation to urge a fiery Thoroughbred to the limit of his speed. . . . The occupant has a powerful mechanism which can be driven, like a horse, at top speed, and the motives for refraining do not exist. So, naturally, excessive speeding has become a matter of common occurrence. . . .

. . . Motorists have exhibited the one worse attitude than defiance of law—indifference to it. . . . One railway company after investigation reported that over one-half of the machines that crossed their road at a certain point within the period of observation were maintaining a speed not only in excess of the legal limit but so great that they could not have been stopped if a train had been passing. In the second place, there is practically no evidence that those who do keep within the law know or care what the provisions are. It is a matter of individual choice. They do not enjoy going at a reckless speed, that is all. . . .

And what if violators are arrested? Some inconvenience, a few dollars' fine—and that is all, as a rule. It is part of the game. Courts have not been able so far to persuade themselves that "overspeeding" is an offense serious enough to warrant imprisonment and confine themselves to fines and "reprimands." . . .

. . . The authorities in general agree that upon public highways a speed greater than say twenty to twenty-five miles an hour is dangerous and should not be permitted. In order to achieve this result they resort to the time-honored methods of licensing cars and drivers, of requiring numbers, and finally of ordering the owners not to exceed the statutory limit. The inadequacy of such a policy appears to have been demonstrated. In spite of all the statutes, in Massachusetts within twelve months 62 persons were killed and 640 seriously injured in automobile accidents, while an insurance company has noted the killing, in a period of four weeks of the past summer, of 26 people and the injuring of 74 others in a similar manner. . . .

Then there is the destruction of roads. The macadam construction has done very well for horse-drawn vehicles. . . . The broad pad of the automobile tire destroys the surface rapidly and hurls clouds of dust over the houses and crops by the roadside, causing annoyance and at times seriously impairing rental values. Then, to meet these difficulties, the appearance of the highway is ruined by the application of a mixture of crude oil and tar, which is greasy and dingy and evil smelling. . . .

All this may seem dyspeptic, but it is not so intended. The point simply is that, in spite of the assertions of enthusiasts, I think the time when motor vehicles are desirable assets to society at large is yet to come, and that at present a certain excess must be charged to them in the debit column. They have engendered a reckless personal extravagance that must bring remorse and suffering to many some day. They have produced a new contempt for authority and an unusually lawless and irresponsible class. Finally, with little or no compensating advantage to the communities through which they hurry, they have caused the taxpayers heavy expense for roads, have almost driven the more leisurely from them, and have then proceeded to destroy the highways themselves. All of these things are doubtless curable and will be remedied in time. At present, however, they exist."

Source: Frederick Dwight, "Automobiles: The Other Side of the Shield," *Independent*, Dec. 3, 1908. Reprinted in Encyclopaedia Britannica, *1905–1915: The Progressive Era*, vol. 13 of *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968), 113–117.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from "Automobiles: The Other Side of the Shield"

Background of Reading

Originally titled "Automobiles: The Other Side of the Shield," the article appeared in *Independent,* December 3, 1908.

Background of Writer

Frederick Dwight did not share the nation's enthusiasm for automobiles. He viewed the automobile as an instrument to amuse a few and harm many.

Guided Reading Questions

1. According to Dwight, how do most Americans evidently feel about the new automobile? (Answer: they love it—"All is harmony and enthusiasm.")

2. What is the first fault that Dwight finds with automobiles? (Answer: they have not yet proved their necessity.)

3. What does Dwight say is the reason for the automobile's excessive popularity? (Answer: the stimulation produced by riding in it.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Aside from his obvious dislike of the automobile, Dwight raises some valid objections to the invention. What are they? What might you have done to eliminate some of these concerns? (Objections include: failure to observe speed limits, thus creating dangerous situations; insufficient fines or penalties to deter speeders; deaths and injuries caused by car accidents; the destruction of roads by car tires; pollution created by dust kicked up from the roads by the cars. Solutions might include: creating and enforcing stricter traffic laws.)

2. Dwight claims that automobiles have failed to prove their usefulness in a number of areas. What are these areas? Have automobiles since become useful and even necessary in some of these areas? Which ones? (Areas in which automobiles failed to prove their usefulness: commercial areas; emergency services; the military. Ways in which automobiles are now necessary include: commercially—trucking is the major means of transporting commercial goods; in emergency services—fire departments, police, and ambulance services rely entirely on motor vehicles to do their jobs; for military purposes—since World War I motor vehicles have been central to the operation of the military in both war and peace times.)

from Chronicle of Youth: The War Diary 1913–1917

Vera Brittain

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 23

"*Monday August 3rd* [1914]

Today has been far too exciting to enable me to feel at all like sleep—in fact it is one of the most thrilling I have ever lived through, though without doubt there are many more to come. That which has been so long anticipated by some & scoffed at by others has come to pass at last—Armageddon in Europe! On Saturday evening Germany declared war upon Russia & also started advancing towards the French frontier. The French, in order to make it evident that they were not the aggressors, wasted some hours & then the order to mobilise was given. Great excitement in France continued throughout the night & yesterday the Germans attacked France without declaring war. Unconfirmed rumor says that in one place they have been repulsed with heavy losses. . . . Some of the papers seem to think that the Austrian-Servian war was only blind & that Germany was at the bottom of the whole affair—the "mailed fist" anxious to strike. At any rate Germany has destroyed the tottering hopes of peace and has plunged Europe into a situation the like of which, *The Times* says, has never been known since the fall of the Roman Empire. . . .

I sat this morning after breakfast reading various newspapers for about two hours. A rumor is going round tonight that England has declared to Germany that if a German sets foot in Belgian territory her (England's) navy will immediately act. There are many who think that the policy of vacillation is losing us the opportunity to strike a telling blow—that we should send troops to prevent the Germans getting into Belgium instead of waiting till they *are* in.

. . . The papers are full of stories of tourists in hopeless plights trying to get back to England. Paper money is useless & the majority of the trains are cut off. It is rumoured that there is fear in Paris that a fleet of German Zeppelins are going to destroy Paris from above in the night.

Tuesday August 4th

Late as it is & almost too excited to write as I am, I must make some effort to chronicle the stupendous events of this remarkable day. The situation is absolutely unparalleled in the history of the world. Never before has the war strength of each individual nation been of such great extent, even though all the nations of Europe, the dominant continent, have been armed before. It is estimated that when the war begins 14 *millions* of men will be engaged in the conflict. Attack is possible by earth, water & air, & the destruction attainable by the modern war machines used by the armies is unthinkable & past imagination. . . .

Wednesday August 4th [1915]

The anniversary of our declaration of War on Germany. There is nothing to be said about this New Year of War, for it is so obvious that a year ago no one expected a second year of it that disquisitions on the subject take the form of mere truisms. There is more to be done than there is to be said—the renewal of our determination & our vows in a cause which now is much more obviously that of justice and freedom than it was a year ago. . . .

It was an appropriate day, perhaps, for Edward's [Vera's brother] last with us. He is typical, in some ways, of England's best spirit at the present moment; confident & tranquil, ready for death if it must be, anxious to possess a thorough knowledge of the part demanded of him and not overtroubled about the rest of events which he cannot affect. He never worries and is never sentimental; never even emotional.

I had an unsatisfactory sort of letter from the Red Cross, talking vaguely of delays and numerous interviews. British authorities & their Red Tape are distinctly depressing. Strange that they should plead for volunteers and then make it as unpleasant as possible for you when you have volunteered. . . .

Friday September 10th

Rather a bad Zeppelin raid happened in London on Wednesday night. A new patient at the hospital who was in the 4th London General Hospital on Wednesday night told me that all the patients sat in their windows watching one of the Zeppelins. . . . One of the guns was only about a mile from the hospital, and that and the bombs made a terrific noise. The streets were full of excited semi-dressed people whom a policeman was vainly trying to keep quiet. The hospital was in a turmoil all night from the patients afflicted with nerves. The paper reports 20 deaths, but rumour says 175, which is probably nearer the truth. . . .

Sunday September 12th

When I got in I found a letter from the 1st London General Hospital, written on behalf of the Matron. It was to say I was selected to serve in that hospital . . ."

Source: Vera Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth: The War Diary 1913–1917*, ed. Alan Bishop with Terry Smart (New York: Morrow, 1982), 84–85, 226–227, 270–271.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from Chronicle of Youth: The War Diary 1913–1917

Background of Reading

This excerpt from the wartime diary of Vera Brittain documents some of the writer's World War I experiences.

Background of Writer

An English writer, Vera Brittain interrupted her studies at Oxford to dedicate herself to wartime nursing. She tried to publish her diary after the war, but it was rejected. She did finally publish, in 1933, *Testament of Youth*, which includes quotes from her diary. Brittain hoped that readers would respond to the diary's account of death and suffering by dedicating themselves to work for peace.

Guided Reading Questions

1. Why did the French hesitate in mobilizing against Germany, even though the German army was rapidly advancing toward their border? (Answer: to make it clear that they were not the aggressor.)

2. What country does Brittain blame for destroying all hopes of peace? (Answer: Germany.)

3. What kind of attack did the French fear besides invasion by the German infantry? (Answer: bombing raids by German Zeppelins.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. After one year of war, England's hope and spirit were still strong. How was Edward typical of its spirit? (Paragraphs might include: confident; tranquil; ready for death if necessary; anxious to know his part in the war; not too troubled by events he could not control; never worried; never sentimental; never emotional.)

2. Brittain was excited by the prospect of victory when England entered World War I, as were most in her country. How did her attitude change as the war dragged on? (Paragaraphs might include: after one year the realities of war had worn down the initial excitement, although she reaffirmed the validity of the war; the horrors of war became even more evident as Brittain heard the stories of those who had lived through a Zeppelin raid on London.)

from "The New Generation"

Mather A. Abbott

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 24

"As I looked over my boys this morning, when we were celebrating Armistice Day in chapel, I said to myself: "The war is an ever-present evil with me. I suffered so much during my three years in the navy—we all suffered so much—that we can never forget it. But not one of these fellows knows anything about it. The oldest boys were only ten years old when the Armistice was signed." Then I saw a picture. I saw a picture of myself at eighteen, and the world as it was then, and a picture of this maelstrom of a world in which our boys are now placed. Think of it, and remember your youth. In the last eight years we have had:

1. Prohibition and all it entails.
2. The ubiquitous automobile.
3. The cheap theater, especially the movies, with its sex problems.
4. The absence of parental control.
5. The ignoring of religion.
6. The emancipation of womanhood, combined with the modern dance. . . .

. . . When we took a girl out for a drive, we had to hire a one-horse rig and we were all properly chaperoned and looked after. We had no cheap theaters and no movies. Our parents were addressed as "sir" and "ma'am," and their word was absolute law. God was an ever-present power, whom we held in deadly awe. . . . Into this maelstrom the modern youth has come, knowing nothing else, and you and I and all the members of this parental generation are absolutely responsible if youth is going to the devil. But it is not!

I have been in the business of teaching boys for thirty years. I have at present under my charge 540 boys collected from nearly every State, and I have never known a more truthful, clean-living, honorable set of young men. They are different from the boys of my youth as the sun is from the moon—full of nonsense, full of passion, headstrong, mischief-loving, but five times as decent, as truthful, and as manly. Let me describe them to you:

In the first place their leading characteristic is that they must prove everything by trying it. They do not begin where we leave off, as we want them to do; they must go through every experience themselves. They take nothing for granted. They want facts, not camouflage. They can see the false through a ten-inch board. They have an almost devilish intuition—I say "devilish" because I have been caught so often! They will have nothing of what they call "bull" on the part of an older person. . . .

Secondly, the absence of religious instruction in their youth. Unfortunately, the mothers are too busy to give the fireside and bedside talks that they used to give the little fellows, and the fathers are too busy in business. . . . Now you cannot prove the other world and you cannot prove God, and the modern generation will not accept anything you cannot prove. So, though "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom," the modern generation is practically without it. Since the great fear which held us is absent, these boys, having the spiritual longings that all boys have, are restless. Unwilling to face the deep questions of life, they try to seek happiness in the material, and most of this desire that we hear so much of for a thrill, for breaking the law, and so on comes from an unanswered longing within, which they think they are going to satisfy with material things, only to find that the material things cannot satisfy. . . .

Now lastly, the equalization of the sexes: When you and I were boys, woman was on a pedestal; we worshipped her. There was pursuit; there was mystery; there was worship. Did we worship that which was true or that which was false? The worship has gone, disappeared, and I am told that modesty, too, has gone. Perhaps it has, but we are getting at facts; we are getting at companionship; we are getting at the truth. The double standard has vanished. . . .

To sum up, therefore, what do I find? First, a truth-lover. Second, a word of honor that is never broken. Third, a reasonable being that will not take a rule as final until it is approved. Fourth, and most astonishing, on the whole, a clean-minded individual. And then—what will always happen where God is not regarded as supreme, what has happened throughout history where a nation has given up its God—a restlessness that is always unaccountable, a dissatisfaction of mind which makes the youth probe into things we never thought of going into, which we took on faith."

Source: Mather A. Abbott, address before the Rotary Club of Trenton, N.J., Nov. 11, 1926. Reprinted in Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *American History Told by Contemporaries* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 852–854.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from "The New Generation"

Background of Reading

Abbott delivered his address to the Rotary Club of Trenton, New Jersey, on November 11, 1926.

Background of Writer

Mather A. Abbott, a native of Nova Scotia, was a teacher and professor of Latin at Yale before becoming headmaster of the Lawrenceville School for Boys. Because of his success as an educator and as a teacher of boys, he was often called upon to speak on the so-called radical tendencies of modern youth.

Guided Reading Questions

1. According to Abbott, what are the main changes that took place in the early 1920's? (Answer: Prohibition; automobile; movies; absence of parental control; absence of religion; emancipation of women.)

2. What qualities does Abbott claim typify the young boy of the 1920's? (Answer: love of truth; word of honor; reason; clean mind.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Describe the kind of boys Abbott has in mind when he states, "They must prove everything by trying it." Which of these characteristics do you think are typical of your generation? Do you think any are outdated or no longer apply? Explain your answers. (Characteristics of Abbott's boys might include: they must experience everything themselves; they can sense what is false; they will not take any "bull" from an adult.)

2. How is the position of women in society different in the 1920's than it was in Abbott's youth? Does he believe that the change is for the better or for the worse? Explain your answer. (Paragraphs might include: women are no longer on a pedestal; they are no longer worshiped; modesty is gone. The change is for the better; companionship and truth have replaced pedestals and modesty, and the double standard has vanished.)

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 25

from "Today and Tomorrow"
Walter Lippmann

"Those who knew him best admire Al Smith the most, and all would wish, if they could, to perpetuate his fame. They cannot do this in the ordinary way by erecting a monument to some manifest public achievement with which his name will always be identified. For the greatness of Al Smith was that of the great performer—of the artist who acts his part, who plays his instrument, better than his audience has ever heard it done before. When the show is over, there is no record except in their own memories to prove his excellence, and only their personal testimony remains.

The stage on which he played his part was not the nation and not the world but the City and the State of New York. On that local stage he was, I shall always believe, the foremost master in our time of the art of popular government. He did not contend with the greatest issues of this epoch; he governed only one state of the Union during an interval in the 1920's of relative quiet and ease. But though he dealt with issues that few now remember, the way in which he dealt with them left an impress upon those who watched him and followed him that they do not forget.

When we try to define his peculiar distinction, we may say, I think, that he made good government popular in New York. That calls for rare gifts in any democracy. For the business of governing, when you really settle down to it, is over long stretches prosaic and tedious. To a degree which threatens the maintenance of democratic institutions, politicians who must appeal to masses of the voters, make their living by talking about almost everything but the business of governing. . . .

The greatest menace to popular government lies in this separation between what responsible officials have to do when they administer the government and what politicians talk about when they appeal for votes. For this means that democratic institutions are not educating the people for the tasks of government. When Al Smith was Governor of New York, he bridged this chasm as no one before or since has ever bridged it. He was able to fascinate great audiences with the business of financing and administering public affairs, and to make them share his own interest in problems that the ordinary public relations expert would say were too dull and over the people's heads.

It would be easy to think that he did this because he was such an engaging and amusing human being, and such a good showman. But that would be, I think, to miss the main point, which is that Al Smith knew the city and state like the palm of his hand: he knew the City Hall and the Legislature, and all the men who had been in them, and the institutions in every part of the state, and who was the head man and who was the janitor. When he thought about the public business, he was not thinking about a mass of boring papers on his desk at Albany but about the living persons and objects that went to make up the business government.

His mastery of the subject was his real stock in trade; no one who heard him had the least doubt that he knew what he was talking about. . . .

His career is a standing contradiction to the notion, now so current, that experts in public relations can create a synthetic public man, that professionals can be hired to write speeches which will endow him with a fictitious personality, and make him seem to be what he is not. Al Smith was his own public relations expert as every first-rate public man has to be in the field, however large or small, where he works. The notion never entered his head that someone who was not running for office, who had not been elected to office, who had never walked the floor at night worrying over its responsibilities, could be his conscience, his brain, and his voice. He would have said, I am sure, that the man who could do that for him ought to be the Governor of New York. . . .

Al Smith's speeches were prepared in conversations with his kitchen Cabinet, and by cross-examining those who had expert knowledge. But no ghost wrote his speeches. When he had got all the advice and the suggestions he wanted, he jotted down on an envelope the points he wished to cover, and then he went out before the audience and made, not read, a speech. No one can do that who is not so full of his subject that he has more to say than he has time to say, and is so sure of his knowledge that he is not afraid of making boners. . . .

I do not suppose that this conveys much to those who did not know Al Smith when he was at the peak of his powers. For it is not easy to put into words a quality so indefinable, yet so overwhelmingly impressive when you meet it, as his luminous gift of mind and heart for making government altogether sincere in its contact with the people."

Source: Walter Lippmann, "Today and Tomorrow," *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct. 7, 1944. Reprinted in Clinton Rossiter and James Lare, eds., *The Essential Lippmann: A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy* (New York: Random House, 1963), 492–494.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
from "Today and Tomorrow"

Background of Reading

This testimonial to the political greatness of Al Smith ran as Lippmann's "Today and Tomorrow" column in *The New York Herald Tribune* of October 7, 1944.

Background of Writer

Walter Lippmann was born on September 23, 1889, and was educated at Harvard University. His career in publishing included positions as an associate editor of the *New Republic*, an editor of the *New York World*, and a columnist for *The New York Herald Tribune* and other papers. Lippmann is considered by many to be one of the foremost political thinkers of the twentieth century.

Guided Reading Questions

1. Who was Al Smith? (Answer: the governor of New York in the 1920's.)

2. According to Lippmann, what made Al Smith great? (Answer: he was a great performer, a man who played his part better than most people had ever seen.)

3. According to Lippmann, what is the greatest menace to popular government? (Answer: the difference between what responsible politicians must do to administer a government and what politicians promise when they campaign.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. How did Al Smith bridge the gap between campaign promises and the reality of governing a state? (Paragraphs might include: he fascinated large audiences with the details of financing and administering public affairs; he made people share his interest in problems that other officials considered too dull and complicated for the public.)

2. What were Smith's strengths? Do you think a politician with Smith's characteristics would survive in politics today? (Paragraphs might include: he knew city hall, the legislature, and all the men who had held positions there; he thought about public problems as problems of living people, not as a stack of papers on his desk; he knew his business; he was sincere in his dealings with all people and problems. Some students will say that the U.S. is ready again for such a politician; others may say that politics is now more complicated, especially with the influence of the media, and that such a "nice guy" would not survive in the current political climate.)

"Cesar Chavez Remembers" *from* Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression

Studs Terkel

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 26

Cesar Chavez is president of the United Farm Workers of America, a unionlike organization for migrant workers who travel across the United States harvesting crops. These workers had been excluded from many of the benefits that resulted from Roosevelt's New Deal.

"Oh, I remember having to move out of our house. My father had brought in a team of horses and wagon. We had always lived in that house, and we couldn't understand why we were moving out. When we got to the other house, it was a worse house, a poor house. That must have been around 1934. I was about six years old.

It's known as the North Gila Valley, about fifty miles north of Yuma. My dad was being turned out of this small plot of land. He had inherited *this* from his father, who had homesteaded it. I saw my two, three other uncles also moving out. And for the same reason. The bank had foreclosed on the loan.

If the local bank approved, the Government would guarantee the loan and small farmers like my father would continue in business. It so happened the president of the bank was the guy who most wanted our land. We were surrounded by him: he owned all the land around us. Of course, he wouldn't pass the loan. . . .

. . . We had been poor, but we knew every night there was a bed *there,* and that *this* was our room. There was a kitchen. It was sort of a settled life, and we had chickens and hogs, eggs and all those things. But that all of a sudden changed. When you're small, you can't figure these things out. You know something's not right and you don't like it, but you don't question it and you don't let that get you down. You sort of just continue to move. . . .

When we moved to California, we would work after school. Sometimes we wouldn't go. "Following the crops," we missed much school. Trying to get enough money to stay alive the following winter, the whole family picking apricots, walnuts, prunes. We were pretty new, we had never been migratory workers. We were taken advantage of quite a bit by the labor contractor and the crew pusher [a man who specializes in contracting people to do cheap labor]. . . .

Labor strikes were everywhere. We were one of the strikingest families, I guess. My dad didn't like the conditions, and he began to agitate. Some families would follow, and we'd go elsewhere. Sometimes we'd come back. We couldn't find a job elsewhere, so we'd come back. Sort of beg for a job. Employers would know and they would make it very humiliating. . . .

One of the experiences I had. We went through Indio, California. Along the highway there were signs in most of the small restaurants that said "White Trade Only." My dad read English, but he didn't really know the meaning. He went in to get some coffee—a pot that he had, to get some coffee for my mother. He asked us not to come in, but we followed him anyway. And this young waitress said, "We don't serve Mexicans here. Get out of here." I was there, and I saw it and heard it. She paid no more attention. I'm sure for the rest of her life she never thought of it again. But every time we thought of it, it hurt us. So we got back in the car and we had a difficult time trying—in fact, we never got the coffee. . . .

We'd go to school two days sometimes, a week, two weeks, three weeks at most. This is when we were migrating. We'd come back to our winter base, and if we were lucky, we'd get in a good solid all of January, February, March, April, May. So we had five months out of a possible nine months. We started counting how many schools we'd been to and we counted thirty-seven. Elementary schools. From first to eighth grade. Thirty-seven. We never got a transfer. Friday we didn't tell the teacher or anything. We'd just go home. And they accepted this.

I remember one teacher—I wondered why she was asking so many questions. (In those days anybody asked questions, you became suspicious. Either a cop or a social worker.) She was a young teacher, and she just wanted to know why we were behind. One day she drove into the camp. That was quite an event, because we never had a teacher come over. Never. So it was, you know, a very meaningful day for us.

This I remember. Some people put this out of their minds and forget it. I don't. I don't want to forget it. I don't want it to take the best of me, but I want to be there because this is what happened. This is the truth, you know. History."

Source: Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York: Pantheon, 1970), 53–56.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
"Cesar Chavez Remembers"
from Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression

Background of Reading

This excerpt is taken from a series of interviews conducted by Terkel that recaptures the depression in all of its complexity. The interviews compose a mosaic of memories, from those of the wealthy to those of the destitute—a fascinating mixture of memory and fact that shows how the depression affected those who lived through it.

Background of Writer

Studs Terkel, born in Chicago in 1912, graduated from the University of Chicago in 1932 and from Chicago Law School in 1934. He has worked in radio soap operas, as a disc jockey, as a sports commentator, and as a television interviewer. Also a prolific writer, Terkel is the author additionally of *Giants of Jazz* (1957), *Amazing Grace* (1959), *Division Street: America* (1966), *Working* (1974), *Talking to Myself* (1977), and *American Dreams: Lost and Found* (1980).

Guided Reading Questions

1. Why were Chavez and his family forced to move off the land his grandfather had homesteaded? (Answer: the bank foreclosed on the loan.)

2. What experience with racial prejudice does Chavez recall? (Answer: the time his father tried to buy coffee in a restaurant that served "white trade" only.)

3. How did the Chavez family make a living after being evicted from their land? (Answer: by becoming migratory workers, picking apricots, walnuts, and prunes.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What was the only hope for farmers whose loans were foreclosed? Who had the advantage in this system? Was this system fair? (Paragraphs might include: if the local bank approved, the government would guarantee the loan, and the farmer could continue to work the land. The local bank had the advantage; if the bank wanted the land, it had only to refuse government backing for the loan. The system was not fair to the farmers who were losing their land.)

2. How did the family's new life style as migrant workers affect the education of the children? How did one teacher reach out to the Chavez family? What might be done to improve the education of migrant children? (Paragraphs might include: children went to school five or fewer months in a regular, nine-month school year; the Chavez children attended thirty-seven elementary schools. One teacher went to meet with the family, probably hoping to address their specific problems. The education of migrant children might be improved by offering a public boarding school where children could stay and continue their education while parents moved with the work.)

"The Black Cabinet"

Robert C. Weaver

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 27

"The Black Cabinet evolved from Negro participation in the New Deal, and that participation can be traced to two events that took place in 1933. One was the Second Amenia Conference at the summer home in New York of Joel E. Spingarn, chairman of the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, where the Roosevelt Administration was discussed. That group conducted an extensive analysis of the desirability of having black advisers in federal agencies, and though not too optimistic about their effectiveness, agreed it would be worse not to have them. The second event was a Rosenwald Fund meeting in Washington to discuss the economic status of the Negro. At that meeting it was also agreed that the special problems of blacks needed special attention and the Fund became committed to the need for racial advisers. It quickly moved to implement this resolution in August 1933 by recommending Clark Howell Foreman, a white southerner and an associate of the Fund, to Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of Interior and administrator of the Public Works Administration, as the first New Deal racial adviser. To expedite the appointment, the Rosenwald Fund paid Foreman's salary.

Foreman's designation was predicated on the assumption by the Fund, supported by Robert Mussa Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Kelley Miller, a professor at Howard University, that a white would be more effective in the job than a black. Ickes agreed. The appointment, however, did not set well with an articulate segment of black America. Walter White and Roy Wilkins, spokesmen for the NAACP, objected to having a white adviser for Negroes because such action symbolized a paternalistic approach to race relations. To counter this, I was named Foreman's associate in November 1933, becoming the first black adviser on Negro affairs, and I too was paid by the Rosenwald Fund.

Foreman and I, with the approval of Secretary Ickes, set up four meetings of the Interracial Interdepartmental Group composed of those concerned with the special problems of blacks. It was an official body, its members were designated by Cabinet members and agency heads, and its minutes were duly recorded and preserved. The first meeting was convened in February 1934 and eighteen persons from fifteen departments and agencies participated. Seven were black, two of whom were career appointees and five were Roosevelt appointees. The Interracial Interdepartmental Group had its final meeting in June 1934.

During those months an increasing number of black racial advisers were appointed. (By 1937, all but five of the New Deal agencies had Negro advisers on their payrolls.) The most significant appointment was that of Mary McLeod Bethune, educator and president of the National Council of Negro Women. She was a dynamic personality who quickly took center stage and knew how to dramatize issues by using flattery and shame to elicit favorable responses to her appeals. . . . In 1935, she was appointed director of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration, becoming one of the new breed of black appointees. These persons were chosen more for themselves and their ability to define issues relevant to the black community than to pay off political debts.

It was Mrs. Bethune who convened the Black Cabinet in 1935. The name of the group seems to have originated with a reporter in the black press. The group was not a cabinet in the usual sense of the word, since none of its members save Mrs. Bethune had more than sporadic, if any, contact with the President. Actually, she had direct access to Mrs. Roosevelt, and through her to the President, but only occasional direct access to him. Members of the Black Cabinet were responsible to various agencies of government, and some of them transmitted information and recommendations to the President through their bosses on the White House staff, through Mrs. Bethune, or, as in my case, through all three.

In contrast to the earlier Interracial Interdepartmental Group, the Black Cabinet did not have white participants; it had no official standing and kept no minutes. The meetings of the group continued on an irregular schedule, but we were always subject to being called in an emergency. . . .

The Black Cabinet provided a forum where problems could be discussed and potential solutions developed. The members often made concrete decisions and carried out assignments concerning matters such as preparing memoranda for future meetings, presenting ideas to government officials or black leaders, and assembling information for release to the press. Early in the functioning of the group, these latter activities were delegated to the rather highly trained younger members, and an interesting relationship developed between them and the more mature Mrs. Bethune. In 1974 on the occasion of the unveiling of a memorial to that venerable lady in Washington I noted: " . . . There was no generation gap since all of us were concerned with a common cause." That common cause was to maximize the participation of blacks in all phases of the New Deal."

Source: Katie Louchheim, ed., *The Making of the New Deal: The Insiders Speak* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 261–264.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
"The Black Cabinet"

Background of Reading

Blacks were not easily won over to Roosevelt's New Deal, but in a 1938 poll by *Fortune* magazine, 84.7 percent of black respondents supported FDR. This movement of blacks into the Democratic party proved to be a key element in solidifying the New Deal. Leadership of the new black Democrats came in the form of the Black Cabinet, a group of black government officials who met frequently to coordinate strategy. This unofficial cabinet encouraged the New Deal administration to work toward civil rights. One member of this cabinet was Robert C. Weaver.

Background of Writer

Robert C. Weaver was born in Washington, D.C., in 1907 and received his doctorate in economics from Harvard University in 1934. Weaver served as advisor to Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, as special assistant to Nathan Straus of the Housing Authority, as administrative assistant to Sidney Hillman of the National Defense Advisory Commission, and as director of Negro Manpower Service in the War Commission during World War II. From 1944 to 1945 he served as executive secretary of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations in Chicago. After teaching at several colleges, Weaver was appointed president of Bernard M. Baruch College of the City University of New York. He also served as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development from 1966 to 1969.

Guided Reading Questions

1. To what two major events can participation of African Americans in the New Deal be traced? (Answer: Second Amenia Conference at the summer home of Joel E. Spingarn, chairman of the board of the NAACP, where the Roosevelt administration was discussed; a Rosenwald Fund meeting where the economic status of African Americans was discussed.)

2. Who was the first New Deal racial advisor? (Answer: Clark Howell Foreman.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What made Mrs. Bethune's appointment to direct Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration unusual? What had been the usual practice—evident in the Rosenwald Fund's recommendation—for making appointments to committees or administrations dealing with black affairs? (Paragraphs might include: Mrs. Bethune was chosen more for her talents and ability to define issues relevant to African Americans than to pay off political debts; previously, whites such as Foreman had been chosen because it was felt that they would be better accepted and could accomplish more.)

2. Describe the organization and the workings of the Black Cabinet. In what way was the Black Cabinet a milestone in the struggle for civil rights? (Possible responses: members had access to Mrs. Roosevelt and occasional access to the President; members were responsible to various government agencies; some members transmitted information and recommendations to the President through their bosses on the White House staff or through Mrs. Bethune; the cabinet provided a forum where problems could be discussed. The Black Cabinet was a milestone because for the first time African Americans were recognized on a national level as people who were capable of handling the affairs of their community.)

"Terezín"

Hanuš Hachenburg

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 28

"That bit of filth in dirty walls,
And all around barbed wire,
And 30,000 souls who sleep
Who once will wake
And once will see
Their own blood spilled.

I was once a little child,
Three years ago.
That child who longed for other worlds.
But now I am no more a child
For I have learned to hate.
I am a grown-up person now,
I have known fear.

Bloody words and a dead day then,
That's something different than bogie men!

But anyway, I still believe I only sleep today,
That I'll wake up, a child again, and start to laugh and play.
I'll go back to childhood sweet like a briar rose,
Like a bell which wakes us from a dream,
Like a mother with an ailing child
Loves him with aching woman's love.
How tragic, then, is youth which lives
With enemies, with gallows ropes,
How tragic, then, for children on your lap
To say: this for the good, that for the bad.

Somewhere, far away out there, childhood sweetly sleeps,
Along that path among the trees,
There o'er that house
Which was once my pride and joy.
There my mother gave me birth into this world
So I could weep . . .

In the flame of candles by my bed, I sleep
And once perhaps I'll understand
That I was such a little thing,
As little as this song.

These 30,000 souls who sleep
Among the trees will wake,
Open an eye
And because they see
A lot

They'll fall asleep again . . ."

Source: Hanuš Volavkova, ed., . . . *I Never Saw Another Butterfly . . . : Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezín Concentration Camp 1942–1944* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), 22–23.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
"Terezín"

Background of Reading

These samples of writing and drawing were gathered from the archives of the State Jewish Museum in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and are the only legacy of almost 15,000 children who passed through the Terezín concentration camp between 1942 and 1944. These children witnessed countless atrocities and executions, but they also noticed green meadows, animals, and birds. In spite of their grim situation, they believed in princesses, wizards, and a land of happiness, and secretly drew and wrote about them.

Background of Writer

Hanuš Hachenburg was born in Prague on July 12, 1929. He was deported to Terezín on October 24, 1942, and died on December 18, 1943, in Auschwitz (now called Oswiecim).

Guided Reading Questions

1. How does the speaker describe Terezín? (Answer: "That bit of filth in dirty walls,/And all around barbed wire.")

2. How many people does the speaker believe have passed through or will pass through Terezín? (Answer: 30,000.)

3. What does the speaker believe is the fate of all those who sleep at Terezín? (Answer: death.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What has destroyed the speaker's childhood and forced him to become an adult? In what small way does he cling to childhood? (Paragraphs might include: in three years he has learned to hate and has known fear; he believes that he will wake one day to find life as it was, that he will once again laugh and play.)

2. What does the speaker say is tragic? How might you react to a tragedy such as the experience described in "Terezín"? (Paragraphs might include: "youth which lives/With enemies, with gallows ropes" is tragic; that children must make adult decisions about good and bad is also tragic.)

from Farewell to Manzanar

Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston
and James D. Houston

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 29

"We rode all day. By the time we reached our destination, the shades were up. It was late afternoon. The first thing I saw was a yellow swirl across a blurred, reddish setting sun. The bus was being pelted by what sounded like splattering rain. It wasn't rain. This was my first look at something I would soon know very well, a billowing flurry of dust and sand churned up by the wind through Owens Valley.

We drove past a barbed-wire fence, through a gate, and into an open space where trunks and sacks and packages had been dumped from the baggage trucks that drove out ahead of us. I could see a few tents set up, the first rows of black barracks, and beyond them, blurred by sand, rows of barracks that seemed to spread for miles across this plain. People were sitting on cartons or milling around, with their backs to the wind, waiting to see which friends or relatives might be on this bus. As we approached, they turned or stood up, and some moved toward us expectantly. But inside the bus no one stirred. No one waved or spoke. They just stared out the windows, ominously silent. I didn't understand this. Hadn't we finally arrived, our whole family intact? I opened a window, leaned out, and yelled happily. "Hey! This whole bus is full of Wakatsukis!"

Outside, the greeters smiled. Inside there was an explosion of laughter, hysterical, tension-breaking laughter that left my brothers choking and whacking each other across the shoulders.

We had pulled up just in time for dinner. The mess halls weren't completed yet. An outdoor chow line snaked around a half-finished building that broke a good part of the wind. They issued us army mess kits, the round metal kind that fold over, and plopped in scoops of canned Vienna sausage, canned string beans, steamed rice that had been cooked too long, and on top of the rice a serving of canned apricots. The Caucasian servers were thinking that the fruit poured over rice would make a good dessert. Among the Japanese, of course, rice is never eaten with sweet foods, only with salty or savory foods. Few of us could eat such a mixture. But at this point no one dared protest. It would have been impolite. I was horrified when I saw the apricot syrup seeping through my little mound of rice. I opened my mouth to complain. My mother jabbed me in the back to keep quiet. We moved on through the line and joined the others squatting in the lee of half-raised walls, dabbing courteously at what was, for almost everyone there, an inedible concoction.

After dinner we were taken to Block 16, a cluster of fifteen barracks that had just been finished a day or so earlier—although finished was hardly the word for it. The shacks were built of one thickness of pine planking covered with tarpaper. They sat on concrete footings, with about two feet of open space between the floorboards and the ground. Gaps showed between the planks, and as the weeks passed and the green wood dried out, the gaps widened. Knotholes gaped in the uncovered floor.

Each barracks was divided into six units, sixteen by twenty feet, about the size of a living room, with one bare bulb hanging from the ceiling and an oil stove for heat. We were assigned two of these for the twelve people in our family group; and our official family "number" was enlarged by three digits—16 plus the number of this barracks. We were issued steel army cots, two brown army blankets each, and some mattress covers, which my brothers stuffed with straw. . . .

As the months at Manzanar turned to years, it became a world unto itself, with its own logic and familiar ways. In time, staying there seemed far simpler than moving once again to another, unknown place. It was as if the war were forgotten, our reason for being there forgotten. The present, the little bit of busywork you had right in front of you, became the most urgent thing. In such a narrowed world, in order to survive, you learn to contain your rage and your despair, and you try to re-create, as well as you can, your normality, some sense of things continuing. The fact that America had accused us, or excluded us, or imprisoned us, or whatever it might be called, did not change the kind of world we wanted. Most of us were born in this country; we had no other models."

Source: Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973), 16–18, 85.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* Farewell to Manzanar

Background of Reading

This excerpt is a study of life in the Japanese internment camp in Owens Valley, California, during World War II.

Background of the Writers

Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, born in Inglewood, California, in 1934, studied sociology and journalism at San Jose State College. She married James D. Houston in Hawaii in 1957 and lived in Europe during her husband's tour of duty in the U.S. Air Force.

James D. Houston was born in San Francisco, California. He has published three novels and a collection of short stories in addition to two nonfiction works. Houston, who received a Wallace Stegner Writing Fellowship at Stanford and the Joseph Henry Jackson Award for Fiction in San Francisco, teaches writing at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Guided Reading Questions

1. How were Japanese Americans transported to the internment camps? (Answer: by bus.)

2. What were the living accommodations in the camp? (Answer: sixteen-by-twenty-foot shacks of pine boards covered with tarpaper; each shack had one bare light bulb and an oil stove for heat; furnishings consisted of army cots, blankets, and mattress covers.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What incident from this excerpt demonstrates the lack of cultural awareness on the part of those running the internment camp? How does this incident reflect the lack of understanding that prompted the imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II? (Paragraphs might include: the Caucasian servers poured fruit over the rice served to prisoners, thinking it would make a good dessert, but among the Japanese rice is eaten only with salty or savory foods, never with sweet. Just as incorrect assumptions were made about Japanese dietary customs, so on a greater scale, were false assumptions made regarding whether or not Japanese Americans actually posed a threat to national security during World War II; the lack of understanding resulted in their internment.)

2. What tactics did the Japanese Americans develop to survive their internment? (Possible responses: Manzanar became a world unto itself, with its own logic and familiar ways; the war was forgotten; their reason for being there was forgotten; the present became the most urgent matter; they learned to contain their rage and despair; they tried to create a normalcy, as far as was possible.)

from Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S Truman

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 30

"Memorandum

April 24, 1954

I have often thought of the situation when the Chinese marched into Korea in late 1950. General MacArthur had assured me at Wake Island a month or two before the "Volunteers" came over the Yalu that it wouldn't happen. Apparently his information service was not what it should have been. High ranking military men usually surround themselves with trained "yes men" so that they may hear how good and great the Commander is and how well his guesses afterward turn to facts.

The Great General was not the same man he was at Wake after the Chinese came from the north. He began writing letters to Republican Congressmen and giving interviews to such sheets as Dave Lawrence publishes in Washington. He even went so far as to crib the two main paragraphs from a message I had expected to send to Mao, at Peking, and use them himself as an ultimatum to the Chinese-North Korean Commander in the field.

After he was relieved he spent some time discussing the fact that the President of the United States and his Commander in Chief would not allow him to carry on a war in Manchuria. General Mark Clark in his book "From the Danube to the Yalu" implies that the "police action" in Korea could have been a victorious "war" in the Far East if he and his predecessors had been given a free hand to bomb Manchuria.

These able field Generals see only the front they work to hold and win. The Commander in Chief must see not only Asia and the Pacific Ocean, he must see Europe, Africa, the whole Southern Hemisphere, the Arctic, and the Antarctic.

Now suppose, for speculative purposes, the C in C had yielded to his locally minded and in most cases locally misinformed field Generals. What would have happened? The Generals say that a few bombs on airfields in Manchuria would have caused a Korean victory to the Yalu.

To have been effective Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Mukden, Dairen, Vladivostok and Central Siberia at Ulan-Ude on Lake Baikal would have had to be destroyed. It would have been a unilateral action by the U.S.A.

On the European side of the Soviet Empire the Russians would have marched to the North Sea and the Channel. We had six divisions of our own and about that many of our allies to oppose them. They had over 4,000,000 men in their ground forces. They could not have been stopped.

On the east we would have wiped out those great Chinese cities and have killed some 25,000,000 innocent women, children and noncombatants.

We'd have had World War III on our hands and no allies. All Central Europe and perhaps Turkey, Greece, Italy and North Africa with the great Near East oil field would have been under Russian control.

In the first place I could not bring myself to order the slaughter of 25,000,000 noncombatants. In 1945 I had ordered the A Bomb dropped on Japan at two places devoted almost exclusively to war production. We were at war. We were trying to end it in order to save the lives of our soldiers and sailors. The new bomb was a powerful new weapon of war. In my opinion it had to be used to end the unnecessary slaughter on both sides. It was an entirely different situation from Korea. We stopped the war and saved thousands of casualties on both sides.

In Korea we were fighting a police action with sixteen allied nations to support the World Organization which had set up the Republic of Korea. We had held the Chinese after defeating the North Koreans and whipping the Russian Air Force.

I just could not make the order for a Third World War. I know I was *right.*"

Source: Robert H. Ferrell, ed. *Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S Truman* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980) 303–304.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S Truman

Background of Reading

This book is a collection of some of the most interesting of the private papers of Harry Truman—diaries, letters, and memoranda written from the time he entered the White House in 1945 to the year 1971. This memorandum was written after Truman left the Presidency in 1953. In it Truman redefines the stand he took on the invasion of Korea in late 1950 and presents an interesting view of General MacArthur.

Background of Writer

Harry S Truman was born in Lamar, Missouri, in 1884 and was educated in Independence, Missouri, where his father owned a farm. His early jobs included bank clerk, bookkeeper, and farmer. He later served as a captain in the army during World War I, managed a retail haberdashery, and became a county judge in Missouri. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1934 and 1940, Truman gained national recognition during World War II as chairman of a special Senate committee on defense contracts. He served as Vice-President and became the thirty-third President when Franklin Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945. A few months later, he authorized the use of atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On the home front, Truman's Fair Deal called for federal aid to both health insurance and the protection of civil rights as well as to education. Although Truman was criticized during his administration, many historians now regard him as one of the most forceful U.S. Presidents.

Guided Reading Questions

1. When did the Chinese first march into Korea? (Answer: in late 1950.)

2. What U.S. general had assured President Truman that the invasion would never take place? (Answer: General MacArthur.)

3. After General MacArthur was relieved from duty, he complained that the President did not allow him to carry on a war in Manchuria. What was Truman's response to this complaint? (Answer: that the field generals saw only a small part of the situation and that the President had to take into account not only Asia and the Pacific Ocean but also Europe, Africa, the whole Southern Hemisphere, the Arctic, and the Antarctic.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What does Truman say would have happened had he agreed to the Manchuria offensive? (Paragraphs might include: if it had been effective, Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Mukden, Dairen, Vladivostok, and Central Siberia at Ulan-Ude on Lake Baikal would have been destroyed, a unilateral action by the U.S.; the Russians would have marched to the North Sea and the Channel and could not have been stopped with the available allied forces; World War III would have resulted, and the U.S. would have been left with no allies.)

2. Truman claims that his order for the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan in World War II was justified but that Korea was a different situation. How does Truman explain the difference? Do you agree or disagree with his statements? Why? (Paragraphs might include: the atomic bombs were dropped on Japanese cities devoted almost exclusively to war production; the bombs were dropped for the purpose of ending the war and to save countless lives of American soldiers and sailors; the bomb had to be used to end the slaughter on both sides; Korea was a police action with sixteen allied nations in support of the United Nations, which had set up the Republic of Korea; the allied nations had been able to hold the Chinese after defeating the North Koreans and the Russian Air Force; in this case, Truman could not justify further action, including action that may have triggered World War III.)

from Education and Freedom

Admiral Hyman G. Rickover

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 31

"The consequence of technological progress is that man must use his mind more and his body less. We still think in terms of a more primitive era; we overvalue physical prowess and undervalue intellectual competence. This has a profound effect on our attitudes toward education. . . . Today we must have schools which develop in all children—talented, average, and below average—the highest level of intellectual competence of which they are capable; schools that help young people to understand the complex world of today and how it came to be what it is. . . .

Our country will not be able to make rapid technological progress unless we reorganize our institutions. These must be pried from their exaggerated veneration for routine and protocol and made to see that provision must be made for both routine work and for new and creative work; for routine workers and for people with specialized knowledge who must be allowed to operate outside routine procedures. We have not yet solved this problem; chiefly, I believe, because it is relatively new, a consequence of two new phenomena—the scientific revolution and organizational growth necessitated by population expansion.

The scientific revolution now engulfs us though not all of us are fully aware of this. We must expect that science will influence our mores in ever increasing degree. There will be some unemployment in the ranks of people whose principal qualification is their ability to get along, to fit into organizational structures, and to adjust. The man of the future on whom we shall depend more and more is the technical expert. Today he is still subservient to nontechnical leaders in government and industry, and his work is hampered and sometimes destroyed by men in whom is vested great power but who cannot understand the realities of the new, artificial, technological age. But the "verbal" men are on the way out; the men who can handle the intricate mysteries of complex scientific and engineering projects are on the way in. . . .

Another relatively new phenomenon in American life which compels us to find room for creative people in our institutions is the sheer mass of our people. Government and industry must in some manner organize and manage our huge population to prevent chaos and insure safety and efficiency. . . .

At different levels of civilization, different degrees of popular education are needed. A future dependent on creative brains obviously must have an educational system quite different from the one needed when men of brawn and physical courage exploited this continent. . . .

Our schools . . . must concentrate on bringing the intellectual powers of each child to the highest possible level. Even the average child now needs almost as good an education as the average middle- and upper-class child used to get in the college-preparatory schools. The talented child needs special schooling to move him rapidly through the period of absorbing knowledge into the period when his fine mind can turn this knowledge into new ideas, new discoveries, new ways of life. We need creative thinkers in the humanities no less than in the sciences. Living in crowded areas demands more of us in tolerance, in consideration, and in acceptance of necessary rules than life on a frontier. Perhaps our children—certainly our grandchildren—will have to live with fewer material possessions. It is not too early to turn to inner resources which are limitless: to art, music, literature, good conversation; to cultivation of a more contemplative way of life. . . .

Civilization, H. G. Wells remarked, is a race between education and catastrophe. I believe we shall win the race. But not on a 180-day school year; nor if our highest aim is to have a good time and to accumulate lots of material possessions. . . .

I believe we must put first things first. This means, above all else, that we must bring excellence to American education. Let us stop fooling ourselves by counting school desks without considering what the children sitting at these desks are being taught. Many of our children are merely parked in the schools. They merely have a good time there. Few get a twentieth-century education. . . .

. . . I speak out only because I must. Because in my work I have had a glimpse of the future. The future belongs to the best-educated nation. Let it be ours."

Source: H. G. Rickover, *Education and Freedom* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1959), 17–18, 19, 20, 31–32, 37, 38.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* Education and Freedom

Background of Reading

The book presents a discussion on the quality of American education in the 1950's, a time when the growing concern over education was fueled by the apparent superiority of the Soviet Union in the fields of science and technology.

Background of Writer

Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, an American naval officer, was born in Russia in 1900 and immigrated to the U.S. in 1904 with his parents. After graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1922 and receiving his M.S. in electrical engineering at Columbia University in 1929, Rickover spent three years in submarine duty and was assigned to the U.S. Navy Department during World War II. After the war, he was named Assistant Director of Operations of the Manhattan Project at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. He also supervised the planning and construction of the first nuclear-powered submarine, the U.S.S. *Nautilus,* which was launched in 1952. Rickover had a long-standing concern with the curriculum and quality of American education. He authored *Education and Freedom,* which called for improved standards of education, in 1959; *Swiss Schools and Ours: Why Theirs Are Better* in 1962; and *American Education: A National Failure* in 1963. Rickover was awarded a congressional medal in 1959 and the Enrico Fermi Award in 1961.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What does Rickover say is the consequence of technological progress? (Answer: people must use their minds more and their bodies less.)

2. Has society kept pace with this progress? What does society overvalue? undervalue? (Answer: no, society overvalues physical prowess and undervalues intellectual competence.)

3. According to Rickover, the answer is in the schools. What must the schools accomplish? (Answer: they must develop in children of all academic levels the highest possible scholastic competence of which they are capable; schools must help students to understand the complex world of today and how it came to be.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Rickover claims that our country will not make significant technological progress unless the schools are reorganized. What changes does he suggest? If you were in a position to make changes, what three changes would you make first? Why? (Rickover's changes include: schools must pry themselves away from their reliance on routine and protocol; they must make room for new and creative work; schools must allow people with specialized knowledge to operate outside routine procedures. Students' changes might include: flexible schedules; additional course offerings; work/study programs.)

2. Rickover believes that, even in a technological age, we need creative thinkers in the humanities as well as in the sciences. Why? Do you agree? Why or why not? (Paragraphs might include: living in crowded cities demands greater and greater tolerance, consideration, and adherence to rules; future generations may have to be satisfied with fewer material possessions; because of these situations, people must be able to turn to their limitless creative resources in the areas of music, art, literature, good conversation.)

from The Fire Next Time

James Baldwin

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 32

"Dear James:

I have begun this letter five times and torn it up five times. . . . You really are of another era, part of what happened when the Negro left the land and came into what the late E. Franklin Frazier called "the cities of destruction." You can only be destroyed by believing that you really are what the white world calls a nigger. . . .

. . . I know what the world has done to my brother and how narrowly he has survived it. And I know, which is much worse, and this is the crime of which I accuse my country and my countrymen, and for which neither I nor time nor history will ever forgive them, that they have destroyed and are destroying hundreds of thousands of lives and do not know it and do not want to know it. One can be, indeed one must strive to become, tough and philosophical concerning destruction and death, for this is what most of mankind has been best at since we have heard of man. (But remember: *most* of mankind is not *all* of mankind.) . . .

This innocent country set you down in a ghetto in which, in fact, it intended that you should perish. Let me spell out precisely what I mean by that, for the heart of the matter is here, and the root of my dispute with my country. You were born where you were born and faced the future that you faced because you were black and *for no other reason*. The limits of your ambition were, thus, expected to be set forever. You were born into a society which spelled out with brutal clarity, and in as many ways as possible, that you were a worthless human being. You were not expected to aspire to excellence: you were expected to make peace with mediocrity. Wherever you have turned, James, in your short time on this earth, you have been told where you could go and what you could do (and *how* you could do it) and where you could live and whom you could marry. I know your countrymen do not agree with me about this, and I hear them saying, "You exaggerate." They do not know Harlem, and I do. So do you. Take no one's word for anything, including mine—but trust your experience. Know whence you came. If you know whence you came, there is really no limit to where you can go. The details and symbols of your life have been deliberately constructed to make you believe what white people say about you. Please try to remember that what they believe, as well as what they do and cause you to endure, does not testify to your inferiority but to their inhumanity and fear. Please try to be clear, dear James, through the storm which rages about your youthful head today, about the reality which lies behind the words *acceptance* and *integration*. There is no reason for you to try to become like white people and there is no basis whatever for their impertinent assumption that *they* must accept *you*. The really terrible thing, old buddy, is that *you* must accept *them*. And I mean that very seriously. You must accept them and accept them with love. For these innocent people have no other hope. They are, in effect, still trapped in a history which they do not understand; and until they understand it, they cannot be released from it. They have had to believe for many years, and for innumerable reasons, that black men are inferior to white men. Many of them, indeed, know better, but, as you will discover, people find it very difficult to act on what they know. To act is to be committed, and to be committed is to be in danger. In this case, the danger, in the minds of most white Americans, is the loss of their identity. I said that it was intended that you should perish in the ghetto, perish by never being allowed to go behind the white man's definitions, by never being allowed to spell your proper name. You have, and many of us have, defeated this intention; and, by a terrible law, a terrible paradox, those innocents who believed that your imprisonment made them safe are losing their grasp of reality. But these men are your brothers—your lost, younger brothers. And if the word *integration* means anything, this is what it means: that we, with love, shall force our brothers to see themselves as they are, to cease fleeing from reality and begin to change it. For this is your home, my friend, do not be driven from it; great men have done great things here, and will again, and we can make America what America must become. . . .

You know, and I know, that the country is celebrating one hundred years of freedom one hundred years too soon. We cannot be free until they are free. God bless you, James, and Godspeed.

Your uncle,
James"

Source: James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Dell, 1962, 1963), 13–22.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* The Fire Next Time

Background of Reading

The excerpt is from a letter written by James Baldwin to his nephew on January 1, 1963, the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Background of Writer

James Baldwin, American novelist and essayist, was born and raised in Harlem. His first novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), established him as a leading commentator on the condition of blacks in America. *Notes of a Native Son* (1955) and *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961) are collections of essays and reminiscences of his Harlem youth. *The Fire Next Time* (1963) and *No Name in the Street* (1972) reflect Baldwin's belief that the suffering and abuse of black Americans is a symbol of more universal conflicts and problems.

Guided Reading Questions

1. Where did James Baldwin and his nephew grow up? (Answer: in Harlem.)

2. With what crime does Baldwin charge his country and his countrymen? (Answer: they have destroyed and are destroying thousands of lives; they do not know it and do not want to know it.)

3. How does Baldwin define integration? (Answer: "that we, with love, shall force our brothers to see themselves as they are, to cease fleeing from reality and begin to change it.")

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What advice does Baldwin give his nephew about surviving the destruction? Do you agree or disagree with this advice? Why? (Paragraphs might include: to become tough and philosophical about destruction and death, because most of mankind has been good at both since the beginning of time. Some students will agree—from their experience, a shell of toughness is their best defense against the world. Other students will disagree—as Baldwin says, "*most* of mankind is not *all* of mankind"; there is good in the world and they will focus on that.)

2. Baldwin says, "This innocent country set you down in a ghetto in which, in fact, it intended that you should perish." What does he mean? Do you agree? (Paragraphs might include: black children born in ghettos are faced with a predetermined future because they are black, and for no other reason; the limits of ambition are expected to be set for life; society spells out that they are worthless human beings; they are not expected to aspire to excellence; they are told where they can go, what they can do, and whom they can marry.)

"Vietnam–Illusion and Reality" from A Speech in Chicago

Robert F. Kennedy

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 33

"The Viet Cong will probably withdraw from the cities, as they were forced to withdraw from the American Embassy. Thousands of them will be dead. But they will, nevertheless, have demonstrated that no part or person of South Vietnam is secure from their attacks: neither district capitals nor American bases, neither the peasant in his rice paddy nor our ambassadors nor the commanding general of our own great forces. . . .

. . . For the sake of those young Americans who are fighting today, if for no other reason, the time has come to take a new look at the war in Vietnam—in fact the time is long past—not by cursing the past but by using it to illuminate the future.

And the first and necessary step is to face the facts. It is to seek out the austere and painful reality of Vietnam, freed from wishful thinking, false hopes, and sentimental dreams. . . .

. . . We are told that the enemy suffered terrible losses; and there is no doubt he did. They cannot, however, be as devastating as the figures appear. The secretary of defense has told us that "during all of 1967 the Communists lost about 165,000 effectives," yet enemy main force strength "has been maintained at a relatively constant level of about 110,000–115,000 during the past year." Thus it would seem that no matter how many Viet Cong and North Vietnamese we claim to kill, through some miraculous effort of will, enemy strength remains the same.

Now our intelligence chief tells us that of 60,000 men thrown into the attacks on the cities in the last two weeks, more than 20,000 have been killed. If only two men have been seriously wounded for every one dead—a very conservative estimate—the entire enemy force has been put out of action. Then, I ask, who is doing the fighting?

Again it is claimed that the Communists expected a large-scale popular uprising which did not occur. How ironic it is that here in the United States our public officials should claim a victory because a people whom we have given 16,000 lives, billions of dollars, and almost a decade to defend did not rise in arms against us. More disillusioning and painful is the fact the population did not rise to defend its freedom against the Viet Cong. . . .

. . . We are told that the war in Vietnam will settle the whole course of the future of Asia. But that is a prayerful wish based on unsound hope, meant only to justify the enormous sacrifices we have already made. The truth is that communism triumphed in China twenty years ago and was extended to Tibet. It lost in Malaya and the Philippines, met disaster in Indonesia, and was fought to a standstill in Korea. It has struggled against the government in Burma for twenty years without success, and it may struggle in Thailand for many more.

The outcome in each country depends and will depend on the intrinsic strength of the government, the particular circumstances of the country, and the particular character of the insurgent movement. . . .

The history of conflict among nations does not record another such lengthy and consistent chronicle of error as we have shown in Vietnam. It is time to discard so proven a fallacy and face the reality that a military victory is not in sight and that it probably will never come.

Unable to defeat our enemy or break his will—at least without a huge, long, and ever more costly effort—we must actively seek a peaceful settlement. We can no longer harden our terms every time Hanoi indicates it may be prepared to negotiate; and we must be willing to foresee a settlement which will give the Viet Cong and the National Liberation Front a chance to participate in the political life of the country. Not because we want them to but because that is the only way in which this struggle can be settled."

Source: Robert F. Kennedy, speech delivered in Chicago on February 8, 1968, and printed in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, February 11, 1968. Reprinted in Encyclopaedia Britannica, *1961–1968: The Burdens of World Power*, vol. 18 of *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1974), 600–601, 603–604.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
"Vietman–Illusion and Reality" *from A Speech in Chicago*

Background of Reading

This speech was made by Kennedy in Chicago on February 8, 1968, and was reported in the *Chicago Sun-Times* on February 11. It marked Senator Kennedy as a leading antiadministration critic in the Senate.

Background of Writer

Robert F. Kennedy, political leader and legislator, was born in 1925, in Brookline, Massachusetts, the son of Joseph P. Kennedy, financier and former ambassador to Great Britain, and the brother of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the thirty-fifth President of the U.S. Robert Kennedy was educated at Harvard University and the University of Virginia. He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II and worked as an attorney in the U.S. Department of Justice. Kennedy first gained national recognition when he served as chief counsel of the Senate committee investigating the Teamsters Union from 1955 to 1957. As U.S. Attorney General he actively supported civil rights laws and aid to urban ghettos. After resigning his cabinet post in 1964, he was elected U.S. senator from New York. He went on to campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1968. On June 5 of that year, shortly after his victory in the California primary election, Kennedy was shot and killed by Jordanian Sirhan Bishara Sirhan.

Guided Reading Questions

1. Kennedy claims that the time has come to take a new look at the war in Vietnam. What does he say must be the first step? (Answer: to seek out the reality of the situation, apart from wishful thinking and false hopes.)

2. What does Kennedy say will determine the success of a Communist takeover in any country? (Answer: the intrinsic strength of the government; the particular circumstances of the country; the character of the insurgent movement.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. In his search for the truth about the war, Kennedy uncovered many inconsistencies in casualty figures and in other U.S. government reports. What were some of these inconsistencies? What conclusion about the Vietnam War can you draw from this information? (Paragraphs might include: reports claimed that during 1967, Communists lost about 165,000 soldiers, but that the enemy force had remained constant at 110,000 to 115,000—it therefore appeared that no matter how many Viet Cong were killed, an equal number took their place; another report said that in the two weeks before Kennedy's speech, 20,000 of the 60,000 enemy soldiers thrown into attacks on cities were killed—if only two soldiers were wounded for every one killed, that would mean the entire force would have been wiped out, yet it seemed that enemy strength had not been diminished. Students might conclude that the U.S. government reports were padded to boost morale and that enemy casualties were nowhere near the reported figures.)

2. Kennedy claims that a military victory in Vietnam would probably never come. What was his solution for ending the war? In your opinion, was there any better solution? (Paragraphs might include: seek a peaceful settlement; prepare to negotiate with Hanoi; accept a settlement that would give the Viet Cong and the National Liberation Front a chance to participate in the political life of the country.)

from The Memoirs of Richard Nixon

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 34

Richard M. Nixon

"The Presidency: 1969

The President and First Lady soon discover that everything they do or say is potentially news. They are surrounded by Secret Service agents, staff members, communications teams, medics and doctors, transportation aides, and scores of reporters and photographers whose only job is to try to get a word with them or a picture of them. . . .

At the same time I discovered how isolated from the reality of American life a President can feel in the White House. . . .

Looking back over 1969, I saw it as a beginning—a solid beginning. We had held our own. The new year would begin a new decade, and I looked forward to the opportunity to leave the turbulent 1960s behind and begin a new era of creative and peaceful progress for America and the world. . . .

The Presidency: 1970

In fact my determination to keep politics out of the White House was short-lived. I should have known that the attempt would be futile. As each day brought the election closer, and as the competition heightened, the need for action and information became irresistible. Democratic Presidents since FDR had excelled—and reveled—in flexing the formidable political muscle that goes with being the party in the White House. I planned to take no less advantage of it myself. So I ended up keeping the pressure on the people around me to get organized, to get tough, and to get information about what the other side was doing. Sometimes I ordered a tail on a front-running Democrat; sometimes I urged that department and agency files be checked for any indications of suspicious or illegal activities involving prominent Democrats. I told my staff that we should come up with the kind of imaginative dirty tricks that our Democratic opponents used against us and others so effectively in previous campaigns. . . .

The Presidency: 1971

From the very beginning I had decided that my administration would be the best chronicled in history. I wanted a record of every major meeting I held, ranging from verbatim transcripts of important national security sessions to "color reports" of ceremonial events. Unfortunately the system proved cumbersome, because it was not always convenient or appropriate to have someone in the room taking notes. . . .

The existence of the tapes was never meant to be made public—at least not during my presidency. I thought that afterward I could consult the tapes in preparing whatever books or memoirs I might write. Such an objective record might also be useful to the extent that any President feels vulnerable to revisionist histories—whether from within or without his administration—and particularly so when the issues are as controversial and the personalities as volatile as they were in my first term. . . .

. . . Therefore, a system was installed that was voice-activated; talking would trigger the tape machines. . . .

I never listened to a tape until June 4, 1973, when I had to do so because of the Watergate investigation.

The Presidency: 1972

On the way back [from Key Biscayne], I got disturbing news from Bob Haldeman that the break-in of the Democratic National Committee involved someone who is on the payroll of the Committee to Reelect the President. Mitchell had told Bob on the phone enigmatically not to get involved in it, and I told Bob that I simply hoped that none of our people were involved for two reasons—one, because it was stupid in the way it was handled; and two, because I could see no reason whatever for trying to bug the national committee. . . .

The Presidency: 1974

Looking directly into the camera, I said,

> . . . I shall resign the presidency effective at noon tomorrow. . . .
>
> By taking this action, I hope that I will have hastened the start of that process of healing which is so desperately needed in America.
>
> I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision. I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong—and some were wrong—they were made in what I believed at the time to be in the best interest of the nation. . . .

As we walked past the dark Rose Garden, Kissinger's voice was low and sad. He said that he thought that historically this would rank as one of the great speeches and that history would judge me one of the great Presidents. I turned to him and said, "That depends, Henry, on who writes the history."

Source: Richard Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978), 434, 496, 500-502, 627, 1083–1084.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* The Memoirs of Richard Nixon

Background of Reading

Memoirs were kept by Nixon, the thirty-seventh President of the U.S., beginning with his earliest recollections of boyhood through the moment he left the White House for the last time.

Background of Writer

Richard Milhous Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, California, in 1913. He graduated from Whittier College and Duke University Law School and later served as a government attorney. During World War II, he served as a naval officer. Nixon was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1946 and to the U.S. Senate in 1950. He served as a member of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. At age thirty-nine he was selected as the Vice-Presidential candidate to run on the Republican ticket with Dwight Eisenhower. In the midst of the campaign, he was accused of accepting improper financial support during his term as senator, but he denied any misconduct. Nixon lost the 1960 Presidential race to John Kennedy and the 1962 gubernatorial race in California to incumbent Pat Brown. Nixon moved to New York to practice law and then in 1968 won the Republican nomination for President. Nixon's campaign on the need to balance the federal budget, bring an honorable end to the Vietnam War, and return law and order to America won him the election in 1968 and reelection in 1972. However, he resigned from office in August 1974 in the wake of the Watergate scandal.

Guided Reading Questions

1. How did Nixon view 1969, his first year in the Presidency? (Answer: as a good, solid beginning; the start of "a new era of creative and peaceful progress for America and the world.")

2. For what two reasons did Nixon hope that his people were not involved in the Watergate break-in? (Answer: because it was handled stupidly; because he could see no reason for bugging the Democratic National Committee.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. What were some of the tactics used by Nixon in his reelection campaign? How did he justify these activities? What would you have done in his position? (Paragraphs might include: he pressured the people around him to get organized, to get tough, and to gather information about the Democrats. Nixon justified these activities by declaring that "flexing the formidable political muscle . . . goes with being the party in the White House" and that he intended to take every advantage of the situation—just as the Democrats before him had done.)

2. How does Nixon justify his decision to secretly tape conversations? Do you agree with Nixon's actions? with his reasons? Why or why not? (Paragraphs might include: to have a record of every meeting he held, from national security meetings to ceremonial events; to obtain a more effective and accurate picture than that provided by someone taking notes at a meeting or an event; to gather background material for use in writing books and memoirs; for an objective record of history.)

from First Lady from Plains

Rosalynn Carter

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 35

"My greatest disappointment in all the projects I worked on during the White House years was the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment to be ratified. Jimmy and I made dozens of calls to state legislators as individual states considered the issue, and it was very close at one time, so close that if only thirteen legislators—two in Florida, two in North Carolina, and nine in Nevada—had voted yea instead of nay we would have made it. . . .

Our one victory came during the fall of 1978, when Jimmy and Fritz Mondale worked to turn seven congressional no votes into yes votes to pass legislation extending the ratification deadline. It was even more disappointing to see the deadline for the extension go by in 1982 with the ERA still not ratified.

Why have we had such a hard time trying to get the amendment ratified? After all, it is a simple twenty-four-word declaration: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

Most people think it says much more than this. I have had women tell me that if I would send them a copy they would pay the postage, as though it were volumes. And Erma Bombeck has described it as the most misunderstood few words since "one size fits all."

The Equal Rights Amendment says nothing about men having to give up their places as head of the household or about women being drafted or forced to go to work, leaving their children at home. It says nothing about unisex bathrooms, homosexual marriages, or about personal family relationships, and it would not force any changes in them. What it would do is guarantee women the legal protection that should be rightfully theirs under the Constitution.

The U.S. Constitution is the most basic concept of what this nation stands for: freedom and equality for all. Yet today the only right the Constitution guarantees women is the right to vote. It contains no clause granting women legal status as persons or guaranteeing equal protection for them. Some argue that women's rights are guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment, passed to protect slaves. However, the Supreme Court in case after case has not extended this amendment to include women, although it has repeatedly been urged to do so. . . .

The image of the ERA has been a serious problem. Attention has often centered on those supporters who have appeared to be demanding and strident man haters—mostly urban, professional women. "Nice" women, as my daughter-in-law Judy says, have been reluctant to be identified with such a group, though they support the ERA itself. In fact, I learned that a majority of people do support the ERA when they know the facts. . . .

In years past, many laws were written with different provisions for men and women. In some states, women could marry at an earlier age than men. Men could drink at an earlier age than women. In Alabama, girls had to be seventeen before they could be newspaper carriers; boys only had to be ten! In some instances, women were required to have their husbands' consent to sell property. Everyone agrees that today these laws are outdated. But society at the time thought that women were different and should be protected; staying at home with the family, teaching school and working with children, or being a secretary helping a man were the kinds of things that women really wanted to do and could do well.

The movement for equal rights for women began with the simple reasoning that while women are biologically different from men, they have the same ability to serve as doctors or lawyers or do other things that had traditionally been viewed as men's jobs, and that society should take advantage of these talents. . . .

An Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution would protect women's gains and ensure that future laws would not discriminate against them."

Source: Rosalynn Carter, *First Lady from Plains* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 286–288.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING *from* First Lady from Plains

Background of Reading

First Lady from Plains is the memoirs of former First Lady Rosalynn Carter, who inspired the nation with her independence and commanded the world's attention as a special Presidential envoy.

Background of Writer

Rosalynn Smith Carter was born in Plains, Georgia, in 1927 and graduated from Georgia Southwest College. Her work and life experiences range from helping to run the family peanut business in Plains, Georgia, to taking an active part in her husband's congressional, gubernatorial, and Presidential campaigns. In addition, Carter wrote *Everything to Gain: Making the Most of the Rest of Your Life* in 1987 with husband Jimmy. As First Lady, Carter headed the President's Commission on Mental Health from 1977 to 1978.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What was Rosalynn Carter's single greatest disappointment of all the projects she worked on during her White House years? (Answer: the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment to be ratified.)

2. What would passage of the ERA do for women? (Answer: it would guarantee women the legal protection that is rightfully theirs under the Constitution and would ensure that future laws would not discriminate against them.)

3. What is the only right guaranteed to women by the Constitution? (Answer: the right to vote.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. Why is there so much opposition to the ERA? How does Carter address this opposition? (Paragraphs might include: although the amendment states only that equality of rights will not be denied because of sex, many people think it says more; they fear that men and women will be forced to adopt nontraditional roles; they fear changes in family and society structures. Carter responds by saying that the amendment neither calls for nor endorses any of these—it would only guarantee women the legal protection that is rightfully theirs under the Constitution.)

2. Some argue that women's rights are guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. What has proven this not to be the case? Are you in favor of or against the ERA? Give concrete reasons and examples to support your opinion. (Paragraphs might include: in case after case the Supreme Court has failed to extend the amendment to include women, although it has repeatedly been urged to do so.)

"What Is Wrong With Us?" from A Speech Delivered in 1988

Albert Gore

PRIMARY SOURCE READING 36

"When I announced I was running for President, I said the greenhouse effect, the depletion of the ozone layer and the global ecological crisis will, by the end of this election year, be recognized as the most serious issue facing this country and the world. . . . There are still barriers to political action. Let me discuss five of them.

Number one, there are areas of uncertainty about the greenhouse effect and the dire nature of the ecological crisis we face, which are seized upon as excuses for inaction. This is a psychological problem common to all humanity. If strong responses are needed and yet there is some residual uncertainty about whether you are going to have to make those responses, the natural psychological tendency is to magnify the uncertainty and say, "Well, maybe we won't really have to face up to it."

But the fact that we face an ecological crisis without any precedent in historic times is no longer a matter of any dispute worthy of recognition. . . .

The second barrier to political action is an unwillingness to believe that something so far outside the bounds of historical experience can, in fact, be occurring. To put it another way, this set of problems sounds like the plot of a bad science-fiction movie. People automatically assume it can't be real.

The third political barrier is the assumption that it will be easier and more sensible to adapt to whatever climate change occurs than it will be to prevent the crisis. But the change could come so swiftly that adaptation will be all but impossible.

The fourth barrier is the lack of widespread awareness among the peoples of the world about the nature of the problem. Most political leaders, let alone their public, are unaware of what is happening and how severe it is. That must be changed.

The fifth barrier to political action is the knowledge that many of the ultimate solutions are almost unimaginably difficult. And since they are harder than anything we have done before, and the efforts may all come to naught anyway, why mess with them? Why not conserve our energy and just not even try? That is a formidable barrier, not least because the solutions require international cooperation on a scale that is totally unprecedented in history.

Those five barriers must be overcome before the political system reacts. The role of leadership is critical in spreading awareness, in framing solutions, in offering a vision of the future we want to create, as well as a vision of the nightmare we wish to avoid. . . .

We saw the two whales trapped in the Arctic ice, struggling for air, and the world responded. The U.S. and the Soviet Union cooperated. Yet we see 40,000 babies starving every day, and we don't react. What is wrong with us?

There used to be a debate in the '70s about appropriate technology. Now the question is: Did God choose an appropriate technology when he gave human beings dominion over the earth? The jury is still out. And the answer has to come in our lifetime from the political system.

There are precedents. We made human sacrifice, once commonplace, obsolete. We made slavery obsolete. These things, just like changes in weather patterns, took a long period of time. But now, just as climate changes are telescoped into a very short period of time, changes in human thinking of a magnitude comparable to the changes that brought about the abolition of slavery must take place in one generation.

We know how to solve the problem. It will be unimaginably difficult. The cooperation required will be unprecedented. But we know what to do. What is required is a change in thinking and a change in the equilibrium of the world's political system.

Right now the political equilibrium is characterized by short-term policies at the expense of long-term policies. It is characterized by actions to confer national advantage at the expense of actions designed to promote global advantage. It is characterized by preparations for war, ignorance and starvation.

Our challenge as political leaders is to come up with an agenda of solutions, which we are doing. But the larger challenge for all of us is to shift the world's political system into a new state of equilibrium, characterized by more cooperation, global agendas and a focus on the future. As General Omar Bradley said at the end of World War II, "It is time we steered by the stars and not by the lights of each passing ship."

Source: Albert Gore, speech delivered in November 1988 and excerpts printed in "What Is Wrong With Us?," *Time* (January 2, 1989), 66.

PRIMARY SOURCE READING
"What Is Wrong with Us" *from A Speech Delivered in 1988*

Background of Reading

In November 1988, *Time* magazine called together a group of distinguished scientists, administrators, and political leaders from five continents to address the growing issue of environmental disasters. *Time* had already shifted away from tradition when, instead of honoring an individual as "Man [or Woman] of the Year," it nominated the endangered earth as "Planet of the Year." At a three-day meeting at the National Center for Atmospheric Research, thirty-three experts engaged in a series of discussions on ways to improve and protect the environment.

Background of Writer

Albert Gore, Jr., U.S. senator from Tennessee, was born in Washington, D.C., on March 31, 1948. After graduating from Harvard in 1969, he served in Vietnam, until 1971. Gore worked as a reporter for the *Nashville Tennessean* and in the home-building business from 1971 to 1976. He attended Vanderbilt University Law School from 1974 to 1976. Gore's political career is varied. He served as a U.S. representative from Tennessee from 1977 to 1985, was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1985, and served on the following Senate and House committees: Science and Technology, from 1977 to 1984; Select Intelligence, from 1981 to 1984; and Commerce, Science, and Technology, beginning in 1985. Gore was the youngest entrant in the 1988 Democratic Presidential primaries.

Guided Reading Questions

1. What issues does Albert Gore identify as the most serious ones facing Americans in 1988? (Answer: the greenhouse effect; the depletion of the ozone layer; the global ecological crisis.)

2. What five barriers to political action does Gore identify? (Answer: areas of uncertainty about the greenhouse effect and the nature of the ecological crisis, which are used as excuses for inaction; an unwillingness to believe that something so far outside of historical experience could occur; the assumption that it will be easier to adapt to a climate change than to prevent the crisis; a lack of widespread awareness about the nature of the problem; the difficulty of implementing many solutions.)

Questions to Focus Writing

1. According to Gore, why are Americans failing to react to the environmental crisis? Cite some of Gore's examples of the results of this failure to react. Do you agree or disagree with Gore? Give specific examples from recent news stories to support your opinion. (Paragraphs might include: Americans are failing to respond because environmental destruction, a slow and steady process, lacks the shock value that prompts people to act. Examples of the results of our failure to act are the gradual destruction of rain forests and the widespread starvation that plagues many parts of the world.)

2. What does Gore say is required to bring an end to the crisis? Do you think his solution will work? Why or why not? (Paragraphs might include: a change in thinking and a change in the equilibrium of the world's political system are required to end the crisis; long-term solutions must replace short-term fixes; there must be global agendas, greater cooperation, and a focus on the future.)

LITERATURE WORKSHEETS

Name Date Class Score

"On Liberty and Slavery"

Phillis Wheatley

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 1

The speaker in this poem cries for freedom for herself and for her people.

Alas! and am I born for this,
To wear this slavish chain?
Deprived of all created bliss,
Through hardship, toil and pain!

How long have I in bondage lain,
And languished to be free!
Alas! and must I still complain—
Deprived of liberty.

Oh, Heaven! and is there no relief
This side the silent grave—
To soothe the pain—to quell the grief
And anguish of a slave?

Come Liberty, thou cheerful sound,
Roll through my ravished ears!
Come, let my grief in joys be drowned,
And drive away my fears.

Say unto foul oppression, Cease:
Ye tyrants rage no more,
And let the joyful trump of peace,
Now bid the vassal soar.

Soar on the pinions of that dove
Which long has cooed for thee,
And breathed her notes from Afric's grove,
The sound of Liberty.

Oh, Liberty! thou golden prize,
So often sought by blood—
We crave thy sacred sun to rise,
The gift of nature's God!

Bid Slavery hide her haggard face,
And barbarism fly:
I scorn to see the sad disgrace
In which enslaved I lie.

Dear Liberty! upon thy breast,
I languish to respire;
And like the Swan unto her nest,
I'd to thy smiles retire.

Oh, blest asylum—heavenly balm!
Unto thy boughs I flee—
And in thy shades the storm shall calm,
With songs of Liberty!

Getting at Meaning

1. What question does the speaker ask in the first stanza?

2. What one thing does the speaker long for?

3. The speaker calls slavery "foul oppression," "barbarism," and "the sad disgrace." Do you think these are accurate descriptions of slavery? Give reasons to support your opinion.

Name Date Class Score

from Chesapeake

James A. Michener

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 2

An unfamiliar and often hostile environment, lack of food, and illness plagued the early colonists. In addition, the settlers coped with some unusual and serious problems.

If the colonies were impeded by lack of coinage, they were nearly destroyed by a lack of salt. Along the entire eastern coast there had been found no substantial salt deposits, and imports from the various mines of Europe were either prohibitive or unavailable. Every kitchen in Maryland suffered from this lack, and children could be seen dipping their hands into the bay in hopes of satisfying their hunger for this essential item. Men and women would sometimes dream of tasting a truly salted dish; their bodies suffered strange rashes; perspiration became acid and biting, much worse than the sting of mosquitoes.

Almost every infant industry at one time or another felt the need for salt, and because none was available, occupations that should have prospered never got started or withered. Henry Steed wrote to Fithians:

> We perish for lack of salt. Never has the bay produced a better catch of fish. Barrels of the best shad stand on our wharf. But because we have no salt, we cannot lay them aside for winter, and in February we shall go hungry when we could have dined like kings. Tears came into my eyes when I ordered my slaves to throw fish already caught back into the bay and to seek no more.
>
> When our fine new ship the *Martha Keene* crosses the Atlantic, could you find me a cargo of salt from the Polish mines? Regardless of cost? And will you please send documents explaining how best to evaporate salt from sea water?

Getting at Meaning

1. According to this reading, what major problems plagued the early colonists? Which was the most serious problem?

2. What were some of the consequences of the shortage?

3. In what way did the shortage affect the economy?

4. Do you think the colonists tried reasonable solutions to their problem? Explain your answer.

Name Date Class Score

from April Morning

Howard Fast

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 3

A young boy finds himself in the middle of battle during the Revolutionary War, facing the terrifying reality of death.

I ran. I was filled with fear, saturated with it, sick with it. Everyone else was running. The boys were running and the men were running. Our two lines were gone, and now it was only men and boys running in every direction that was away from the British, across the common and away from the British.

I tripped and fell into the drainage ditch, banged my head hard enough to shake me back to some reality, pulled myself up, and saw Samuel Hodley standing above me with a ragged hole in his neck, the blood pouring down over his white shirt. We looked at each other, then he fell dead into the ditch. I vomited convulsively, and then, kneeling there, looked back across the common. The British were advancing at a run through a ragged curtain of smoke. There was nothing to oppose them or stop them. Except for the crumpled figures of the dead, lying here and there, our militia was gone. The last of them were running toward the edge of the common, except for one man, Jonas Parker, who staggered along holding his belly, his hands soaking red with the blood that dripped through them. Two redcoat soldiers raced for him, and the one who reached him first drove his bayonet with all his plunging force into Parker's back.

"Oh, no!" I screamed. "Oh, God—no! No! No!"

Then I saw redcoats coming at a trot on the other side of the ditch and, through my sickness and terror and horror, realized somehow that if I remained here, I would be trapped—and it was not death I was afraid of or being taken by them or getting a musket ball, but that thin, glittering bayonet going into my vitals or tearing through my back the way it had with Jonas Parker. So I leaped up and ran, still holding onto my gun without ever knowing that I held it. The soldiers saw me and ran to cut me off, but I fled past them, across the common, leaped the fence, and ran between two shuttered, blind houses and tumbled down behind a pile of split kindling, and crouched there, vomiting again, over and over, until my chest and shoulders ached with the convulsive effort of it. Then I ran behind the house and another house, and there was the Harrington smokehouse, and I hid in there, with the hams and butts and sides of bacon over me. I crawled into a corner, put my face in my hands, and lay there sobbing.

Getting at Meaning

1. What does the speaker say he fears more than death?

2. Where does the speaker eventually hide?

3. What are the speaker's physical reactions to the death and destruction all around him? Do you think his reactions are reasonable for the situation or do you think he is a coward? Give reasons for your answer.

Name Date Class Score

from The President's Lady

Irving Stone

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 4

Rachel, the wife of Andrew Jackson, spends an afternoon shopping in early-nineteenth-century Nashville.

That afternoon she dressed in her prettiest winter costume over which she wore a heavily lined capote [cloak], and had George drive her into Nashville. A good many houses had been erected, both on the main street and along the river, some of them of brick. In the public square she found the Methodist church, the first real church Nashville had known. From the outside the courthouse looked exactly the same as it had when she and her mother and Samuel had gone in to watch Andrew and John try their cases.

She headed directly for Lardner Clark's store and bought some new hairbrushes, a skin cream, some French cologne and a soft scented face powder. Then, a little guiltily, she picked up a small pot of rouge, wondering if she would ever have the daring to use it. She remembered Andrew telling her of the law that had been passed in Pennsylvania decreeing that a marriage might be annulled if it could be proved that during the courtship the wife had "deceived and misled" her prospective husband by the use of cosmetics. But there was nothing in the law that made it illegal for a married woman to hold her husband through a tiny touch of artifice!

She had George carry her purchases out to the carriage, then drove back to Hunter's Hill as fast as she could get there. She sat down before her dressing mirror, and her face shone back at her from the mirror. My hair will need considerable brushing night and morning, she thought, and some of that liquid soap Jane uses. Next she looked for the beginning of crow's-feet about her eyes. But her skin was firm. Her mouth was full and red-lipped. Her face was thinner, the cheekbones showed slightly, the plumpness was gone from under her chin.

She felt young again, almost like a young girl waiting for her lover to return.

Getting at Meaning

1. According to this reading, what personal items might a "lady" buy in the early nineteenth century?

2. What did the Pennsylvania law regarding the use of cosmetics decree?

3. From this reading, what can you infer about the role of a woman of means at this time?

4. Compare the importance and role of physical appearance in today's society with its importance and role in the society of the early nineteenth century, as represented in this reading.

Name Date Class Score

"The Devil and Daniel Webster"

Stephen Vincent Benét

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 5

The great lawyer Daniel Webster argues a case against a wiley and most unsavory opponent—Old Scratch.

Dan'l Webster's brow looked dark as a thundercloud.

"Pressed or not, you shall not have this man!" he thundered. "Mr. Stone is an American citizen, and no American citizen may be forced into the service of a foreign prince. We fought England for that in '12 and we'll fight all hell for it again!"

"Foreign?" said the stranger. "And who calls me a foreigner?"

"Well, I never yet heard of the dev—of your claiming American citizenship," said Dan'l Webster with surprise.

"And who with better right?" said the stranger, with one of his terrible smiles. "When the first wrong was done to the first Indian, I was there. When the first slaver put out for the Congo, I stood on her deck. Am I not in your books and stories and beliefs, from the first settlements on? Am I not spoken of, still, in every church in New England? 'Tis true the North claims me for a Southerner and the South for a Northerner, but I am neither. I am merely an honest American like yourself—and of the best descent—for, to tell the truth, Mr. Webster, though I don't like to boast of it, my name is older in this country than yours." . . .

He [Webster] was talking about the things that make a country a country, and a man a man.

And he began with the simple things that everybody's known and felt—the freshness of a fine morning when you're young, and the taste of food when you're hungry, and the new day that's every day when you're a child. He took them up and he turned them in his hands. They were good things for any man. But without freedom, they sickened. And when he talked of those enslaved, and the sorrows of slavery, his voice got like a big bell. He talked of the early days of America and the men who had made those days. It wasn't a spread-eagle speech, but he made you see it. He admitted all the wrong that had ever been done. But he showed how, out of the wrong and the right, the suffering and the starvations, something new had come. And everybody had played a part in it, even the traitors.

Getting at Meaning

1. At what times in American history does the stranger, Old Scratch, say he was present? Who was Old Scratch?

2. What are the good things that Daniel Webster talks about? What happens to these good things when freedom is taken away?

3. Daniel Webster admits that many wrongs have marred our country's history but that out of these ills something new developed, and everyone played a part. Do you agree with this idea? Did good come from the bad? If so, what?

Name Date Class Score

from The Red Badge of Courage

Stephen Crane

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 6

Two Civil War soldiers watch in fear and awe as a mortally wounded companion struggles against death.

The tall soldier turned, and, lurching dangerously, went on. The youth and the tattered soldier followed, sneaking as if whipped, feeling unable to face the stricken man if he should again confront them. They began to have thoughts of a solemn ceremony. There was something rite-like in these movements of the doomed soldier. They could not understand; they were awed and afraid. They hung back lest he have at command a dreadful weapon.

At last they saw him stop and stand motionless. Hastening up they perceived that his face wore an expression telling that he had at last found the place for which he struggled. His spare figure was erect; his bloody hands were quietly at his sides. He was waiting with patience for something that he had come to meet. He was at the rendezvous. They paused and stood expectant.

There was a silence.

Finally the chest of the doomed soldier began to heave with a strained motion. It increased in violence until it was as if an animal was within and was kicking and tumbling furiously to be free.

This spectacle made the youth writhe. He raised his voice in a last supreme call:—

"Jim! Jim! Jim!"

The tall soldier opened his lips and spoke. He made a gesture. "Leave me be—don't tech me—leave me be—"

There was another silence while he waited.

Suddenly his form stiffened and straightened. Then it was shaken by a prolonged ague. He stared into space. To the two watchers there was a curious and profound dignity in the firm lines of his awful face.

He was invaded by a creeping strangeness that slowly enveloped him.

His tall figure stretched itself to its full height. There was a slight rending sound. Then it began to swing forward, slow and straight, in the manner of a falling tree. A swift muscular contortion made the left shoulder strike the ground first.

The body seemed to bounce a little way from the earth. "God," said the tattered soldier.

The youth now sprang to his feet and, going closer, gazed upon the paste-like face. The mouth was open and the teeth showed in a laugh.

As the flap of the blue jacket fell away from the body he could see that the side looked as if it had been chewed by wolves.

The youth turned, with sudden, livid rage, toward the battlefield. He shook his fist. He seemed about to deliver a philippic.

"Hell—"

The red sun was pasted in the sky like a fierce wafer.

The tattered man stood musing.

Getting at Meaning

1. How does the tall soldier meet death? How do the youth and the tattered soldier react to this behavior?

2. How does the tall soldier respond to the attempts of the other two soldiers to help him?

3. Why do you think the youth acts as he does after the tall soldier dies? Could he have done more than he did to help?

Name Date Class Score

from Giants in the Earth

O. E. Rölvaag

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 7

Settlers on the Great Plains faced many hardships in the 1870's—great blizzards, debilitating droughts, and other natural calamities.

The next moment the first wave of the weird cloud engulfed them, spewing over them its hideous, unearthly contents. . . . Tönseten could not hold the horses; they bolted across the field, cutting a wide semi-circle through the oats; not until he had the stern of his craft well into the wind could he stop them long enough to scramble down and unhitch them from the reaper.

At that moment two women came running up—Kjersti first, with her skirt thrown over her head, Sörine a little way behind, beating the air with frantic motions. The Solum boys, too, had now joined the terror-stricken little crowd. Down by the creek the grazing cows had hoisted their tails straight in the air and run for the nearest shelter; and no sooner had the horses been turned loose, than they followed suit; man and beast alike were overcome by a nameless fear.

And now from out the sky gushed down with cruel force a living, pulsating stream, striking the backs of the helpless folk like pebbles thrown by an unseen hand; but that which fell out of the heavens was not pebbles, not raindrops, nor hail, for then it would have lain inanimate where it fell; this substance had no sooner fallen than it popped up again, crackling, and snapping—rose up and disappeared in the twinkling of an eye; it flared and flittered around them like light gone mad; it chirped and buzzed through the air; it snapped and hopped along the ground; the whole place was a weltering turmoil of raging little demons; if one looked for a moment into the wind, one saw nothing but glittering, lightninglike flashes—flashes that came and went, in the heart of a cloud made up of innumerable dark-brown clicking bodies! All the while the roaring sound continued.

Per Hansa gazed deep into her eyes; a sound of agony came from his throat; he sank down suddenly in a heap and knew nothing more. . . .

Outside, the fiendish shapes flickered and danced in the dying glow of the day. The breeze had died down; the air seemed unaccountably lighter.

. . . That night the Great Prairie stretched herself voluptuously; giantlike and full of cunning, she laughed softly into the reddish moon. "Now we will see what human might may avail against us! . . . Now we'll see!" . . .

And now had begun a seemingly endless struggle between man's fortitude in adversity, on the one hand, and the powers of evil in high places, on the other. . . . The devastation it wrought was terrible; it made beggars of some, and drove others insane; still others it sent wandering back to the forest lands, though they found conditions little better there, either. . . . But the greater number simply hung on where they were. They stayed because poverty, that most supreme of masters, had deprived them of the liberty to rise up and go away.

Getting at Meaning

1. How do the people and the animals react to the "weird cloud"?

2. What are the long-range effects of the plague?

3. From the descriptions of the plague given in this reading, what can you infer the scourge is?

Name Date Class Score

from Centennial

James A. Michener

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 8

Approximately four out of every five families who tried homesteading on the Great Plains in the mid- to late 1800's didn't make it. Winters such as the one described here left many no alternative but to leave their home.

Instead of melting, the ice became even thicker, for the thermometer dropped to minus twenty-seven.

Then, on the night of January 15, the great blizzard of 1887 struck. It piled sixteen inches of snow atop the layers of ice, creating drifts which covered barns and obliterated roads and dropping the temperature to a historic forty-five degrees below zero. All pasturelands were buried beyond the capacity of any animal to penetrate. With no hay in storage, no feedcake available, most ranchers in western America sat impotent by their hearths and prayed for the storm to abate, while millions of cattle froze to death or starved.

For five terrible days the intense cold continued, with more snow each night. The entire prairie was encased in ice, and anguished ranchers were forced to acknowledge that their dangerous gamble of running cattle on an open range, with no stores of feed to succor them in case of storm, had come to an end.

The cow was the animal least fitted to fight a blizzard. The buffalo had learned to swing his massive head and push away the snow. The horse would paw down through the snow, finding grass beneath. Sheep would eat snow if water was lacking. Turkeys roosted in trees to escape the drifts, and chickens pecked till they reached ground and gulped snow to form water. The cow never learned any of these survival tricks; up to its belly in snow, it would die of thirst.

Jim Lloyd had a cowhand from Texas called Red, who fancied himself as a roper. . . . He saddled up and headed east, taking pack rations and a flask. He was gone for nine days, and when he got back he was gaunt and red-eyed.

Finlay Perkin suggested that he come into the kitchen at the castle and report on what he had seen, and he sat there just like the tough cowboy he wanted to be, gripping his coffee cup with both hands and talking in clipped sentences . . . .

"I seen dead cattle piled one on top of another till they seemed to fill the whole draw. I seen Pine Creek lined with what musta been a thousand carcasses. I seen over by the draw that runs into Line Camp Two a whole field of ice with horns and noses sticking out, musta been five hundred longhorns buried there in the first storm. I seen . . ."

He couldn't continue.

Getting at Meaning

1. What are the statistics of the blizzard of 1887—how much snow fell, what was the temperature, what was the effect?

2. How did animals such as the buffalo, horse, sheep, turkeys, and chickens survive the blizzard?

3. Why do you think that ranchers were so affected by their losses? What might they have done to prevent the loss? Why do you think they failed to take these measures?

Name Date Class Score

from 1876
Gore Vidal

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 9

The New York of 1876 was a city of contrasts—the desperate poor haunted streets lined with elegant shops and department stores.

. . . I must say I find bemusing these huge palaces dedicated to the selling of things by departments. They line Broadway from Stewart's white iron building at Ninth Street (replacing the old Washington Hall Hotel of my youth where Irving and Halleck used regularly to dine) all the way up to Twenty-third Street. Ladies' Mile they call it; and even on a damp winter morning, elegant ladies descend on the stores like a conquering army.

Yet along this rich mile one sees everywhere signs of the economic crisis. Innumerable beggars and prostitutes and "street rats." The "street rats" are ragged, emaciated children who paw through trash cans, collecting bones and rags. According to the *Herald*, there are more than thirty thousand homeless children adrift in the streets, living in cellarways, in barrels, packing crates. The few who manage to survive into adolescence turn to prostitution and crime.

I must say that this is a peculiarly brutal city, very different from the town of my youth where indeed there was crime and poverty—concentrated mostly in a single ward whose capital was the notorious Five Points. . . . Now half the city is haunted by the poor, most of them immigrants from Europe. On freezing nights they are allowed by the thousands to sleep on the floors of the police stations. The rich burghers have every reason to fear communism. This place is worse than Paris in 1871.

Emma is as horrified as I. But her solutions tend to be martial. "If they won't fight another war, then they must send the poor out West. There is room, isn't there?"

"Yes. But these people can do nothing . . ."

"Then they will die."

"It seems hard on the children."

"It is terrible." Emma was compassionate but hard. "So terrible that it is better for them to be dead."

"Or cared for."

Getting at Meaning

1. According to this reading, what new form of merchandising developed in the late nineteenth century?

2. In contrast to the thriving Ladies' Mile, what are the overwhelming signs of economic crisis?

3. What are "street rats"? According to this reading, how many street rats lived in New York in 1876? How did they live? What kind of life was in store for the survivors?

4. Emma's solution is to send all the poor out West. If they cannot survive there, they will die—and she believes that they will be better dead. Do you agree with these ideas? What are some solutions for helping the homeless, then and now?

Name Date Class Score

from Hawaii

James A. Michener

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 10

Early European settlers carried smallpox to the New World. Indians had no antibodies to this virus, and millions died. The horror was repeated in Hawaii in the early nineteenth century, when leprosy was spread throughout the Pacific islands by travelers from China.

These were evil years, indeed, in Hawaii. Before the coming of the white man, leprosy had been unknown. Then, in some unfathomable way, the alii contracted it, possibly from a passing sailor who had become infected in the Philippines, and from 1835 on, the great ravager had swept through the nobles of the island, so that the disease was secretly known as the mai alii, the sickness of the nobles, but coincident with the arrival of the Chinese, the virulent killer attacked the common people, who therefore gave it a permanent name: the mai Pake. In the areas from which the Hakka and Punti had come, leprosy was rarely known and it had never been a conspicuously Chinese disease, but the unfortunate name was assigned, and it stuck, so that in 1870 if a Chinese was caught with it, the measures taken against him were apt to be more stringent than those taken against others; so spies were more active among the Chinese, since rewards were greater.

These were the years when an otherwise decent man would study his enemy's face, and when he saw a pimple or impetigo or eczema he would denounce his enemy, and the man would be hunted down, arrested and thrown into the cage. There was no appeal, no hope, never an escape. The doomed man had only one chance to enjoy even the meanest decencies during the long years of his exile: if some unafflicted person, fully aware of her actions, volunteered to accompany him to the leper settlement, she was free to go in expectation of making his inevitable death a little easier. The saintly persons who stepped forward to share the hell of leprosy became known as the kokuas, the helpers. Mostly they were Hawaiian women who thus surrendered their own lives to aid others, and sometimes they themselves contracted the awful disease and died in exile; so that from those agonizing years the word *kokua* was to gain a special meaning, and to say of a woman in Hawaii, "She was a kokua," was to accord her a special benediction unknown in the rest of the world.

Getting at Meaning

1. According to this reading, how did leprosy first infect Hawaii?

2. What happened to lepers in Hawaii in the nineteenth century? How did enemies sometimes take advantage of the widespread terror of this deadly disease?

3. Why do you think the women who became known as kokuas willingly went into exile to care for the lepers? Name some people who risk their lives to help others in today's world.

Name Date Class Score

from A Farewell to Arms

Ernest Hemingway

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 11

As motor vehicles were a fairly recent development at the outbreak of World War I and were often unreliable, troops often traveled on foot. Some small patrols even used bicycles.

"Look! Look!" Aymo said and pointed toward the road. Along the top of the stone bridge we could see German helmets moving. They were bent forward and moved smoothly, almost supernaturally, along. As they came off the bridge we saw them. They were bicycle troops. I saw the faces of the first two. They were ruddy and healthy-looking. Their helmets came low down over their foreheads and the sides of their faces. Their carbines were clipped to the frame of the bicycles. Stick bombs hung handle down from their belts. Their helmets and their gray uniforms were wet and they rode easily, looking ahead and to both sides. There were two—then four in line, then two, then almost a dozen; then another dozen—then one alone. They did not talk but we could not have heard them because of the noise from the river. They were gone out of sight up the road.

"Holy Mary," Aymo said.

"They were Germans," Piani said. "Those weren't Austrians."

"Why isn't there somebody here to stop them?" I said. "Why haven't they blown the bridge up? Why aren't there machine-guns along this embankment?"

"You tell us, Tenente," Bonello said.

I was very angry.

"The whole bloody thing is crazy. Down below they blow up a little bridge. Here they leave a bridge on the main road. Where is everybody? Don't they try and stop them at all?"

"You tell us, Tenente," Bonello said. I shut up. It was none of my business; all I had to do was to get to Pordenone with three ambulances. I had failed at that. All I had to do now was get to Pordenone. I probably could not even get to Udine. . . . The thing to do was to be calm and not get shot or captured.

Getting at Meaning

1. What can be seen moving slowing along the bridge? How many are there?

2. How are the enemy troops equipped?

3. From this reading, what can you infer about the organization of the armies fighting the Germans? about the feelings of the soldiers in those armies?

Name Date Class Score

from The Great Gatsby

F. Scott Fitzgerald

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 12

The opulent, carefree life style of America's rich in the early 1920's is reflected in Jay Gatsby's lush and seemingly endless parties.

There was music from my neighbor's house through the summer nights. In his blue gardens men and girls came and went like moths among the whisperings and the champagne and the stars. At high tide in the afternoon I watched his guests diving from the tower of his raft, or taking the sun on the hot sand of his beach while his two motor-boats slit the waters of the Sound, drawing aquaplanes over cataracts of foam. On week-ends his Rolls-Royce became an omnibus, bearing parties to and from the city between nine in the morning and long past midnight, while his station wagon scampered like a brisk yellow bug to meet all trains. And on Mondays eight servants, including an extra gardener, toiled all day with mops and scrubbing-brushes and hammers and garden-shears, repairing the ravages of the night before.

Every Friday five crates of oranges and lemons arrived from a fruiterer in New York—every Monday these same oranges and lemons left his back door in a pyramid of pulpless halves. There was a machine in the kitchen which could extract the juice of two hundred oranges in half an hour if a little button was pressed two hundred times by a butler's thumb.

At least once a fortnight a corps of caterers came down with several hundred feet of canvas and enough colored lights to make a Christmas tree of Gatsby's enormous garden. On buffet tables, garnished with glistening hors d'oeuvre, spiced baked hams crowded against salads of harlequin designs and pastry pigs and turkeys bewitched to a dark gold. . . .

By seven o'clock the orchestra had arrived, no thin five-piece affair, but a whole pitful of oboes and trombones and saxophones and viols and cornets and piccolos, and low and high drums. The last swimmers have come in from the beach now and are dressing upstairs; the cars from New York are parked five deep in the drive, and already the halls and salons and verandas are gaudy with primary colors, and hair shorn in strange new ways, and shawls beyond the dreams of Castile. The bar is in full swing, and floating rounds of cocktails permeate the garden outside, until the air is alive with chatter and laughter, and casual innuendo and introductions forgotten on the spot, and enthusiastic meetings between women who never knew each other's names.

Getting at Meaning

1. What foods are served at Gatsby's parties? How is the garden decorated?

2. What activities are provided for the guests?

3. From the last sentence in this reading, what can you infer about the people who attend Gatsby's parties?

Name Date Class Score

from I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings

Maya Angelou

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 13

During Prohibition, many cities were controlled by bosses and a code of law that were far removed from elected city officials and the appointed police force.

The Negro section of St. Louis in the mid-thirties had all the finesse of a gold-rush town. Prohibition, gambling and their related vocations were so obviously practiced that it was hard for me to believe that they were against the law. Bailey and I, as newcomers, were quickly told by our schoolmates who the men on the street corners were as we passed. I was sure that they had taken their names from Wild West Books (Hard-hitting Jimmy, Two Gun, Sweet Man, Poker Pete), and to prove me right, they hung around in front of saloons like unhorsed cowboys.

We met the numbers runners, gamblers, lottery takers and whiskey salesmen not only in the loud streets but in our orderly living room as well. They were often there when we returned from school, sitting with hats in their hands, as we had done upon our arrival in the big city. They waited silently for Grandmother Baxter.

Her white skin and the pince-nez that she dramatically took from her nose and let hang free on a chain pinned to her dress were factors that brought her a great deal of respect. Moreover, the reputation of her six mean children and the fact that she was a precinct captain compounded her power and gave her the leverage to deal with even the lowest crook without fear. She had pull with the police department, so the men in their flashy suits and fleshy scars sat with churchlike decorum and waited to ask favors from her. If Grandmother raised the heat off their gambling parlors, or said the word that reduced the bail of a friend waiting in jail, they knew what would be expected of them. Come election, they were to bring in the votes from their neighborhood. She most often got them leniency, and they always brought in the vote.

Getting at Meaning

1. What kinds of people does the speaker meet in the streets of St. Louis's black section?

2. Why do these people respect Grandmother Baxter?

3. From this reading, what can you infer about the system of law and order at this time? Why, do you think, did the system work?

Name Date Class Score

from Battle Cry
Leon Uris

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 14

During World War II neither the wounded nor those who keep watch cry out or cave in to fear as they wait for death, which is sure to come with sunrise.

A white moon hung low. It lit up the wreckage. The long pier shone like a silver ray through the breezeless, sticky night. The tide crept up on the Marines crouching behind the seawall until there was no beach left. They lay in water. For a hundred yards, side by side, the wounded lay, speaking only to refuse aid or whisper a last prayer. No one cried out. Beyond the seawall, littered among machine gun nests and bunkers, a hundred more lay bleeding to death. Yet none of them moved or cried for help to come and get them. For they knew that a cry would bring a dozen mates recklessly to the rescue and perhaps to their deaths. No one cried the anguish of the hot burning in his belly or the unbearable pain of a ripped limb. The wounded lay in silence with thoughts of a land far away . . . no one cried.

Landing craft moved for the pier with life-giving blood and death-dealing ammunition. They dumped their loads on the pier's edge, five hundred yards into the lagoon. There was no call for volunteers as each man silently assigned himself to wade out and bring supplies in through the rattle of sniper fire from the pilings, and through the storm of bullets and shells that other desperate men, the Japanese, turned on them from the bunkers.

Sitting in water, with his back propped against the seawall, a newspaper correspondent squinted as he held his paper toward the moon's light and wrote with a pencil stub: *It is hard to believe what I see about me. As I write this story I do not know whether you will ever read it, for tomorrow morning will find me dead; I am on the island of Betio, on a coral atoll named Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands. Like the men around me, I await a counterattack. We all know we are going to die, yet there is no confusion, no shouting, no outward sign of nervous strain or of a crack in our mental armor. I didn't realize that men could show such courage. Never have men, and boys, faced sacrifice so gallantly. Bunker Hill, Gettysburg, the Alamo, Belleau Wood . . . well, today we have a new name to add: TARAWA. For this is the hour of the Second Marine Division, the Silent Second.*

Getting at Meaning

1. Why do none of the several hundred wounded or dying soldiers cry out for help?

2. How do the men retrieve their supplies, the desperately needed blood and ammunition?

3. How does the newspaper reporter describe the men and the scene around him? From this description, what can you infer about the reporter himself?

Name Date Class Score

from The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 15

Sloan Wilson

A young man and wife of the 1950's are vaguely discontent with their lives, although they don't understand why.

A thousand petty shabbinesses bore witness to the negligence of the Raths. The front door had been scratched by a dog which had been run over the year before. The hot-water faucet in the bathroom dripped. Almost all the furniture needed to be refinished, reupholstered, or cleaned. And besides that, the house was too small, ugly, and almost precisely like the houses on all sides of it.

The Raths had bought the house in 1946, shortly after Tom had got out of the army and, at the suggestion of his grandmother, become an assistant to the director of the Schanenhauser Foundation, an organization which an elderly millionaire had established to help finance scientific research and the arts. They had told each other that they probably would be in the house only one or two years before they could afford something better. It took them five years to realize that the expense of raising three children was likely to increase at least as fast as Tom's salary at a charitable foundation. If Tom and Betsy had been entirely reasonable, this might have caused them to start painting the place like crazy, but it had the reverse effect. Without talking about it much, they both began to think of the house as a trap, and they no more enjoyed refurbishing it than a prisoner would delight in shining up the bars of his cell. Both of them were aware that their feelings about the house were not admirable.

"I don't know what's the matter with us," Betsy said one night. "Your job is plenty good enough. We've got three nice kids, and lots of people would be glad to have a house like this. We shouldn't be so *discontented* all the time."

"Of course we shouldn't!" Tom said.

Getting at Meaning

1. Describe the Raths' house. What condition is it in?

2. Why don't the Raths move into a larger house as they had planned? What is their attitude toward the house after they have lived there for about five years?

3. Betsy Rath does not understand why they are not satisfied with what they have, why they are so discontented. What do you think is their problem? Do you think this problem is characteristic only of the post-World War II era, or is it characteristic of other times as well? Explain your answer.

Name Date Class Score

from Black Boy
Richard Wright

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 16

A young boy fights against the fear and the hunger that seem to fill his days.

In Memphis we lived in a one-story brick tenement. The stone buildings and the concrete pavements looked bleak and hostile to me. The absence of green, growing things made the city seem dead. Living space for the four of us—my mother, my brother, my father, and me—was a kitchen and a bedroom. In the front and rear were paved areas in which my brother and I could play, but for days I was afraid to go into the strange city streets alone. . . .

Hunger stole upon me so slowly that at first I was not aware of what hunger really meant. Hunger had always been more or less at my elbow when I played, but now I began to wake up at night to find hunger standing at my bedside, staring at me gauntly. The hunger I had known before this had been no grim, hostile stranger; it had been a normal hunger that had made me beg constantly for bread, and when I ate a crust or two I was satisfied. But this new hunger baffled me, scared me, made me angry and insistent. Whenever I begged for food now my mother would pour me a cup of tea which would still the clamor in my stomach for a moment or two; but a little later I would feel hunger nudging my ribs, twisting my empty guts until they ached. I would grow dizzy and my vision would dim. I became less active in my play, and for the first time in my life I had to pause and think of what was happening to me.

"Mama, I'm hungry," I complained one afternoon. . . .

She was ironing and she paused and looked at me with tears in her eyes.

"Where's your father?" she asked me.

I stared in bewilderment. Yes, it was true that my father had not come home to sleep for many days now and I could make as much noise as I wanted. Though I had not known why he was absent, I had been glad that he was not there to shout his restrictions at me. But it had never occurred to me that his absence would mean that there would be no food.

"I don't know," I said.

"Who brings food into the house?" my mother asked me.

"Papa," I said. "He always brought food."

"Well, your father isn't here now," she said.

"Where is he?"

"I don't know," she said.

"But I'm hungry," I whimpered, stomping my feet.

"You'll have to wait until I get a job and buy food," she said.

As the days slid past the image of my father became associated with my pangs of hunger, and whenever I felt hungry I thought of him with a deep biological bitterness.

Getting at Meaning

1. What one element of the speaker's poverty truly controls and limits his life? What are the physical effects of this element?

2. The speaker feels ambivalent about his father's absence. Why does he feel glad that his father is gone? Why does he feel concerned and then bitter about his father's absence?

3. What can you infer about the mother's love for her son?

Name Date Class Score

"Ambush"

James McLeroy
1967

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 17

A young soldier of the Vietnam War asks how he can ever know that what he is doing is right. He only knows that he must kill or be killed.

One night we wandered far and long
To kill young men who, brave and strong
And precious to their loved, their own,
Were coming to kill us.

Aching, filthy, weak, afraid,
Creeping through the dripping shades,
Searching forms through jungle haze,
We stalked those men as prey.

A stinging, steaming, humming hell
Tried our flesh and pride and will,
But we walked and watched and waited, until
We froze—and saw them coming.

Quietly picking their way along,
Far from their loved ones, far from home,
They seemed to be dreaming. One muttered a song,
And they carried their weapons slack.

I fired first! The shattered blast
Unleashed a deafening force that smashed
And ripped and shook, and seemed to last
Till the very Earth was torn.

Then, silently, coldly, on command,
We plucked among that gory band
And left, with a simple wave of the hand,
The offal to the leeches.

Now jungle covers the stench and sight
Of the wrecks we left behind that night.
Yet we, too, die, while winning such fights,
From a sickness caused by slaughter.

And when we next go out again
At night to kill more killer men,
Or else be hunted to our end,
Will it prove The Cause is ours?

How can we ever "know we're right,"
Lost in this dark, primeval Night?
Must we kill them, as beasts must fight,
Until the Earth is torn?

Getting at Meaning

1. What problem or dilemma of all soldiers is described in the first stanza?

2. The speaker says that even though he and his men won that fight, they die too. From what do they die?

3. At the end of the poem, the speaker asks three questions: Does winning a battle prove that one's cause is right? How can one ever know that his or her cause is right and just? Must one kill, as animals kill, until the earth is destroyed? Write one paragraph that answers these questions. Be sure to give reasons for your opinions.

Answer Key

Literature Worksheet 1

Getting at Meaning

1. The speaker questions whether she is born to wear the chains of slavery, to be always deprived of all happiness.

2. The speaker longs for liberty.

3. Possible answer: the descriptions are not strong enough because Wheatley focuses on the benefits and joys of liberty and never really portrays the harsh physical realities of slavery.

Literature Worksheet 2

Getting at Meaning

1. The hostile environment, lack of food, illness, lack of coinage, and lack of salt were serious problems. The lack of salt was the most serious problem.

2. People craved salt and suffered rashes and their perspiration became acid and biting. Businesses suffered and food could not be preserved.

3. Salt was needed by almost every industry of the time. Because salt was not available, many businesses that should have prospered died. As a result the economy suffered greatly.

4. Possible answer: yes, paying a high price was reasonable because salt was essential for survival. The colonists also asked for information on how to extract salt from seawater; they were looking for long-range solutions.

Literature Worksheet 3

Getting at Meaning

1. He fears the thin, glittering bayonet piercing his stomach or tearing through his back.

2. He hides in the Harrington smokehouse under the hams and butts and sides of bacon.

3. He vomited, ran, screamed, cried. Possible answers: his reactions are reasonable because he is a young person who is facing the reality of death for the first time—the death of his friends and possibly of himself. He is acting like a coward because he runs from battle instead of facing it and his fear.

Literature Worksheet 4

Getting at Meaning

1. A lady might buy hairbrushes, skin cream, French cologne, and scented face powder.

2. According to the law in Pennsylvania, a marriage might be annulled if a husband could prove that his wife had "deceived and misled" him during courtship by using cosmetics.

3. The role of a woman of means was to manage a household, to take care of the shopping, and to keep herself beautiful in order to be an asset to her husband.

4. Possible answer: in the early nineteenth century, beauty represented youth; beauty was the means by which a woman held the love and attention of her husband, and it was to a great extent a measure of her worth. Although beauty and youth are still paired today, society acknowledges and values beauty in all ages; in addition to physical beauty, personality and intelligence are important.

Literature Worksheet 5

Getting at Meaning

1. Old Scratch was there when the first wrong was done to the first Indian, when the first slaver put out for the Congo, and whenever wrong was done. Old Scratch is the personification of the devil.

2. The good things include the freshness of a fine morning when one is young, the taste of food when one is hungry, the new day that is every day for a child. Without freedom they sicken.

3. Possible answer: yes, out of slavery came freedom for all, and out of political oppression came liberty; because of our past experience, Americans value freedom and liberty even more than they would if they had never fought oppression.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 6

Getting at Meaning

1. The tall soldier stands quietly erect, ready to meet death; the youth and the tattered soldier are awed and afraid.

2. He wants to be left alone.

3. Possible answer: the youth is filled with rage and feels powerless against the death that surrounds him. The tall soldier was too seriously injured to be saved; he wanted only to be allowed to die alone. The youth could have done nothing more.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 7

Getting at Meaning

1. The horses become uncontrollable and bolt, and cows raise their tails straight in the air and run for the nearest shelter. The women cover their heads with their skirts, and all are overcome by fear.

2. The plague makes beggars of some, makes others go insane, and sends others back to the forest lands. Others stay where they are because they are too impoverished to go elsewhere.

3. The scourge is grasshoppers, or locusts.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 8

Getting at Meaning

1. Sixteen inches of snow covered thick layers of ice, creating drifts that covered barns and obliterated roads. The temperature fell to forty-five degrees below zero, and millions of cattle froze to death or starved.

2. Buffalo learned to swing their heads to push away the snow. Horses pawed through the snow to find grass underneath. Sheep and chickens ate snow when water could not be found, and turkeys roosted in trees to avoid drifts.

3. Possible answers: they faced heavy financial and property loss, but they were also affected by the loss of life. Ranchers might have stored up hay and feedcakes and used fenced pastures, but they did not and perhaps felt guilty for failing to do so. Ranchers were probably too busy to set aside extra feed in the fall, or perhaps they thought it was a waste of money and not really necessary. Some ranchers may not have been able to afford to buy the extra feed and supplies that would have prevented such losses.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 9

Getting at Meaning

1. The department store was the newest form of merchandising.

2. Signs of economic crisis include: innumerable beggars, prostitutes, and "street rats"; many poor immigrants.

3. "Street rats" are poor, emaciated children who survive on the food and rags they find in garbage cans. There were more than thirty thousand of these children in 1876 wandering the streets and living in cellarways, barrels, and packing crates. Those who survived turned to prostitution and crime.

4. Possible answer: no, Emma's sentence is too harsh, epecially for children who need care and are too young to earn their way. Perhaps the city could have made an organized effort to find families who wanted to adopt these children or take them in as foster children, or it might have established orphanages where the children would be cared for and educated, giving them a chance to become self-sufficient adults. Programs for the homeless confront these issues today.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 10

Getting at Meaning

1. The virus may have first come from a passing sailor who had been infected in the Philippines.

2. Suspected lepers were hunted down, arrested, and exiled without hope of an appeal or escape. A man sometimes denounced his enemy as leprous, and the man who was named would then be arrested and exiled for the remainder of his life.

3. Possible answers: perhaps their loyalty to family or their sense of compassion was stronger than their fear of death. Examples of modern kokuas are: missionaries, Peace Corps volunteers in third world countries, doctors and nurses who care for those with communicable fatal diseases such as AIDS.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 11

Getting at Meaning

1. German bicycle troops are moving along the bridge. There are well over two dozen men.

2. They are wearing helmets down low over their heads, carbines are clipped to the frames of their bicycles, and stick bombs hang from their belts.

3. Possible answer: the armies seem to be disorganized—they blow up a little bridge but leave a major bridge intact. The men seem frustrated. Perhaps they are not getting the help and support they need. They do not understand why certain actions have priority over others. They appear to feel isolated, as if they alone are concerned with their survival.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 12

Getting at Meaning

1. Oranges and lemons; hors d'oeuvre; spiced, baked hams; salads; and pastry pigs and turkeys are served. The garden is decorated with colored lights and opulent banquet tables.

2. Guests may swim, dive, sun, dance, and listen to an orchestra.

3. Possible answer: they appear shallow and insincere. Introductions are immediately forgotten, and people who have never even known each other's names spout enthusiastic greetings.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 13

Getting at Meaning

1. There are numbers runners, gamblers, lottery takers, and whiskey salesmen.

2. They respect her for her white skin and her pince-nez and because of her mean children, her position as precinct captain, and her pull with the police.

3. Possible answers: crooks found someone in the system who was sympathetic to their needs—in this case, Grandmother Baxter. She granted them favors within reason, and the crooks in turn gave her their support in the form of votes at election time. The system worked at a time when the Prohibition laws and other laws were not necessarily supported by the majority and there were not enough officials to enforce them. Many groups of people such as those described here created their own codes of behavior and law.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 14

Getting at Meaning

1. A cry would bring several men to the rescue, and they would most likely be killed as they ran in sight of the Japanese soldiers.

2. Volunteers silently dodge snipers' fire as they wade five hundred yards to the pier's edge in the lagoon.

3. All await a counterattack. They all know that they will die, but there is no confusion, no shouting, no outward sign of nervous strain. The reporter compares the men to the heroes of the Alamo, Gettysburg, and other famous battles. The reader can infer that the reporter is just as brave as the men; he calmly records the events even as he awaits death.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 15

Getting at Meaning

1. The walls and doors are scratched, faucets drip, and the furniture is in poor condition. The house is small, ugly, and just like all the other houses on the block.

2. They discover that raising three children uses all the money they might have saved for a bigger house. They feel that the house is a trap, so they begin to hate it and do nothing to improve it.

3. Possible answer: the problem is their materialism, their view that comfort, pleasure, and wealth are life's most important goals. Materialism is characteristic of several eras in United States history. Other postwar periods, such as the 1920's, witnessed economic growth and focus on materialistic goals. The 1980's was another time of plenty in the United States.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 16

Getting at Meaning

1. Hunger controls the boy's life. The effects of the hunger are an aching stomach, dizzy spells, dimmed vision, and a lack of energy.

2. He is happy that he does not have to be quiet while his father sleeps. He turns bitter because he comes to associate his terrible hunger with his father's absence.

3. Possible answer: she cares about him. She is trying to help him cope and to help him understand why things are the way they are. The mother is also practical—she is straightforward about saying that there will be no food until she can find work.

LITERATURE WORKSHEET 17

Getting at Meaning

1. A soldier has no choice but to kill or be killed.

2. They die "From a sickness caused by slaughter."

3. Possible answer: each person must decide whether a cause is just. That judgment comes from a person's beliefs and convictions—it cannot come from a government or from a commanding officer. Winning a battle proves only that one can fight, not that one is right. Because humans can reason, they should see the futility of war and stop before they destroy the earth.