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ABSTRACT

This collection of primary source materials from the National Archives and Records Administration (Washington, DC) humanizes history so that it is real and personal to students. Intended for secondary school history teachers, the collection provides primary source documents, reports, maps, photographs, letters, diaries, posters, and recordings created by those who participated in or witnessed the events of the past. This teaching method exposes students to important historical concepts. Through analysis of primary sources, students confront two essential facts of historical work: (1) the record of historical events reflects the personal, social, political, or economic views of the participants who created the sources; and (2) students bring to the study of the sources their own biases, created by their own personal situations and their social living environments. A benefit of using the primary sources collection is the development of broad cognitive and analytical skills. This second volume of the collection compiles 43 articles. The articles were published in "Social Education" from 1989 to 1998 and similar articles were published in the Organization of American Historians' "Magazine of History," "The Roger Williams Report," "Heritage Education Quarterly," and "Social Studies and the Young Learner." Appended are charts listing types of documents, disciplines and subject areas, themes, and materials which connect with the National Standards for U.S. History, National Standards for World History, and National Standards for Civics and Government. (BT)

Volume 2

Teaching With Documents

Using Primary Sources From the National Archives

Compiled by Wynell B. Schamel

National Archives and Records Administration
and
National Council for the Social Studies
Washington, DC

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Foreword

The mission of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) is to provide ready access to essential evidence that documents the rights of citizens, the actions of Federal officials, and the national experience. NARA does this in many ways—through our work with Federal agencies to manage and evaluate Federal records, through our protection of Federal records in a nationwide network of service centers and archival facilities, through our provision of public access to these records in our research rooms and via the Internet, through the exhibition of particularly significant documents, and through publications such as this.

Since 1977, we at NARA have collaborated with the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) to produce a regular feature article in its journal, *Social Education*, highlighting documents from the holdings of the National Archives. Originally titled "Document of the Month" and now called "Teaching with Documents," this journal department features NARA documents, provides historical context for the documents, and suggests ways in which teachers can use the documents effectively in their classes. These articles have proven to be one of the journal's most popular departments.

And no wonder—through these articles, teachers and their students have discovered the educational value and the thrill of examining letters, reports, maps, and photographs created by actual participants in significant historical events. In these articles NARA supports the emphasis in most state curriculum frameworks on teaching with primary sources. The result has been improved teaching of our national traditions and heritage and greater student interest in them.

Our "Teaching with Documents" articles have made a difference in history education. We are pleased, therefore, to offer this second compilation of *Teaching With Documents* and thereby make them even more widely and conveniently available for the use and enjoyment of teachers and students.

JOHN W. CARLIN
ARCHIVIST OF THE UNITED STATES

Acknowledgments

This book is the result of the contributions of many talented and devoted individuals. Numerous archivists, authors, educators, and editors helped research and write the "Teaching With Documents" articles that are compiled in this volume. Without the expert help of archivists, the search for records would have been far more time consuming and difficult. The comments and reactions of educators who have written and spoken to us have shaped and improved the document selection and the teaching exercises over the years. The editors at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) and the National Council for the Social Studies have reviewed the manuscripts ably.

Special thanks go to the contributors who researched and wrote drafts for "Teaching With Documents." Those who are or were affiliated with the education staff of the National Archives include Wynell Schamel, Lee Ann Potter, Jean West, Beth Haverkamp Powers, Richard A. Blondo, John Vernon, and Elsie Freeman Finch. Other NARA staff who contributed to the articles are Stacey Bredhoff and Bruce Bustard, exhibits specialists; Charles E. Schamel, legislative archivist; and Lucinda Robb, legislative outreach staff. NARA archivists Nick Baric and David Wallace contributed to the development of the charts linking the articles to national standards. John Harper, a University of Maryland graduate student, and Emily Ray, an author, wrote articles while volunteering at the National Archives. Two teachers, Jacqueline A. Matte, Mountain Brook, AL, Public Schools and Tom Gray, DeRuyter, NY, Public Schools, also contributed articles.

The careful attention to historical accuracy and educational significance in the work of each of the contributors assures consistent excellence in the teaching materials included in this volume.

Introduction

More than 20 years ago the National Archives pioneered a teaching with documents program to make Federal records accessible to classrooms and to encourage teachers to use archival sources as learning tools. What began as a small publication project to provide reproductions of interesting and significant documents to secondary school history teachers has evolved into a complex publication and professional development program for teachers and students at all educational levels and across the curriculum.

Early in the program, the education staff wrote articles for professional journals such as the National Council for the Social Studies' *Social Education* defining primary source materials, formulating a rationale for teaching with primary sources, and presenting lesson plans and document reproductions for classroom use. These articles introduced teachers to the use of primary sources—documents, reports, maps, photographs, letters, diaries, posters, and recordings created by those who participated in or witnessed the events of the past—as a teaching method that exposes students to at least three important historical concepts. First, students realize that written history reflects an author's reconstruction and interpretation of past events. Therefore, students learn the need to evaluate historical accounts carefully to recognize their subjective nature. Second, primary sources enable students to touch the lives of people in the past directly. Third, as students use primary sources, they develop a wide range of important analytical skills.

The program continues to emphasize the value of teaching with primary sources. Far too many students see history as a series of facts, dates, and events usually packaged as a textbook. As students use primary sources, however, they perceive their textbook as only one historical interpretation and its author as an interpreter of evidence, not a purveyor of absolute truth. For example, as students read eyewitness accounts describing the working conditions for children in the early 20th century; as they look at photographs of very young, dirty, exhausted children working in mines, mills, and the streets; or as they scan reports to the Children's Bureau about the effects of work on children's health and schooling, they weigh the evidence from these sources against textbook generalizations about child labor.

Primary sources fascinate students because they are real and personal; history is humanized through them. Using original sources, students touch the lives of the people about whom history is written. They participate in human emotions and in the values and attitudes of the past. By reading petitions from black Americans in 1892, for example, students confront the language and feelings of persons who were left out of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and other public events and the response or lack of response from Congress. These human expressions provide students with a real and tangible link to history's cast of characters.

Through analysis of primary sources students confront two essential facts of historical work. First, the record of historical events reflects the personal, social, political, or economic views of the participants who created the sources. Second, students bring to the study of the sources their own biases, created by their own personal situations and the social environments in which they live. As students use these sources, therefore, they realize that history exists through interpretation—and tentative interpretation at that.

The most important educational benefit of the study of primary sources is the development of broad cognitive and analytical skills. Interpreting historical documents helps students to analyze and evaluate contemporary sources—newspaper reports, television and radio programs, and advertising. By using primary sources, students learn to recognize how points of view and biases

affect evidence, what contradictions and other limitations exist within a given source, and to what extent sources are reliable. Essential among these skills is the ability to understand and make appropriate use of many sources of information. Development of these skills is important not only to historical research but also to a citizenship that is able to evaluate the information needed to maintain a free society.

Perhaps best of all, by using primary sources, students participate in the process of historical work. The teacher can create a laboratory in the social studies classroom, giving students direct access to the tools of the historian or writer and encouraging students to analyze and evaluate for themselves the building blocks of history. Practicing the historian's craft, they conduct research; analyze and interpret sources; identify points of view, biases, contradictions, and limitations in the historical record; and evaluate the reliability and validity of the sources. According to research conducted in secondary classrooms by David Kobrin, author of *Beyond the Textbook: Teaching History Using Documents and Primary Sources*, the students' sense of "why they might want to work as student historians—their involvement with history—was strengthened and broadened by the experience of working with challenging primary sources." In fact, he reports that students he worked with in the Providence, RI, public schools found "their own reasons to study history using primary sources."

When using archival sources in a classroom, it is very important to set them in a historical context for students, but use of these sources as learning tools is not limited to history classes. In the appendices of this volume, there are several charts designed to identify the various types of documents included in the compilation (Appendix A), possible uses of the documents across the curriculum (Appendices B and C), and connections between teaching activities and national standards (Appendices D, E, and F). The charts, developed by the education staff, are based on current curriculum guides and frameworks and correlate with the national standards for history and civics and government published by the National Center for History in the Schools, 1996, and the Center for Civic Education, 1994.

The education program of the National Archives encourages teachers across the curriculum to use primary sources in their classrooms by providing a successful array of published curriculum materials and professional development opportunities. Education specialists research archival documents, write historical background for these records, and design teaching strategies for using them. Published in collaboration with the National Council for the Social Studies, Social Issues Resources Series, Inc., Cobblestone Publishing, The Mini Page, Kendall/Hunt Publishing, and others, these materials provide primary sources for a wide range of grade levels, abilities, and disciplines.

Most popular and most useful to teachers across the disciplines is the first volume of *Teaching With Documents*, a compilation of more than 50 articles originally featured between 1977 and 1989 in *Social Education*, the journal of the National Council for the Social Studies. As a regular department in the journal, the feature was known first as "Document of the Month" and more recently as "Teaching With Documents." Each article provides educators with a National Archives document, a brief historical background for the document, and teaching activities for a variety of ages and abilities. The records span the history and policies of the U.S. Government from the formation of the union to Watergate, and they include posters, maps, photographs, charts, drawings, and official correspondence and proceedings of the Federal Government. This second volume compiles "Teaching With Documents" articles published in *Social Education* from 1989 to 1998 and similar articles published in Organization of American Historians' *Magazine of History*, *The Roger Williams Report*, *Heritage Education Quarterly*, and *Social Studies and the Young Learner*. Slight changes in the articles make the information timely.

A series of other document-based publications developed by the education staff contain from 10 to 50 facsimiles of documents each and a detailed teacher's guide. Titles include *The Constitution: Evolution of a Government; The Bill of Rights: Evolution of Personal Liberties; Westward Expansion, 1842–1912; World War II: The Home Front; The*

United States at War: 1944; The Road West; Internment of Japanese Americans; Watergate; The Civil War; Immigration; and *Child Labor.*

To assist teachers in developing their own document-based teaching materials, the education staff offers Primarily Teaching, a two-week summer workshop in archival research and pedagogical instruction in how to use documents as teaching tools. The staff, all with classroom teaching experience, also offers workshops at regional and national professional meetings and inservice programs for school districts providing travel and expenses.

Similar educational programs are offered throughout the National Archives by the Presidential libraries and the regional records services facilities (see Appendix G), the Center for Legislative Archives, and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. Included among the programs are the following: the Harry S. Truman Library in Independence, MO, provides Project WhistleStop (*www.whistlestop.org*), an online database of primary sources for student research projects; the National Archives–Northwest Region in Seattle offers summer workshops for teachers; the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library in Boston offers "learning with documents" workshops for students; and the National Archives–Central Plains Region in Kansas City produces video teaching products. In a new outreach program, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission has developed a teaching package of documents related to early U.S. foreign policy in partnership with Jackdaw/Golden Owl Publishing Company.

More recently many of the users of the traditional materials created by the National Archives education staff have also been identified as high-profile Internet users. According to the Sixth WWW User Survey conducted in the fall of 1996 by the Georgia Institute of Technology, one out of every four visitors to Internet sites is either an educator or a student. These researchers seek curriculum ideas, research tools, information on publications and opportunities for professional development, and engaging experiences.

The education staff's response to these searchers is The Digital Classroom. This home page, specially designed for educators and students, is located at *www.nara.gov/education*. The page provides documents and accompanying lesson plans, research activities, opportunities for professional development, and educational publication information.

The National Archives and Records Administration brings its rich and varied resources to the public through educational workshops and materials, exhibitions, film programs, publications, lectures, dramatic productions, genealogy programs, tours, online services, and other outreach activities. For more information on these opportunities contact the education staff at National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, 18N, Washington, DC 20408; 202-501-6729 or 6172; or e-mail *education@arch1.nara.gov.*

WYNELL SCHAMEL

"The Alternative of Williamsburg": A British Cartoon on Colonial American Violence

In the summer of 1774, the Revolutionary crisis in the American colonies moved into its last and decisive stage. The Continental Congress launched an economic embargo against England in September 1774 by adopting the Articles of Association. The terms of this embargo—nonimportation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption—had serious ramifications both in the colonies and in Great Britain.

The year between the summers of 1774 and 1775 proved dangerous to Loyalists who chose not to comply with the rules of the Association. In Virginia many Loyalists encountered the wrath of the Patriots. For example, Robert Shedden, a Scottish merchant in Norfolk, was severely censured for having sent orders for goods to Andrew Lynn of Glasgow. The committee of Accomac declared Arthur Upshur "out of favor with the country" and fined him £100 for a similar offense. Committee members in the port of Yorktown, VA, forced a vessel belonging to the prestigious London firm of merchant John Norton to return to England without unloading because its cargo included a small shipment of tea.

Twelve miles away in the colonial capital of Williamsburg, Patriots erected a scaffold from which they hung a cask of tar and a barrel of feathers. The Patriots compelled several recalcitrant merchants to appear before the threatening scaffold and sign an endorsement of the Articles of Association. That Williamsburg scene became the subject of Philip Dawe's anti-American mezzotint, "The Alternative of Williams-Burg," which satirized the widespread use of physical violence in 18th-century American colonial society. Printed in London for R. Sager and J. Bennett on February 16, 1775, the political cartoon has been preserved in the Records of Exposition, Anniversary, and Memorial Commissions, Record Group 148, as part of the records of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington in 1932. An analysis of the events in Virginia and the other British American colonies that inspired the production of Dawe's mezzotint helps explain its contents.

Background

Most American colonists believed that the advantages of belonging to the British Empire outweighed the disadvantages until the British Parliament passed a series of laws in 1767, called the Townshend Acts, to tax the colonists in order to pay the increasing costs of maintaining the British Empire. When these unpopular laws were enacted, the Virginia House of Burgesses, meeting in Williamsburg on May 16, 1769, unanimously adopted a set of resolutions. These included an assertion that the right to tax Virginians belonged solely to the House of Burgesses. The following day, Baron de Botetourt, the British Governor of Virginia, promptly dissolved the Virginia assembly. The next day the Burgesses met informally in

Williamsburg's Raleigh Tavern and adopted the Virginia Association, a resolution that was quickly copied by the other colonies. The Virginia Association banned importation of British goods, slaves, and many European luxury goods. Maryland followed suit in June, South Carolina in July, Georgia in September, and North Carolina in November. The rest of the American colonies drew up nonimportation pledges or tightened sanctions already in place.

Throughout the colonies, strong-arm tactics were used by the Sons of Liberty—vigilante groups who often disguised themselves as laborers, blacks, or Indians—to enforce these "voluntary" agreements. Consequently, the British repealed the hated Townshend duties (except the tax on tea) by 1770.

The relatively calm period that prevailed following the repeal of the Townshend Acts quickly erupted into violent protest after Parliament's passage of the Tea Act in 1773. Perceiving that the new legislation undercut the colonies' political and economic position, Sons of Liberty bands throughout the American colonies protested and frequently prevented the unloading of British tea. The most vivid incident was the Boston Tea Party in December 1773. Parliament retaliated the following year with the Coercive Acts (referred to as the Intolerable Acts by the colonists). These acts, especially the first such measure, the Boston Port Act, created economic stagnation and suffering and served to incite the otherwise cautious colonists into active protest. Patriots in Williamsburg, VA, declared June 1, the day set for closing the port of Boston, as a day of fasting and prayer in support of Massachusetts citizens. Furthermore, the Virginia assembly denounced the occupation of the port of Boston by British troops as a "hostile invasion." Fearing similar treatment for any colony that displeased Parliament, all the colonies except Georgia sent delegates to Philadelphia in September of 1774 to formulate a united stand against recent British colonial policy.

This body, meeting in Philadelphia's Carpenters Hall, became the First Continental Congress. It passed the Declaration of Rights on October 14 and the Articles of Association on October 20. The Declaration of Rights fulfilled the resolution of the delegates to "state the rights of the colonies," which they declared to be the same "rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England." The preamble to the Association asserted, "We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects ... affected with the deepest anxiety and most alarming apprehensions ... find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous System of colony administration ... evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies and with them the British Empire." Fourteen articles list the grievances of the colonists and outline action to be taken by the colonies that, like the earlier resolves made in the separate colonies, included nonimportation, nonconsumption, and nonexportation of British goods. The Association also provided for committees to be "chosen in every county, city and town ... to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association ... ," for committees of correspondence in each colony to inspect the customhouses and "to inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof ... ," and for violators to be punished by publicity and boycott. The document concluded with a pledge binding the members to the Association and a recommendation that the various colonies establish regulations to carry out the plan of the Congress.

The embryonic government structure in Philadelphia matured in the crucial year of 1775. Colonists developed effective economic resistance, extralegal institutions of political control, and a revolutionary military organization. According to historian Warren Billings, the colonies "moved from sporadic protests against specific acts to a sustained and concerted movement by a people capable of fighting a long war, forming effective governments, administering extensive territories, and, to some degree, reordering American society."

In Virginia additional provincial conventions met in March, June, and December and became a de facto legislative body to organize military resistance and pass binding ordinances. In July, Virginia established a Committee of Safety to administer the affairs of the colony between ses-

sions of the convention. Both the conventions and the Committee of Safety raised, equipped, and provided training for colonial military forces. On the local level, Patriots in Virginia established county committees to enforce the articles of the Continental Association and to raise forces for local defense. At least 33 counties and three towns, including Williamsburg, established committees by early 1775. These local instruments of resistance rallied much support for the Association and, after the first shots were fired at Lexington and Concord in April 1775, for the Revolution.

The local committees, often self-appointed and usually composed of the Sons of Liberty, loosely interpreted the authorization of the Continental Congress to observe, condemn, and publicize the conduct of those citizens who refused to pledge. In an effort to weed out disloyal or wavering colonists who would not Associate, committee members looked into private papers, monitored individuals' conduct, and reported suspects. The repercussions of engaging in disloyal activities—defined as passing information to known Loyalists, recruiting for the British, assisting Loyalist refugees, breaking the embargo, and even drinking tea—could be severe. Punishments included intimidation, vilification, humiliation, whipping, beating, and tarring and feathering. Historian Catherine Crary commented that "tarring and feathering, followed by a rough ride on a rail or a parade through the town amid the scorn and derision of the mob, was no mild punishment, but an effective one which the Tories seriously dreaded."

The price of loyalty to the Crown in Virginia and the other colonies could be very high, as Dawe's mezzotint suggests. Tar and feathers hang threateningly over the scene as colonists, holding crude clubs, knives, and scissors, coerce merchants and other Loyalists into signing the nonimportation agreement and even into taking an oath of allegiance to the new Continental Congress. The colonists' esteem for John Wilkes, a Londoner and political radical who championed individual liberty and fought for his seat in the House of Commons, is indicated by the gift of tobacco on which the colonists force the Loyalists to sign. The statue of Botetourt, an actual statue found in Williamsburg, represents the relations between the British and the colonies. Botetourt was a popular Governor in Virginia and was mourned and buried with high style in the Chapel of William and Mary in 1770. The "alternative" of Williamsburg, that is, the alternative to refusing to sign the agreement, presumably includes tarring and feathering, clubbing, or worse. Although these and other particulars of the cartoon's contents and significance may be argued, cartoons, in the words of M. D. George, author of "America in English Satirical Prints," provide "immediate reactions to events, ... trends of propaganda, waves of emotion, common assumptions, myths, fantasies, distorting mirrors, political climates— ... what is called public opinion." The featured document reveals volumes about British perceptions of events unfolding in the rebellious colonies.

Selected Bibliography

Billings, Warren, John Selby, and Thad Tate. *Colonial Virginia: A History*. White Plains: KTO Press, 1986.

Crary, Catherine, ed. *The Price of Loyalty: Tory Writings From the Revolutionary Era*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973.

Thomas, Peter, ed. *The American Revolution: The English Satirical Print 1600–1832*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986.

Note: When the First Continental Congress met on September 5, 1774, in Philadelphia, one of its earliest acts was to elect Charles Thomson as Secretary of the Congress. He served in this capacity for both the Continental Congress and its successor, the Congress of the Confederation, for 15 years—until the establishment of the Federal Government in 1789. Thanks to Thomson's conscientious care, the "Papers of the Continental Congress," now in the National Archives of the United States, provide modern historians with a rich record of events during the formative years of the United States. The Articles of Association are included in the Records of the Continental and Confederation Congresses and the Constitutional Convention, Record Group 360, and have been reproduced by the National Archives in a documentary teaching package entitled *The*

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Constitution: Evolution of a Government. For more information, call the Education Branch at 202-501-6172, or access the Digital Classroom at *http://www.nara.gov/education.*

Teaching Activities

Cartoon Analysis

1. Use the Cartoon Analysis worksheet with your students to analyze the document.

Cartoon Techniques

2. Help your students to define the following techniques: symbolism, ridicule, caricature, metaphor, satire, and puns. Ask them to find examples of each of these techniques in the cartoon. Identify with the class the dominant techniques used by this cartoonist. The most effective cartoons use symbols and other devices that are unusual, simple, and direct. You might invite an art teacher to join in a class discussion on the elements that make a cartoon effective. Direct the students to write a paragraph evaluating the effectiveness of Dawe's use of symbols and each of the other techniques identified in this mezzotint.

Time Line

3. Use the note to the teacher, textbooks, and other secondary sources to make a time line of the events surrounding the topic of this cartoon. Divide the class into groups of three, give each group a copy of the time line, and ask them to create a line drawing to represent each entry on the time line. As an alternative, this activity could be used as an evaluation tool at the end of a unit on pre-revolutionary American history. Give the students a list of events surrounding the topic, and ask each one to place the items on a time line and to draw a representative visual for each entry.

Point of View

4. Write the following questions on the chalkboard for your students to consider aloud: From whose point of view is this cartoon drawn? What evidence do you see of the cartoonist's viewpoint? What traits make you feel sympathetic or unsympathetic to the cartoon's point of view? After discussion, ask them to locate a cartoon, broadside, poem, or pamphlet that takes a different point of view of the events related to this cartoon and then to write a paragraph comparing the similarities and differences of the two opposing items.

Opposing Perspectives

5. Discuss with your students how we know that the cartoon is drawn from the British perspective, what attitudes are expressed by the artist, and what the British might lose in a conflict against the colonies besides economic advantages. Ask students to locate three political cartoons on any subject that they like, analyze the perspective each cartoon takes, and draw a new cartoon that takes the opposite view to one of their selections. Mount these opposing cartoon pairs in a bulletin board display.

Cartoon Analysis Worksheet

	Visuals	Words
Step One	1. List the objects or people you see in the cartoon.	1. Identify the cartoon caption and/or title. 2. Locate three words or phrases used by the cartoonist to identify objects or people within the cartoon. (Not all cartoons include words.) 3. Record any important dates or numbers that appear in the cartoon.
Step Two	2. Which of the objects on your list are symbols? 3. What do you think each of the symbols means?	4. Which words or phrases in the cartoon appear to be the most significant? Why do you think so? (Not all cartoons include words.) 5. List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed in the cartoon.

Step Three

A. Describe the action taking place in the cartoon.

B. In your own words, explain how the words in the cartoon explain or clarify the symbols.

C. In your own words, explain the message of the cartoon.

D. What special interest groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon's message? Why?

The Wording of the First Amendment Religion Clauses

Although Virginia and Rhode Island guaranteed religious freedom in their state constitutions, and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 included a bill of rights guaranteeing religious freedom in the territories, the Constitutional Convention did not adopt a statement concerning religious freedom. The only time the subject of religion specifically arises in the Constitution is in Article VI. In setting qualifications for federal office, the delegates determined that "no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public trust under the United States." The omission of a bill of rights guaranteeing religious freedom and other civil liberties nearly prevented ratification of the Constitution.

To remedy this shortcoming, James Madison, borrowing heavily from the Virginia Declaration of Rights, drafted a bill of rights, which included a clause on religious freedom, for consideration by the first U.S. Congress. In Madison's original proposal, submitted to the House of Representatives on June 8, 1789, the religion clauses were worded as follows:

> The civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, nor shall any national religion be established, nor shall the full and equal rights of conscience be in any manner, or on any pretext infringed.

Madison's proposals, along with amendments suggested by the states, were considered by a select committee of the House, composed of one member from each of the 11 states. On July 28, the committee reported Madison's text in a shortened version as follows:

> No religion shall be established by law, nor shall the equal rights of conscience be infringed.

During the debate in the House, several Congressmen expressed fear that the language might be interpreted to mean that religion should be abolished altogether. The wording as eventually passed by the House on August 24 read

> Congress shall make no law establishing religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall the rights of Conscience be infringed.

Written as Article 3, this proposed amendment and 16 additional amendments were sent to the Senate the following day.

When the Senate finally took up the subject of the amendments on September 2, the record shows that three alternative wordings were debated in the chamber. Motions were also made and rejected to strike the article completely and to adopt the article as it was worded by the House. In a strong editing session, the Senate slashed wordiness freely, fusing articles and reducing the 17 amendments passed by the House to 12. Articles 3 and 4 were combined to read

> Congress shall make no law establishing articles of faith, or a mode of worship, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the

poses;" and the bill, entitled "An act to establish the Treasury Department," for his approbation.

Adjourned to 11 o'clock to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1789.

The Senate assembled: present as yesterday.

The bill, entitled "An act to provide for the safe keeping of the acts, records, and seal of the United States, and for other purposes," was read the third time, and

Ordered, That it be committed to Mr. King, Mr. Paterson, and Mr. Read.

The third reading of the bill, entitled "An act for establishing the salaries of the executive officers of government, with their assistants and clerks," was further postponed.

The petition of Harman Stout and others, in behalf of themselves and other clerks in the public offices, was read.

Ordered, That the said petition lie for consideration.

The resolve of the House of Representatives of the 24th of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine, "that certain articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several states, as amendments to the constitution of the United States;" was taken into consideration; and, on motion to amend this clause in the first article, proposed by the House of Representatives, to wit: 'After the first enumeration required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, by striking out 'one,' and inserting 'two,' between the words 'amount' and 'hundred:'

The yeas and nays being required by one-fifth of the Senators present, the determination was as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Dalton, Gunn, Grayson, King, Lee, and Schuyler.—6.

NAYS.—Messrs. Bassett, Butler, Carroll, Ellsworth, Elmer, Henry, Johnson, Izard, Morris. Paterson, Read, and Wingate.—12.

So it passed in the negative.

On motion to adopt the first article proposed by the resolve of the House of Representatives, amended as follows: to strike out these words 'after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives, nor less than one representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor less than one representative to every fifty thousand persons;' and to substitute the following clause after the words 'one hundred:' to wit, 'to which number one representative shall be added for every subsequent increase of forty thousand, until the representatives shall amount to two hundred, to which one representative shall be added for every subsequent increase of sixty thousand persons:'

It passed in the affirmative.

Adjourned to 11 o'clock to-morrow.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1789.

The Senate assembled: present as yesterday,

And resumed the consideration of the resolve of the House of Representatives, of the 24th of August, upon the proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States.

A message from the House of Representatives:

Mr. Beckley, their Clerk, informed the Senate, that the President of the United States had affixed his signature to the bill, entitled "An act for registering and clearing of vessels, regulating the coasting trade, and for other purposes;" and to the bill, entitled "An act to establish the Treasury Department;" and had returned them to the House of Representatives;

He also brought up the bill, entitled "An act for allowing compensation to the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and to the officers of both Houses;" and informed the Senate, that the House of Representatives had disagreed to the first, second, and third amendments, and had agreed to all the others;

He also brought up the bill, entitled "An act to suspend part of the act, entitled "An act to regulate the collection of the duties imposed by law on the tonnage of

ships or vessels, and on goods, wares, and merchandises, imported into the United States." And he withdrew.

The two last mentioned bills were ordered to lie for consideration.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolve of the House of Representatives on the amendments to the constitution of the United States.

On motion to adopt the second article proposed in the resolve of the House of Representatives, amended as follows: to strike out these words, 'to the members of Congress,' and insert 'for the service of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:'

It passed in the affirmative.

On motion to amend article third, and to strike out these words: 'religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' and insert 'one religious sect or society in preference to others:'

It passed in the negative.

On motion for reconsideration:

It passed in the affirmative.

On motion that article the third be stricken out:

It passed in the negative.

On motion to adopt the following, in lieu of the third article: 'Congress shall not make any law infringing the rights of conscience, or establishing any religious sect or society:'

It passed in the negative.

On motion to amend the third article, to read thus: 'Congress shall make no law establishing any particular denomination of religion in preference to another, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall the rights of conscience be infringed:"

It passed in the negative.

On the question upon the third article as it came from the House of Representatives:

It passed in the negative.

On motion to adopt the third article proposed in the resolve of the House of Representatives, amended by striking out thesewords, 'nor shall the rights of conscience be infringed:'

It passed in the affirmative.

On the fourth article it was moved to insert these words, 'to instruct their representatives,' after the words 'common good.'

And the yeas and nays being required by one-fifth of the Senators present, the determination was as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Grayson, and Lee.—2.

NAYS.—Messrs. Bassett, Carroll, Dalton, Ellsworth, Elmer, Gunn, Henry, Johnson, Izard, King, Morris, Paterson, Read, and Wingate.—14.

So it passed in the negative.

On motion to insert these words after 'press,' 'in as ample a manner as hath at any time been secured by the common law:'

It passed in the negative.

On motion to strike out the words, 'and consult for their common good and:'

It passed in the negative.

And it was agreed, that the further consideration of this article be postponed.

Mr. King, in behalf of the committee appointed on the bill, entitled "An act for allowing compensation to the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and to the officers of both Houses," reported amendments: the consideration of which was postponed until to-morrow.

Adjourned to 11 o'clock to-morrow.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1789.

The Senate assembled: present as yesterday.

The petition of Thomas O'Hara and others, in behalf of themselves and other clerks in the office of the paymaster-general, praying that their compensation may be augmented, was read.

Ordered, That this petition do lie on the table.

The Senate proceeded in the consideration of the resolve of the House of Representatives of the 24th of August, on "Articles to be proposed to the legislatures of the several states, as amendments to the constitution of the United States."

On motion to adopt the fourth article proposed by the resolve of the House of Representatives, to read as followeth: 'That Congress shall make no law, abridging

press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition to the government for the redress of grievances.

The revised articles were sent back to the House on September 9 for concurrence. A conference committee, appointed to settle the differences between the two houses, changed the disputed phrase "establishing articles of faith" to "an establishment of religion," and on September 25 both houses approved the 12 amendments as presented by the joint conference. The final wording, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," was ratified by the states as the First Amendment.

This document is taken from the *Journal of Proceedings of the U.S. Senate, First Session, First Congress*, which was printed in 1820 by Gales and Seaton in Washington, DC, and was based on the original minutes of the clerk of the Senate. The journal is found in the Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46, in the National Archives and Records Administration.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Ask students to read the document closely and answer the following questions:
   a. What type of document is this?
   b. When was it created?
   c. Who created it?
   d. Why was it created?
   e. What is recorded in the document about the proposed Constitutional amendments?
   f. Why do you think the First Amendment is referred to as the third article in this document?
   g. What do you think happened to the document prior to this recorded debate?
   h. What do you think happened to it next?

2. Discuss the students' responses, and drawing from the note to the teacher, share additional information about the document.

Writing the First Amendment

3. Direct students' attention to the section beginning "On motion to amend article third ... " Ask students to write the First Amendment as it would have been worded if any of the three alternative wordings had been adopted. Write on the chalkboard additional wordings considered by the Congress that are mentioned in the historical background. Discuss what the reasons may have been for rejection of the alternative wordings and the pros and cons of the various wordings. Who in the Congress might have supported each of the wordings? Ask for a show of hands for the wording that the students favor.

Background of the Government and Religious Freedom

4. Ask students to review the Northwest Ordinance; the Virginia Declaration of Rights; the Constitution, Article VI, Section 3, and the First and 14th Amendments, and trace the history of the religion clauses in these documents. Assign students to further research, and present to the class ideas about the government's role vis-a-vis religion expressed by John Locke, Sir Henry Vane the Younger, John Winthrop, Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, Isaac Backus, Thomas Paine, George Mason, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, William Penn, John Adams, and George Washington. Discuss the similarities and differences between each person's opinion and the position of the present administration as to the role of government and religion.

Documents and Discovery: Jefferson's Letter to Washington Accepting the Position of Secretary of State

Following the ratification of the Constitution, the Continental Congress established a timetable to begin the operation of the new government. According to schedule, the States chose electors of the President on the first Wednesday in January 1789, the electors chose George Washington President and John Adams Vice President on the first Wednesday in February, and the new Congress organized and began functioning in New York City on the first Wednesday in March. In advance of his March 22, 1790, inauguration, Washington had taken steps to fill the new cabinet. He chose Thomas Jefferson as his Secretary of State. The featured document, found in the General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, is Jefferson's February 11, 1790, letter to President-elect Washington accepting his nomination to the position.

Teaching Activities

1. Duplicate and distribute copies of Jefferson's letter and the worksheet to each student, and project a transparency of the document. Advise students of the differences between handwriting and tone in the 18th century and now. Then, as a class, read the document aloud, either in unison or alternating students line by line.

2. Direct students to complete the worksheet. Once the worksheet is complete, review the document with the students, noting the purpose of the letter, the difficulties of establishing the Government, the location of the capital, and the conditions of communication and transportation during this time period.

3. Ask students to locate the places mentioned in the letter on a United States map. Have them estimate the distances between the places. Ask one or two students to investigate how much time was needed to travel Jefferson's route in 1790 and today. Allow time for them to share their findings with the entire class, possibly sharing 18th-century illustrations of places along the route.

4. Choose a culminating activity from the following:
   a. Ask students to do additional research on Jefferson and the early years of the Department of State and to write an essay explaining how Thomas Jefferson's innovations and actions shaped the role of the Secretary of State.
   b. Encourage students to study the role of Secretary of State as it has evolved. Ask them to assume the role of a contemporary individual offered that cabinet position and to write responses to the President either accepting or declining the post, giving reasons for their decisions.
   c. Ask students to write essays identifying the actions they believe were most crucial to starting the new government. They should explain their reasoning.

Sir

Monticello Feb. 12. 1790.

I have duly received the letter of the 21st of January with which you have honored me, and no longer hesitate to undertake the office to which you are pleased to call me. your desire that I should come on as quickly as possible is a sufficient reason for me to postpone every matter of business, however pressing, which admits postponement. still it will be the close of the ensuing week before I can get away, & then I shall have to go by the way of Richmond, which will lengthen my road. I shall not fail however to go on with all the dispatch possible nor to satisfy you, I hope, when I shall have the honor of seeing you at New York, that the circumstances which prevent my immediate departure, are not under my controul. I have now that of being with sentiments of the most perfect respect & attachment, Sir

Your most obedient & most humble servant

Th: Jefferson

The President of the U.S.

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WRITTEN DOCUMENT ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Type of document (check one)

____ Newspaper	____ Map	____ Advertisement
____ Letter	____ Telegram	____ Congressional Record
____ Patent	____ Press Release	____ Census report
____ Memorandum	____ Report	____ Other

2. Unique physical qualities of the document

____ Interesting letterhead	____ Notations	____ Handwritten
____ "Received" stamp	____ Typed	____ Other
____ Seals		

3. Date(s) of document:_____

4. Author (or creator) of the document: _____
   Position (title): _____

5. For what audience was the document written? _____
   _____
   _____

6. Document Information: (There are many possible ways to answer A-E)

   A. List three things the author said that you think are important:
   1._____
   2._____
   3._____

   B. Why do you think this document was written? _____
   _____
   _____

   C. What evidence in the document helps you to know why it was written?
   Quote from the document. _____
   _____

   D. List three things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written:
   1._____
   2._____
   3._____

   E. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document. _____
   _____
   _____

U.S. Court of Claims Deposition of Kish um us tubbee

The Choctaw were the first American Indians to be affected by the Indian Removal Act of 1830. When tribal leaders signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek that year, decreeing the removal of the Choctaw from their southeastern homeland, they did so only after adding article 14 to the treaty. Article 14 gave each head of family an opportunity to remain, select an individual farm or allotment, and become a state citizen. Although more than one-third of the Choctaws decided to stay, the Federal agent handling their claims refused to register their allotment selections, thus allowing white settlers to take possession of the land.

One Choctaw who resisted removal was Kish um us tubbee, whose name means "one who takes this tree [or branch] and kills." The featured document is the deposition of Kish um us tubbee that was filed with the U.S. Court of Claims to substantiate his claim to a land allotment under article 14 of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. The deposition is one of hundreds of such Choctaw claims, as they are commonly called, on file at the National Archives in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75. It is entry 270, Choctaw Removal Records, deposition number 254, U.S. Court of Claims case number 12742, Evidence File 1837–1838.

Federal Policy Toward the Indians

In the early part of the 19th century, white settlers who emigrated into the territory now forming the southeastern United States found it occupied by tribes of American Indians who had lived there for centuries. The Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw Indians saw the land they inhabited become an object of desire as settlers passed through to occupy the Mississippi Territory. Inevitably, this interest in the southeastern Indian lands caused contention, conflict, and the eventual forced removal of the tribes to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma.

Almost from the time of its establishment, the Federal Government worked to wrest control of Indian homelands from the American Indian inhabitants. Among the Government strategies instituted was the "factory system," whereby Indians were encouraged to purchase supplies from a factory or merchant on credit and pay for them at an unspecified future date. Although Kish um us tubbee states in the featured document that the Indians paid for such items as knives, axes, beads, clothes, and ferreting with "peltry," buying on credit became common, and factories offered unlimited credit so the Indians would accumulate large debts.

As credit purchases escalated, Indian agents were instructed to offer debt liquidation in exchange for land cessions. Thomas Jefferson stated this Government objective in a letter to William Henry Harrison on February 27, 1803, when he wrote, "We shall push our trading houses, and be glad to see ... them [the Indians] run in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individual can pay they become willing to lop off by a cession of lands." Between 1800 and 1830, the Government approached the Choctaws 40 times to negotiate land cessions. By 1830 more than 13 million acres were ceded.

During the War of 1812, Creek Indians, supported by Spain and England, fought against the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and "friendly" Creeks who supported Americans led by Gen. Andrew Jackson. As a consequence of aligning with the losing side in the war, the Creeks were forced to sign the Treaty of Fort Jackson, ceding some 40,000 square miles of land to the United States. Although the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees fought for the United States against the Creeks, they, too, were soon pressured to cede their lands.

After the War of 1812, the Federal Government began to force southeastern Indians to exchange their remaining lands for land in Indian Territory. Most Indians fiercely resisted leaving their ancestral homelands, but with the election of Andrew Jackson as President in 1828, Indian removal was established as a national policy. States quickly passed laws to ensure jurisdiction over Indians living within their borders, and President Jackson informed the Indians that the Federal Government was helpless to interfere with state laws. He told them their only option was to comply with removal.

The Removal of the Choctaws

To coexist peacefully with white settlers, the Choctaw sent their children to schools run by missionaries, built homes and farms, cultivated land, constructed mills, engaged in commerce, and established a representative government modeled on those of the States. They were aware of their rights under prior possession and treaty guarantees with the U.S. Government. Only when the State of Mississippi abolished the Choctaw government in 1830 and imposed fines and imprisonment upon any Indian attempting to hold office in the tribe did the Choctaws agree to cede their homeland to the Government and relocate to Oklahoma.

Although the majority of the tribe opposed the treaty, Choctaw leaders signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830, which guaranteed that once they moved west, they could keep their old customs and govern themselves without interference. To achieve final agreement, article 14 was added, allowing those who did not wish to relocate the opportunity to remain where they were. Many of the Choctaws who wished to remain, however, eventually joined those who had earlier moved west. A few hundred did stay in Alabama and Mississippi, where their descendants live today.

A Rare Account of Indian Culture

Glimpses of Choctaw cultural beliefs and practices are contained in the featured document. Because most American Indians had no written language, the deposition provides a rare account of early contact with Europeans and relates the origin of the Choctaw version of "coming out of Nan a wa ya cave," a creation myth common to many Indian peoples. The Choctaw diet is described, as are hunting practices, a firemaking technique, and the fact that "there was no attempt made to convert them to the religion of the white men."

Near the end of the document, reference is made to a stick representing Kish um us tubbee, with a notch representing his grandson Halubbee, who lived with Kish um us tubbee at the time the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was signed. Known as the family stick, the device was the established method of signaling to Government officials an intention to lay claim to the provisions of article 14 and recording the members of a family unit. Because family sticks did not note wives, Kelisha, the wife of Kish um us tubbee, was not represented. Sons older than age 10 were represented by smaller sticks attached to the family stick by a string. Daughters older than 10 were noted by notches cut in the middle of the family stick. Younger children of either sex were designated by notches at the end of the family stick.

The deposition of Kish um us tubbee, although created long ago for a specific legal purpose, contains valuable information about the Choctaw culture and the times in which they lived. It exemplifies the versatility of primary sources by demonstrating how much valuable collateral information can be gleaned from a document like this.[1]

See Chishechunga's list No 17; Yoskahoma's list of Talladega &c

254 Hish um us tubbee – a full Blood Chocktaw aged eighty five years, being interrogated says his name is Tish um us tubbee (that is his Nar name given him by his white fathers when he went to assist them in their wars) he is also known by the name of Hush to mubbee Acma to cubbee and Ogle ish tia; that he does not know his age; he has been here all the time; he was about two feet high when he first heard of the Chocktaws coming out of Nan a na ya cave from whence they all came he was young but recollects the massacre of the Chec-chu ma's – he was grown up before he ever heard of a white man – It seems but a short time since he first heard of one – The first white people he ever heard of were French he met them on the sea coast about the mouth of Tombig-bee, where they shook hands; there were a great many of them; they came in vessels which were moored at a big bluff at the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers, he does not recollect any of their names. The Chocktaw Towns were then fighting each other with bows and arrows and the white people came to reconcile them and induce them to make peace, He was one of the Warriors, and then belonged to Tala Town Issa; Chicha ta was his big Chief; he wore a cocked hat given him by the french at this time, one of their private men dis-covered these vessels and told their Chief – and they then went to visit them they landed and made a great building of Brick on a bluff named Nanaba, on the west side of the Tombigbee and remained there more than a year. they traded with the Indians in knives, axes, beads, clothes Jewelry &c. and these were the first ar-ticles of the kind introduced among them:

the Indians paid them in pelltry, they lived in perfect peace and friendship all the time they were among them. There was no attempt made to convert them to the religion of the White men; they explained to them that the world and every thing in it, was made by a great spirit above; the Indians knew nothing about the great spirit until then: since then they have had preaching who have informed them upon this subject they brought no strong water at first after a while they brought one small keg, and drank it all themselves and gave none to the Chocktaws no whiskey was introduced into the country for a great while afterwards and then by the English; the first time he ever saw whiskey was at the french settlement he has named, and he was there informed by the old Chocktaws that it would kill him if he drank it; he does not recollect when it was first introduced in the nation The Chocktaws had no knowledge of the use of Tools such as axes knives &c., before the French introduced them at this time. They had no houses but lived in Camps made of Palmeto; they made fire by boring a sharp stick thru a softer wood and when the stick passed entirely through the fire would be communicated; they had corn at that time, and worked it with crooked limbs which they obtained from fallen trees they killed their game entirely with bows and arrows; they were as wild then as now: they killed bear and Buffaloe with their bows and arrows they had horses but hunted entirely on foot. to make their bows and arrows they used peices of sharp stone. He says he has committed an error that they had no corn or grain of any kind until it was introduced by the French at this time; they lived on wild potatoes and game they were much happier after they became acquainted with the French; the tools and clothes they

they introduced among them added greatly to their comfort.

The first white many name he can recollect was Shooley. He never served under any white officer whose name he now recollects: the English trading succeeded the French, after them the Spaniards and then the Americans. They always continued in Race with all of them

He had a wife Kelisha at the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek: She lived with him then & now, he had no child living with him at that time He has two children living: he has ten wives, and thirteen children. – He lived at the time of the Treaty on Tally ee ekona in Talla Town: where he had an improvement a house and Field –

Col Johnson is his Counsel

Toka haga a full blood Chocktaw a witness for claimant being sworn with uplifted hand deposes as follows –

That he is acquainted with the claimant Kish um-mus tubbe (Points him out) knew him at the time of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek and before, he lived about eight miles from him, Knew his family and saw them often at that time: He had then a wife Kill ista living with him and still, and one unmarried grand child his name is

1 Halubbee, a male (at home) now eighteen years old living with his grand father at the time of the Treaty. He was born in his house and has always lived with him, and been brought up as his own child; his mother was a daughter of the claimant he knew her well but cannot recollect her name she lived with Claimant until her death which happened a short time after Peck sha nubbees (Doaks Stand) Treaty does not recollect the name of her husband; thinks

thinks it was Ne tu ha He (witness) was then young.
Claimant lived at the time of the Treaty at Tally Look-enna; about ten miles from the Centre of Tala Town; (He belongs to Tala Town) He had an improvement a house and field where he lived at treaty and where he has continued to live ever since. Claimant was at the Council at Spanamingo he made a stick for himself and made a notch in the end, and gave it to him (witness) and told him to give it to Post Oak which he did.

He belonged to Post Oaks Company; He is a full blood Chocktaw; and has never been west of the Mississippi

Is not related to claimant.

Is himself a claimant under the 14th Article of the Treaty.

The lands claimed in this case has not to his knowledge been sold by Government

He has no idea of the age of Claimant he is remarkably old

Taken and sworn to at Louisville Miss. this 28th April 1838 before
J. Murray
P. D. Broom
Roger Barton

Toka hago his X mark

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Note

[1] See also Jacqueline A. Matte, "Southeastern Indians, Precontact to the Present: An Essay and Selected Bibliography for Teachers," *Social Education* 57 (October 1993): 292.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Distribute copies of the document to your students, and ask them the following questions:
   a. What type of document is this?
   b. What is the date of the document?
   c. Who created this document?

2. Divide the class into three groups, assigning each group to read and analyze the document according to these categories:
   a. Historical references
   b. Geographical location
   c. American Indian customs
   Upon completion, ask a representative of each group to chart information on overlays, on the chalkboard,j or on chart paper and present the group's analysis to the class.

3. Ask the students to explain what evidence in the document helps them know why it was written. Compile their responses on the chalkboard. Using the background information given, discuss why the document was written.

Class Discussion

4. Ask your students to identify the branch of Government given jurisdiction over Indian affairs by the U.S. Constitution.

5. Ask your students what stereotypical images come to mind when they think of American Indians. List their responses on the chalkboard. Ask students what they think might contribute to these stereotypes.

6. Using guidelines from *Teaching About Native Americans* (see citation below), lead a discussion about the changes in terminology used over time to refer to American Indians such as Indians, Native Americans, American Indians, and indigenous peoples. Discuss why terms such as Injuns, red man, chief, squaw, papoose, brave, warrior, and redskin should be avoided. The source cited above provides helpful information about each term.

Research Activities

7. Ask students to research and present reports about a tribe that lives or lived nearby. Compare the lifestyle and experiences of that tribe with those of 19th-century or present-day southeastern Indians.

8. Ask students to research and present reports on the southeastern Indian removal experience, often referred to as the Trail of Tears. Students should include the tribe's point of view in their reports. Ask a student to "walk" the trail by mapping the route for a bulletin board display.

9. Ask a volunteer or volunteers to interview an American Indian in person, by letter, or by telephone for a contemporary point of view and summarize the interview in a written report. The report should also compare and contrast the tribal customs and awareness of tribal heritage of the contemporary American Indians with the experience of Kish um us tubbee. It should conclude by outlining how the Federal Government responds today to issues of concern to contemporary Native Americans.

Reference

Harvey, Karen D., Lisa D. Harjo, and Jane K. Jackson. *Teaching About Native Americans.* Bulletin no. 84. Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1990.

Robert E. Lee's Resignation from the U.S. Army

Duty. Honor. Country. These three words appear on the crest of the United States Military Academy and frame the ideals of conduct by which many of its graduates strive to live. Robert E. Lee, West Point class of 1829, was a man driven by honor and duty. His resignation from the U.S. Army in 1861 was a tragedy for the United States and a personal one for Lee himself.

Today's highly mobile Americans, having grown up reciting the Pledge of Allegiance and singing the "Star Spangled Banner," find it difficult to comprehend such passionate loyalty to a state or region. But in 1861, the concept of the United States as a nation remained abstract to many Americans. The ratification of the Constitution was still a memorable milestone for elders who recalled the event and the debates over that voluntary association. It was not a stretch of the imagination to wonder if states that had voluntarily combined to form a national union could withdraw without harsh penalty. Distance and slow communications made Washington, DC, physically remote and created a rift more profound than the current cultural gap between those "inside and outside the Beltway." Even in the mid-19th century, Government officials were viewed with doubt and accused of a fondness for red tape. When differences over the issues of slavery and states rights deepened, the new, fragile bond of loyalty to the Union was broken by millions of its citizens.

Robert E. Lee's dilemma was not strictly a political one. The Lee family was inextricably bound with the creation of both the United States of America and the Commonwealth of Virginia. Lee's cousin, Richard Henry Lee, was a delegate to the Second Continental Congress and introduced the resolution for independence that led to the Declaration of Independence. He served in the Virginia legislature and later in the Confederation Congress. Richard Henry Lee opposed ratification of the Constitution in 1787 because it lacked a bill of rights and because he feared that a strong Federal Government would become too centralized. Nonetheless, he later served in the U.S. Senate.

Lee's father, Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, fought under Gen. George Washington as a cavalry officer during the American Revolution. He subsequently served in the Virginia legislature and Confederation Congress. Unlike his cousin, Richard, he supported the Constitution and voted for its ratification as a representative to the Virginia convention. He was a three-term governor of the State and also served in the Federal Government as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. Washington called upon Lee to put down the Whisky Rebellion in 1794.

Robert E. Lee's own relationship with the United States was one of intense commitment and service. For nearly 35 years, he served in the U.S. Army with honor and distinction. Early in his career. he worked in the Mississippi River region and along the Atlantic coast defenses as an engineer. During the Mexican War (1846–48) he distinguished himself in reconnaissance and command of artillery. He served as superintendent of West Point for three years. Lee returned to active duty with the cavalry on the Texas frontier. From 1857 onward, family obligations forced him to request extended leaves of absence from military duty, but in 1859 he led the forces that captured abolitionist John Brown at Harper's Ferry.

As the Nation moved inexorably towards Civil War, Lee passed through his own personal crisis. He had written that "secession is nothing but revolution." Although a slave owner, he stated

that even if he owned every slave in the South, he would free them all to save the Union. He rejected the idea that "our people will destroy a government inaugurated by the blood and wisdom of our patriot fathers, that has given us peace and prosperity at home, power and security abroad, and under which we have acquired a colossal strength unequaled in the history of mankind." He professed his love for the United States by saying, "I feel as if I could easily lay down my life for its safety." Yet, his assertions were based on the vain hope that Virginia could either avoid the struggle ahead or remain neutral. Unfortunately for Lee and the Nation, that was not possible.

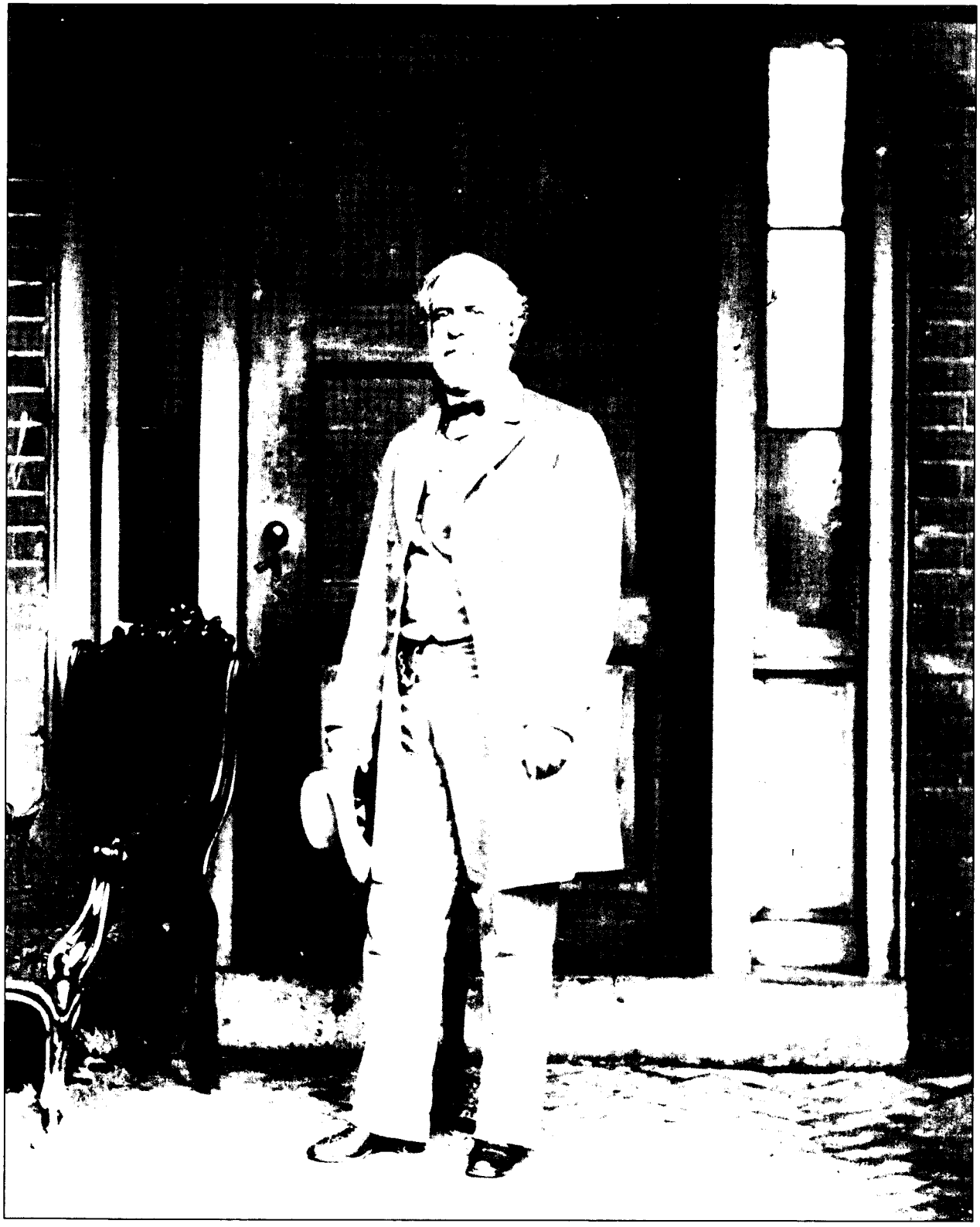
In February of 1861, prior to returning east from Texas, he confided to another officer, "I shall never bear arms against the Union, but it may be necessary for me to carry a musket in defense of my native state, Virginia, in which case I shall not prove recreant to my duty." When Lee reported to Winfield Scott, General in Chief of the Army, in early March, he offered to resign at once. Because there had been much more talk of reconciliation by Lincoln's Cabinet members, Scott encouraged Lee to remain. Lee warned, "If a disruption takes place, I shall go back to my people and share the misery of my native state, and save in her defense, there will be one soldier less in the world." Nonetheless, on March 16, 1861, Scott promoted Lee to the rank of colonel in the 1st U.S. Cavalry.

On April 18, 1861, the day after Virginia voted for secession, President Lincoln sent an unofficial representative, Francis P. Blair, Sr., to ask Robert E. Lee to take command of the United States Army. At this meeting, Lee spoke of his devotion to the Union and then asked to speak to fellow Virginian Winfield Scott. Lee told Scott that he would resign. The old Mexican War hero replied, "Lee, you have made the greatest mistake of your life." (Later, when a delegation of Virginians invited Scott to join their army, he would rebuff them sharply saying, "I have served my country, under the flag of the Union, for more than 50 years, and so long as God permits me to live, I will defend that flag with my sword, even if my own native state assails it.")

Lee returned to his home in Arlington, VA, located directly across the Potomac River from Washington, DC. In a letter to his sister, Anne Marshall, he explained, "I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have therefore resigned my commission in the Army, and save in defense of my native State, with the sincere hope that my poor services may never be needed, I hope I may never be called on to draw my sword." His wife reported to a friend Lee's emotional turmoil over the decision. She wrote, "You can scarcely conceive the struggle it has cost Robert to resign to contend against the flag he has so long honored disapproving, as we both do, the course of the North & South, yet our fate is now linked with the latter & may the prayers of the faithful for the restoration of peace be heard."

Two days later, a delegation of Virginians invited Robert E. Lee to become "commander of the military and naval forces of Virginia." He accepted without hesitation and was appointed to the position on April 23, 1861. Once he committed himself to the cause of Virginia, and subsequently to that of the Confederacy, Lee committed himself fully. He fought with skill and shrewdness, inflicting terrifying casualties upon the men of the U.S. Army.

Yet, during his surrender at Appomattox in April 1865—through his act of submission to Grant, his demeanor during the surrender, and his words to the Confederate troops—Lee may have performed the greatest service of his lifetime to the Union he had renounced four years earlier. It would have been easy for the American Civil War to have continued as a guerrilla war, with generation upon generation revisiting past hatreds and renewing violent animosities. Indeed, given the scars of this war, it is almost miraculous that the United States did not become another Lebanon, Ireland, or Bosnia. Robert E. Lee deserves much of the credit for the peace. Toward the conclusion of the war, he rebuked a lieutenant who had urged him to allow about 8,000 armed soldiers to slip off into the hills of Virginia and continue the war, saying he was "too old to go bushwhacking."



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Arlington, Washington City P.O.
20 April 1861

Hon.ble Simon Cameron
Sec.t of War

Sir

I have the honour to tender the resignation of my Commission as Colonel of the 1st Reg.t of Cavalry

Very resp.t your obt.t Sv.t

R E Lee
Col 1st Cav.y

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In August of 1865 he wrote of his native State, Virginia, "The interests of the State are therefore the same as those of the United States. Its prosperity will rise or fall with the welfare of the country. The duty of its citizens then appears to me too plain to admit of doubt. All should unite in honest efforts to obliterate the effects of war, and to restore the blessings of peace. They should remain if possible in the country; promote harmony and good feeling; qualify themselves to vote; and elect to the State and General Legislatures wise and patriotic men who will devote their abilities to the interests of the country, and the healing of all dissensions." He followed his own advice, setting an example for his fellow Virginians by applying for amnesty and pardon.

On October 12, 1870, Lee died. His farewell words to his troops at Appomattox could as well have applied to him: "You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed."

Lee's letter of resignation from the U.S. Army is found in the Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's–1917, Record Group 94. The letter, more than 40 other documents, and 30 lesson plans are available in *The Civil War*, an activity book for teachers available through the Cobblestone Publishing Company's *Teaching With Primary Sources* Series.

Teaching Activities

Retrieving Information

1. Ask students to answer the following questions:
   a. Who wrote the document?
   b. Who received the document?
   c. What is the date of the document?
   d. What distinguishing marks do you find on the document?
   e. What action is the writer taking in this document?

Class Discussion

2. Poll students for a reply to the question, "What is your citizenship?" You may choose to do this aloud or on a ballot with the following headings: [Name of state], United States of America, [Name of another nation], United Nations. Tally the results for the class, and discuss the outcome. Ask students to account for the likely result that most of them identify with a nation. Explain to students that all U.S. citizens are citizens not only of the United States, but also of the state in which they reside.

3. Survey students to determine if they know the name of:
   a. The Governor of their state
   b. The Lieutenant Governor of their state
   c. The state senator for their district
   d. The state representative in the house for their district
   e. The President of the United States
   f. The Vice President of the United States
   g. The two state senators in the U.S. Senate
   h. The representative in the U.S. House for their district
   i. The Secretary General of the United Nations
   j. The U.S. representative to the United Nations

   Tally the results, and discuss with the class why they are more familiar with figures in the U.S. Government (as is most likely) than in their state government or the United Nations. Ask students to consider what contact they have with the state government. You may need to remind them that school attendance requirements are the state's domain. Investigate together what contact your students "have had with international organizations such as the United Nations, the International Olympic Committee, Amnesty International, or UNICEF.

Research

4. Ask students to research and report to the class other Federal officers who resigned their commissions and offered their services to the Confederacy, such as Samuel Cooper, Joseph E. Johnston, Albert Sidney Johnston, James Longstreet, Jeb Stuart, or Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard.

Writing Activity

5. Ask students to assume the identity of Robert

E. Lee and write a journal entry describing one of the following:

a. The pros and cons of refusing command of the U.S. Army
b. The pros and cons of resigning his commission from the U.S. Army
c. How he felt about fighting against classmates and students from West Point and men with whom he had served in the Mexican War
d. How he felt about giving his word of honor and oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the Union in 1865

The Fight for Equal Rights: A Recruiting Poster for Black Soldiers in the Civil War

Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letter, U.S., let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket, there is no power on earth that can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship.

—Frederick Douglass

The issues of emancipation and military service were intertwined from the onset of the Civil War. News from Fort Sumter set off a rush by free black men to enlist in U.S. military units. They were turned away, however, because a Federal law dating from 1792 barred Negroes from bearing arms for the U.S. army (although they had served in the American Revolution and in the War of 1812.) In Boston disappointed would-be volunteers met and passed a resolution requesting that the Government modify its laws to permit their enlistment.

The Lincoln administration wrestled with the idea of authorizing the recruitment of black troops, concerned that such a move would prompt the border states to secede. When General John C. Frémont in Missouri and General David Hunter in South Carolina issued proclamations that emancipated slaves in their military regions and permitted them to enlist, their superiors sternly revoked their orders. By mid-1862, however, the escalating number of former slaves (contrabands), the declining number of white volunteers, and the increasingly pressing personnel needs of the Union Army pushed the Government into reconsidering the ban.

As a result, on July 17, 1862, Congress passed the Second Confiscation and Militia Act, freeing slaves who had masters in the Confederate Army. Two days later, slavery was abolished in the territories of the United States, and on July 22 President Lincoln presented the preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation to his Cabinet. After the Union Army turned back Lee's first invasion of the North at Antietam, MD, and the Emancipation Proclamation was subsequently announced, black recruitment was pursued in earnest. Volunteers from South Carolina, Tennessee, and Massachusetts filled the first authorized black regiments. Recruitment was slow until black leaders such as Frederick Douglass encouraged black men to become soldiers to ensure eventual full citizenship. (Two of Douglass's own sons contributed to the war effort.) Volunteers began to respond, and in May 1863 the Government established the Bureau of Colored Troops to manage the burgeoning numbers of black soldiers.

By the end of the Civil War, roughly 179,000 black men (10 percent of the U.S. forces) served as soldiers in the U.S. Army and another 19,000 in the Navy. Nearly 40,000 black soldiers died over the course of the war—30,000 of infection or disease. Black soldiers served in artillery and infantry and performed all noncombat support functions that sustain an army, as well. Black carpenters, chaplains, cooks, guards, laborers, nurses, scouts, spies, steamboat pilots, surgeons, and teamsters also contributed to the war cause. There were nearly 80 black commissioned officers. Black women, who could not formally join the Army, nonetheless served as nurses, spies, and

scouts, the most famous being Harriet Tubman, who scouted for the 2d South Carolina Volunteers.

Because of prejudice against them, black units were not used in combat as extensively as they might have been. Nevertheless, the soldiers served with distinction in a number of battles. Black infantrymen fought gallantly at Milliken's Bend, LA; Port Hudson, LA; Petersburg, VA; and Nashville, TN. The July 1863 assault on Fort Wagner, SC, in which the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers lost two-thirds of their officers and half of their troops, was memorably dramatized in the film *Glory*. By war's end, 16 black soldiers had been awarded the Medal of Honor for their valor.

In addition to the perils of war faced by all Civil War soldiers, black soldiers faced additional problems stemming from racial prejudice. Racial discrimination was prevalent even in the North, and discriminatory practices permeated the U.S. military. Segregated units were formed with black enlisted men and typically commanded by white officers and black noncommissioned officers. The 54th Massachusetts was commanded by Robert Shaw and the 1st South Carolina by Thomas Wentworth Higginson—both white. Black soldiers were initially paid $10 per month from which $3 was automatically deducted for clothing, resulting in a net pay of $7. In contrast, white soldiers received $13 per month from which no clothing allowance was drawn. In June 1864 Congress granted equal pay to the U.S. Colored Troops and made the action retroactive. Black soldiers, on the other hand, received comparable rations, supplies, and medical care. Casualty rates, nevertheless, were 40 percent higher for blacks than for whites.

The black troops faced greater peril than white troops when captured by the Confederate Army. In 1863 the Confederate Congress threatened to punish severely officers of black troops and to enslave black soldiers. As a result, President Lincoln issued General Order 233, threatening reprisal on Confederate prisoners of war (POWs) for any mistreatment of black troops. Although the threat generally restrained the Confederates, black captives were typically treated more harshly than white captives. In perhaps the most heinous known example of abuse, Confederate General Nathan B. Forrest shot black Union soldiers captured at the Fort Pillow, TN, engagement of 1864.

The document featured with this article is a recruiting poster directed at black men during the Civil War. It refers to efforts by the Lincoln administration to provide equal pay for black soldiers and equal protection for black POWs. The original poster is located in the Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's–1917, Record Group 94.

Teaching Activities

Analyzing the Document

1. Make a copy of the document for students, and direct them to read the poster and answer the following questions:
   a. Who do you think is the intended audience for the poster?
   b. What does the Government hope the audience will do?
   c. What references to pay do you find in this document?
   d. What references to treatment of prisoners of war do you find in this document?
   e. What evidence of discrimination during the Civil War do you find in this document?
   f. What evidence of Government efforts to improve conditions for black soldiers do you find in this document?
   g. What purpose(s) of the Government is/are served by this poster?
   h. How is the design of this poster different from contemporary military recruitment posters?

After the students have completed the assignment, review it and answer any questions they might raise. Then discuss more generally the contribution and status of black soldiers in the Civil War.

Creative Writing Activities

2. Share with students the information in the introductory note; then assign them to draw

TO COLORED MEN!

FREEDOM,

Protection, Pay, and a Call to Military Duty!

On the 1st day of January, 1863, the President of the United States proclaimed FREEDOM to over THREE MILLIONS OF SLAVES. This decree is to be enforced by all the power of the Nation. On the 21st of July last he issued the following order:

PROTECTION OF COLORED TROOPS.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, July 21.

"*General Order, No.* 233.

"The following order of the President is published for the information and government of all concerned:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 30.

"'It is the duty of every Government to give protection to its citizens, of whatever class, color, or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The law of nations, and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized powers, permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person on account of his color, is a relapse into barbarism, and a crime against the civilization of the age.

'"The Government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession. It is, therefore, ordered, for every soldier of the United States, killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed; and for every one enslaved by the enemy, or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to prisoners of war.

'"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."'

'"By order of the Secretary of War.

'"E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant General."'

That the President is in earnest the rebels soon began to find out, as witness the following order from his Secretary of War:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, August 8, 1863.

"SIR: Your letter of the 3d inst., calling the attention of this Department to the cases of Orin H. Brown, William H. Johnston, and Wm. Wilson, three colored men captured on the gunboat Isaac Smith, has received consideration. This Department has directed that three rebel prisoners of South Carolina, if there be any such in our possession, and if not, three others, be confined in close custody and held as hostages for Brown, Johnston and Wilson, and that the fact be communicated to the rebel authorities at Richmond.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"The Hon. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy."

And retaliation will be our practice now—man for man—to the bitter end.

LETTER OF CHARLES SUMNER,

Written with reference to the Convention held at Poughkeepsie, July 15th and 16th, 1863, to promote Colored Enlistments.

BOSTON, July 13th, 1863.

"I doubt if, in times past, our country could have expected from colored men any patriotic service. Such service is the return for protection. But now that protection has begun, the service should begin also. Nor should relative rights and duties be weighed with nicety. It is enough that our country, aroused at last to a sense of justice, seeks to enrol colored men among its defenders.

"If my counsels should reach such persons, I would say: enlist at once. Now is the day and now is the hour. Help to overcome your cruel enemies now battling against your country, and in this way you will surely overcome those other enemies hardly less cruel, here at home, who will still seek to degrade you. This is not the time to hesitate or to higgle. Do your duty to our country, and you will set an example of generous self-sacrifice which will conquer prejudice and open all hearts.

"Very faithfully yours,

"CHARLES SUMNER."

on information from the note and the document to write one of the following:

- a journal entry of a member of the U.S. Colored Troops
- a letter from a U.S. Colored Troops soldier to a son who wants to enlist
- an account of the role of black soldiers for either an abolitionist or Confederate newspaper an interior monologue of the wife of a soldier in the U.S. Colored Troops reflecting on the circumstances of her family during his absence.

Oral Reports

3. President Harry S. Truman's Executive Order 9981, issued in 1948, marked the transition of the black military experience from a period of segregated troops to one of integrated forces. The order provided for "equal treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services" and commanded the desegregation of the military "as rapidly as possible."

Divide the class into six groups: Civil War, Indian wars, World War I, World War II, Korea and Vietnam, and Persian Gulf War. Assign each group the task of locating information about black troops engaged in these conflicts and presenting the information they discover in an oral report. Encourage imaginative presentations.

Students should collect information about pay, equipment, service assignments, promotion potential, treatment of black prisoners of war, and the relation of combat service to the struggle for equal rights in each instance. Each group should attempt to locate statistical information about the numbers of black soldiers in arms for their assigned conflict and the numbers of black casualties, decorations, and commissioned officers. Outstanding individual or unit contributions in engagements should be described as well.

For Further Research

4. Select one of the following activities as a follow-up:
   a. Arrange with the school or public library to set up a reserved reading shelf for your students on the topic of the black Civil War experience.
   b. Assign students to read a copy of Robert Lowell's poem "Colonel Shaw and the Massachusetts' 54th," alternately titled, "For the Union Dead." (The poem can be located in the *Norton Anthology of American Literature*.) Ask students to consider the following questions:
      - Why does Lowell say "their monument sticks like a fishbone in the city's throat"?
      - Why do you think Shaw's father wanted no monument "except the ditch, where his son's body was thrown"?
      - What is Lowell's attitude toward the "stone statues of the abstract Union Soldier"?
      - Lowell altered the inscription on the Shaw Memorial that reads "Omnia Reliquit Servare Rem Publicam" ("He leaves all behind to serve the Republic") to his epigraph "Relinquunt Omnia Servare Rem Publicam" ("They give up everything to serve the Republic"). How is the inscription typical of attitudes in 1897, when the memorial was dedicated? How is the epigraph, written in 1960, different, and what does that say about Lowell's attitude toward these soldiers?
   c. Ask for volunteers to watch the film *Glory*, a fictional account of the 54th Massachusetts, then the *American Experience* documentary, *The 54th Colored Infantry*. (If that tape is not available, you might use the segments on black units in Ken Burns's *Civil War*.) Students should then review *Glory* for historical accuracy.

The Homestead Act of 1862

On January 1, 1863, Daniel Freeman, a scout for the Union Army, was scheduled to leave Gage County, Nebraska Territory, to report for duty in St. Louis. Fortunately for him, while attending a New Year's Eve party in a hotel in Brownsville, Nebraska, he spoke with some Land Office officials. He was able to convince one of the clerks to open the office shortly after midnight so that he could file a land claim before his departure. In doing so, Freeman became one of the first to seize the opportunity made possible by the Homestead Act, a law signed by President Abraham Lincoln on May 20, 1862.

The Homestead Act provided that any U.S. citizen, or intended citizen, who had never borne arms against the U.S. government could claim 160 acres of surveyed government land. Claimants were required to "improve" the plot by building a dwelling measuring at least 12 by 14 and by cultivating the land. After five years on the land, the original filer was entitled to the property, free and clear, except for a small registration fee. Title could also be acquired after only a six-month residency and trivial improvements, provided the claimant paid the government $1.25 per acre. After the Civil War, Union soldiers could deduct the time they served from the residency requirements.

Although this act was included in the Republican party platform of 1860, support for the idea began decades earlier. Even under the Articles of Confederation, before 1787, the distribution of government lands generated much interest and discussion. These early discussions focused on land measurement and price.

A congressional committee decided to end the chaos experienced by settlers and government officials in Kentucky in 1779 by resolving the issue of measurement. Under the existing Virginia System, plots were generally guided by natural landmarks. A Kentuckian could simply step off whatever land he wanted (regardless of shape), survey, and register it. This system led to confusion and a number of overlapping claims. The federal solution was the creation of a system of land surveys to be completed prior to settlement. These surveys were based on a defined unit of measurement called a township. Each township was a six-mile square, divided into 36 sections, measuring one square mile or 640 acres each. Astronomical observations determined the starting points of the measurements. As the country acquired vast new territory throughout the first half of the 1800s, this system of measurement continued.

The early government's prevailing belief that public land was best used as a source for revenue, rather than as a cheap inducement to settlement, influenced early decisions about price and distribution. In the 1780s, the minimum price for public land was set at $1 per acre, and the minimum amount to be sold to an individual was 640 acres (one section). The cost was prohibitive and the amount of land was simply too much for most would-be settlers, as much of it was wooded and required labor intensive clearing to serve as agricultural land. Consequently, by 1800, provisions were made that halved the minimum amount to 320 acres and allowed settlers to pay in four installments.

In the 1830s and 1840s, as the price of corn, wheat, and cotton rose, well-financed, large farms—particularly the plantations of the South—forced small farmers to sell out and move further west to lands they could afford to develop. All public land during these years sold for $1.25 an acre regardless of condition. Superior plots sold easily, inferior ones did not. To induce settlement to these less desirable areas, Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri led a long battle to graduate land prices according to desirability. He even suggested that land be given away, if it had not been purchased within a cer-

Application No. 1.

Homestead
Land office
Brownville N.T. January 1st 1863

I Daniel Freeman of Gage County Nebraska Territory do hereby apply to Enter under the Provisions of the act of Congress aproved May 20th 1862 Entitled, an act to Secure Homesteads to actual Settlers on the Public Domain The South half of N.W¼ & NE¼ of NW¼ & S W¼ of NE¼ Sec 26. in Township (4) N in Range Nine East containing 160 acres Having Filed my Pre Emption Declaration thereto on the Eighth day of September 1862

Daniel Freeman

Land office at
Brownville N.T. January 1st 1863

I Richard F Barrett Register of the Land office do Hereby Certify that the above application is for Surveyed Lands of the Class which the applicant is legally Entitled to Enter under the Homestead act of May 20th 1862 and that there is No Prior valid adverse Right to the same

Richard F Barrett
Register

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tain time period, in order to bring it into minimal cultivation. While the policies of graduating prices and giving away public land were not adopted until later, their very suggestion fueled the growing belief that public land should not be sold simply to raise revenue, but to furnish homesteads and encourage settlement.

Prior to the war with Mexico (1846–1848), people settling in the West demanded "pre-emption"—an individual's right to settle land first and pay later. Essentially, they wanted an early form of credit. Although Easterners feared that this practice would drain cheap labor from their factories, pre-emption became national policy. This was due to impatient pioneers jumping borders to settle where they wished, as had been done since colonial days, and to insufficient funding that caused surveys to lag behind settlement.

Following the war with Mexico, a number of circumstances contributed to the growing support for the homestead movement: the arrival of unprecedented numbers of immigrants drawn by the nation's prosperity and cheaper trans-Atlantic crossings; new canals and roadways that reduced western dependence on New Orleans; England's repeal of its corn laws, which opened new markets to American agriculture; and the practice of granting land to railroad companies, which set precedents for similar land concessions to citizens. Furthermore, a growing number of people believed that they could successfully farm non-wooded western lands.

Finally, in 1854, Senator Benton's principle of graduated pricing was used to sell land that had been on the market for 30 years for 12½ cents per acre. In the next couple of years, extraordinary bonuses were extended to military veterans and those interested in settling the Oregon Territory.

Three times—in 1852, 1854, and 1859—the House of Representatives passed homestead legislation, but on each occasion the Senate defeated the measure. In 1860, a homestead bill providing federal land grants to western settlers was passed by both houses of Congress, but vetoed by President Buchanan. These failures resulted from sectional concerns about slavery. Southerners believed that the proposed policy of making the public domain available in 160-acre plots, free of charge, would fill the West with small farmers opposed to slavery.

After the South seceded from the Union, congressional opposition dwindled, and the Homestead Act of 1862 was passed and signed into law. On the first day the law went into effect, Daniel Freeman and 417 others filed claims. Before the law was ultimately repealed in 1934, more than 1.6 million homestead applications were processed, resulting in more than 270 million acres—10 percent of all U.S. lands—being given by the Federal Government to individuals.

The homestead acquisition process was threefold: filing an application, improving the land, and filing for deed of title. When an individual selected a site, he filed an application with a government land office. For the next five years, the homesteader lived on the land and improved it by building a 12 by 14 dwelling and growing crops. At the end of the five years, the homesteader could file for his patent or deed of title to the land. This required submitting proof of residency and improvements to the land office. The paperwork accumulated by the local land office was forwarded to the General Land Office in Washington, DC, along with a final certificate that declared the case file eligible for a patent. The case file was examined, and if found valid, a patent to the land was sent back to the local land office for delivery to the homesteader.

Unfortunately, there was corruption in the system. For example, speculators took advantage of the fact that the law did not specify whether the 12 by 14 dwelling was to be built in feet or inches. Others acquired homestead land by hiring phony claimants or buying up abandoned land. The General Land Office received inadequate funding to provide the number of investigators needed for its widely scattered offices. Those who did conduct investigations were overworked and underpaid and often susceptible to bribery.

rsc

HOMESTEAD.

Land Office at Brownville Neb
January 20th 1868.

CERTIFICATE, No. 1

APPLICATION, No. 1

It is hereby certified, *That pursuant to the provisions of the act of Congress, approved May 20, 1862, entitled "An act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain,"* Daniel Freeman *has made payment in full for* S½ of NW¼ and N½ of NW¼ and SW¼ of NE¼ *of Section* twenty six (26) *in Township* four (4) N *of Range* five (5) E *containing* 160 *acres.*

Now, therefore, be it known, *That on presentation of this Certificate to the COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE, the said* Daniel Freeman *shall be entitled to a Patent for the Tract of Land above described.*

Henry M. Atkinson *Register.*

The conditions the homesteaders faced on the land were even more challenging than the required paperwork. Depending on the location, the challenges could include plagues of grasshoppers and locusts, blizzards, wind, prairie fires, little water, and no wood. The lack of trees for building timbers, particularly in western Kansas and Nebraska and eastern Colorado, prompted the building of homes out of sod. Limited wood also meant limited fuel for cooking and heating, and scarce natural vegetation made it particularly difficult to raise livestock. While 160 acres may have been sufficient for an eastern farmer, it was simply not enough on the dry plains. As a result, in many areas, the original homesteader did not stay on the land long enough to fulfill the claim.

The challenges, however, also led to opportunities for those who stayed. Six months after the Homestead Act was passed, the federal act providing for a transcontinental railroad was signed. Railroads provided easy transportation for homesteaders (many of whom were new immigrants lured by railroad companies eager to sell off the excess land at inflated prices). The new rail lines also provided a means by which homesteaders could receive manufactured goods. Through catalog houses like Montgomery Ward, homesteaders could order farm tools, plows, windmills, barbed wire, linens, weapons, even houses, and have them delivered via the rails. As homesteaders populated the territories, they filed for statehood, and built prairie schools. In many areas, the schools became the focal points for community life, serving as churches, polling places, and gathering spots for clubs and organizations.

One such school built in 1872, near Beatrice, Nebraska, is today part of the Homestead National Monument. The monument, administered by the National Park Service, includes the land claimed by Daniel Freeman. Although a number of other claimants received applications that indicated that their claim was the first, Freeman capitalized on his. In 1886, he sent Congressman Galusha Grow, author of the Homestead Act, a cane made from wood grown on his property. The Congressman accepted the cane along with Freeman's claim that he was the first entryman and subsequently referred to Freeman as "the first" in a number of speeches.

The national recognition that Freeman received brought forth a number of other claimants. An investigation conducted for the centennial of the Homestead Act by the Bureau of Land Management and experts at the National Archives determined that William Young of Palmyra, Nebraska; Mahlon Gore, of Vermillion, Dakota Territory; and Daniel Freeman all might have a claim to this national honor. The investigation also found that Orin Holdbrook of Des Moines, Iowa, might also be a contender, since he was the only homesteader to file for his claim on the first day and to file for his final certificate exactly five years later, on January 1, 1868. The Department of the Interior, however, embraced Freeman's claim and established the monument on his homestead in 1936. Today, the site commemorates the lives and accomplishments of all pioneers and the changes to the land and to people brought by the Homestead Act.

Documents featured in this article include a homestead application, certificate, and proof, and a photograph of a pioneer family. Freeman's application, certificate, and proof and those of other homesteaders are contained in the Records of the General Land Office, Record Group 49. The photograph, #69-N-13606C, is available from the Still Pictures Branch, National Archives at College Park, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. For more information about land records, General Information Leaflet Number 67 entitled "Research in the Land Entry Files of the General Land Office, RG 49," written by Kenneth Hawkins, is available free from the National Archives and Records Administration, NWCP, Washington, DC, 20408.

RSC

PROOF REQUIRED UNDER HOMESTEAD ACTS MAY 20, 1862, AND JUNE 21, 1866.

WE, Joseph Graff & Samuel Kilpatrick do solemnly swear that we have known Daniel Freeman for over five years last past; that he is the head of a family consisting of wife and two children and is — a citizen of the United States; that he is an inhabitant of the S½ of NW¼ & NE of NW¼ and SW¼ of NE¼ of section No. 26 in Township No. 4 N of Range No. 5 E and that no other person resided upon the said land entitled to the right of Homestead or Pre-emption.

That the said Daniel Freeman — entered upon and made settlement on said land on the 1st day of January, 1863, and has built a house thereon part log & part frame 14 by 20 feet one story, with two doors two windows. Shingle roof. board floors and is a comfortable house to live in

and has lived in the said house and made it his exclusive home from the 1st day of January, 1863, to the present time, and that he has since said settlement ploughed, fenced, and cultivated about 35 — acres of said land, and has made the following improvements thereon, to wit: built a Stable. a Sheep shed 100 feet long corn crib. and has 40 apple and about 400 peach trees set out.

Joseph Graff
Samuel Kilpatrick.

I, Henry M. Atkinson Register do hereby certify that the above affidavit was taken and subscribed before me this 20th day of January, 1868.

Henry M. Atkinson
Register

WE CERTIFY that Joseph Graff & Samuel Kilpatrick whose names are subscribed to the foregoing affidavit, are persons of respectability.

Henry M. Atkinson, Register.
Wm. Cannon, Receiver.

Teaching Activities

1. Provide each student with a photocopy of each of the featured documents, and make a transparency with the following questions: What types of documents are they? What are the dates of the documents? Who wrote the documents? What is the purpose of the documents? What information in the documents helps you understand why they were written? Ask one student to read the documents aloud as the others read silently. Lead the class in oral responses to the questions.

2. Instruct students to analyze the documents and make a list of the Homestead Act requirements. Ask them to check their answers by referring to the text of the Act, available in Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds., *Documents of American History*, and in the *Westward Expansion: 1842–1912* teaching packet available from the National Archives, as well as some textbooks. Lead a class discussion using some of the following questions:
   - What were the citizenship requirements for settlers?
   - What were their age requirements?
   - Why was there a clause pertaining to never having borne arms against the government?
   - How long did a homesteader have to reside on the property?
   - What was a homesteader required to do to improve the land?
   - Whose names appear on the documents?
   - With what office were these documents filed?
   - In order to locate this property on a map, what additional information is necessary?
   - Did Freeman receive a patent for the land?
   - Why are these documents preserved by the Federal Government?

3. The case file for Virgil Earp, Prescott, Arizona, (1870–1905) is available online from the National Archives and Records Administration on the Web at <*http://www.nara.gov/nara/EXTRA/earphom.html*>.
   The case file for Charles P. Ingalls, father of Laura Ingalls Wilder, (1880–1907) is available on the Web at <*http://www.nara.gov/nara/EXTRA/ingalls.html*>.
   Encourage students to look at these later files and to write a paragraph comparing them to the Freeman documents.

4. Divide the class into three groups representing each of the three regions of the country in the 1840s: the North, the South, and the West. Ask each group to research and write their region's position on the homestead issue. Ask representatives from each group to conduct a mock congressional debate on a proposed homestead bill.

5. Invite a local real estate developer, surveyor, or land official to talk to your class about present-day real estate prices and land measurement. Ask them to bring documents describing property locations using section, township, and range. Then ask the students to use local sources to determine the section, township, and range of your school.

6. Locate and read the article, "How to Use an Economic Mystery in Your History Course," written by Donald R. Wentworth and Mark C. Schug and published in the January 1994 issue of *Social Education*. Divide the class into six groups and assign each group one of the principles of economic reasoning to consider as they try to solve the "mystery" of the Homestead Act of 1862 by the method proposed in the article. Use the jigsaw method of regrouping for students to share information gathered about all six principles in order to answer the question: Why did so many people fail to take advantage of the Homestead Act?

7. Assign pairs of students different public land states. Inform them that it is 1880, and they have just filed for a homestead in their assigned state. Using information contained in their history books, geography books, and library resources, ask them to determine what crops they will cultivate, if they will raise livestock, how they will obtain water and fuel, and where they will live. Ask them to construct a 12 by 14 (inch) dwelling out of materials that would have been available to them.

8. Divide the class into three groups. Ask one group to determine the population of the Plains states in 1860, 1870, and 1880, and to create a large bar graph with their data. Ask another group to determine how many immigrants came to the United States between 1850–1860, 1860–1870, and 1870–1880, and to create a bar graph with their data. Finally, ask the third group to investigate the miles of railroad tracks in the United States laid between 1850–1860, 1860–1870, and 1870–1880, and to create a bar graph with their data. Ask each group to present their findings as the basis for a class discussion on cause and effect and to answer this question: To what extent did acts of the Federal Government influence these three factors? *Historical Statistics of the United States*, almanacs, and other library sources will be helpful for this activity.

Reconstruction, the Fourteenth Amendment, and Personal Liberties

Following the Civil War, Congress submitted to the states three amendments as part of its Reconstruction program to guarantee equal civil and legal rights to black citizens. On June 16, 1866, the House Joint Resolution proposing the 14th Amendment to the Constitution (the first featured document) was submitted to the states. On July 28, 1868, the 14th Amendment was declared ratified and became part of the supreme law of the land.

Congressman John A. Bingham of Ohio, the primary author of the first section of the 14th Amendment, intended that the amendment also nationalize the federal Bill of Rights by making it binding upon the states. Senator Jacob Howard of Michigan, introducing the amendment, specifically stated that the privileges and immunities clause would extend to the states "the personal rights guaranteed and secured by the first eight amendments." He was, however, alone in this assertion. Most senators argued that the privileges and immunities clause did not bind the states to the federal Bill of Rights.

Not only did the 14th Amendment fail to extend the Bill of Rights to the states, it also failed to protect the rights of black citizens. One legacy of Reconstruction was the determined struggle of black and white citizens to make the promise of the 14th Amendment a reality. Citizens petitioned and initiated court cases, Congress enacted legislation, and the executive branch attempted to enforce measures that would guard all citizens' rights. While these citizens did not succeed in empowering the 14th Amendment during Reconstruction, they effectively articulated arguments and offered dissenting opinions that would be the basis for change in the 20th century.

The first case to test the impact of the 14th Amendment on the Bill of Rights began in 1870 when the Butchers Benevolent Association of New Orleans filed a lawsuit against a monopoly granted by the Louisiana legislature to the Crescent City Livestock Landing and Slaughter House Company. The butchers claimed that the state had interfered with "life, liberty, [and] the pursuit of Honorable and just means for promoting happiness and obtaining comfort," in violation of the 14th Amendment's guarantee of privileges and immunities of U.S. citizens. On April 14, 1873, in a five to four decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the privileges and immunities clause of the 14th Amendment was not binding and that protection of ordinary civil liberties was a power reserved to the states. It was not until *Gitlow* v. *New York* in 1925 that, through the due process clause of the 14th Amendment, the Bill of Rights would begin to be nationalized.

The second featured document is the articulate plea of the "colored citizens of Cleveland & vicinity, Tenn.," petitioning Congress to pass legislation to enforce the 14th Amendment more effectively. On January 19, 1874, the petition was referred to the House Committee of the Judiciary where it languished. State legislation had already begun to construct the system of segregation that would remain legal until 1954.

The House Joint Resolution proposing the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, June 16,1866, is

Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States, at the first session, begun and held at the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia, on Monday the fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five.

Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely:

Article XIV.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress the Executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the

ment of such citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Attest.

Edm. McPherson.

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Schuyler Colfax

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Lafayette S. Foster.

President of the Senate, pro tempore.

J. W. Forney

Secretary of the Senate.

found in the General Records of the U.S. Government, Record Group 11. The petition for the enforcement of the 14th Amendment, January 19, 1874, is found in the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233.

Teaching Activities

1. Ask students to review what their textbooks say about the Civil War amendments and share with them the background information on the 14th Amendment from the note to the teacher. Ask the class to "brainstorm" on what they consider to be their privileges and immunities as U.S. citizens. List their ideas on the chalkboard.

2. Duplicate a set of the two documents and prepare a worksheet for each student from the questions below. Direct students to study the documents and the U.S. Constitution and complete the worksheet as homework.

3. When the students have completed the worksheet, discuss questions they may have. Then ask the class to consider the two documents together and to discuss the following questions:
   a. What privileges and immunities of citizens were of paramount interest to the creators of these documents more than 100 years ago? How are they similar or different from the list brainstormed by the class?
   b. Ours is a nation of laws that people may disagree with and work to change, but may not disobey with impunity. What do these documents reveal about the legal avenues available to people of the Reconstruction era for pursuing an extension of the privileges and immunities of citizens? What do these documents reveal about the methods of those who opposed the extension of such privileges?
   c. It is sometimes said that we stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before us. Citizens of the Reconstruction era failed in their efforts to extend Bill of Rights protections against state acts. Were their efforts futile, or did later personal liberties advocates or civil rights movements benefit from the efforts of these earlier citizens?

4. Use one or both of the activities below for further research:
   a. Assign one or two good students to find out what political parties have said about citizens' rights in their party platforms in a particular election and report their findings to the class. For example, they may wish to locate the black civil rights planks of the 1872 Republican and Democratic platforms alluded to in the Cleveland, TN, petition. Most major library systems should have the two-volume National Party Platforms: 1840–1984, and may have recent Republican Party official convention proceedings. Democratic state committees have the party's most recent platforms. Or, students may wish to contact the Democratic National Committee's research office or the Republican National Committee's archives office in Washington, DC.
   b. Assign a student to check the current constitution of your state to see what rights are guaranteed to citizens of the state and to share the information with the class. In the report, the student should compare and contrast state privileges and immunities with those of U.S. citizens and compare and contrast the protection provided in the state by the class in activity one.

This lesson has been adapted from an exercise included in *The Bill of Rights: Evolution of Personal Liberties* developed and published by the National Archives and Records Administration.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled -

Your Petitioners Colored Citizens of Cleveland & vicinity, Tenn. humbly pray that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, be so enforced by appropriate legislation that no State be hereafter permitted to make or enforce any law abridging our privileges or immunities as citizens of the United States.

As reasons for presenting this Petition we urge the following. -

1 Without such enforcement the first section of said Amendment is for the Colored People, virtually, a dead letter. In our own State a colored man though eligible to the office of Governor or President; is not allowed to travel in a first-class R. Road car or send his children to the same school with his white neighbors. Tennessee has never had a Common School nor can she have one till the evil of which we complain be abated.

2. The deprivation of these and others of our rights as citizens is a contempt to our race, a great injury to us individually, and at the same time a damage to the white race as well. To instance only one item - not a few of the public white Schools about us have been continued this year only two and one-half months. - If the Public School Fund in these sparsely populated States, must, to gratify a slavery-engendered prejudice, be divided, it will follow with unfailing certainty, that the illiteracy of whites as well as blacks will increase continually.

3. We petition not for any favor but for the undistinguished enjoyment of our chartered rights. The organic law of our whole land knows nothing of white citizens or black citizens, as such

but decrees that all born or naturalized in the land are equal before the law. If a State be tolerated in shutting the colored man out of the public schools it might with equal reason be allowed to deny to him the right to testify or vote.

4. We would remind our Rulers that in those dark days when a gigantic Rebellion threatened the national life, the colored men of Tennessee, so loved liberty, that while yet slaves and with no promise even of personal freedom for their race, they rushed by thousands into the Federal armies. We do not complain that the disabilities of the men we then fought, are removed, but we confess ourselves unable to understand on what principle of equity or expediency it is that our own disabilities are allowed to remain. We do not question the policy of the General Government being magnanimous to its enemies, but we must doubt the wisdom of its tolerating States in visiting insult and injury upon its friends.

5 We urge our Petition with the more of assurance since all we claim was pledged us in both of the Party Platforms of 1872 - platforms voted upon by more than six millions of American freemen. We ask respectfully but with earnestness, and persistently, that the pledge thus solemnly given by the nation be redeemed.

Names	Names
Napoleon Crosby.	
Geo. T. Stigall	
Major Brown	
Cozz Parks	
Cap. Coleman	
Scott Pugh	
Geo Christmas.	

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Reconstruction, the 14th Amendment, and Personal Liberties Worksheet

Directions: Use the information contained in documents one and two and Article V of the U.S. Constitution to complete the worksheet.

Document One: The 14th Amendment

1. What branch of the government initiates a constitutional amendment?

_____

2. How much of a majority is required in each house of Congress for the proposed amendment to advance?

_____

3. How much of a majority in the state legislatures is required for ratification of an amendment?

_____

4. According to Section 1, you are a citizen of what two jurisdictions?

_____

5. What branch of the government is responsible for enabling a ratified amendment to be enforced, according to Section 5?

_____

Document Two: Petition

1. What means did these citizens of Cleveland, TN, use to try to improve their living conditions?

_____

2. What types of state laws were abridging black citizens' rights in Tennessee in 1874?

_____

3. According to the petition, how were such laws hurting white citizens as well?

_____

4. What evidence do the petitioners offer to substantiate their claim that black Union veterans have fewer rights than white Confederate veterans?

_____

5. Why do you believe the petitioners mentioned the 1872 party platforms and elections?

_____

6. What other methods to push enforcement of the 14th Amendment were available to these citizens at this time?

_____

7. Underline the adjectives used in the petition.
   a. What pattern emerges?

   _____

   b. What is the tone assumed toward the Federal Government?

   _____

   c. What words, in the main body of the petition, were underlined by the writers? Why do you think they underlined them?

   _____

   d. List emotionally charged words or expressions that the petitioners used to try to persuade Congress to pass enforcing legislation.

   _____

1869 Petition: The Appeal for Woman Suffrage

Between 1848, when a resolution calling for woman suffrage was first adopted in New York, and 1920, when the 19th Amendment was ratified, women repeatedly petitioned both the state and Federal Governments for the right to vote. During the course of this two-generation contest, women devoted their careers, sacrificed their time and energy, and on several occasions, risked their lives in their campaign to obtain the most basic right in a democracy—the right to vote. An increased appreciation and awareness of this momentous struggle and the labor it required is crucial for a thorough understanding of the evolution of women's rights in the history of the United States.

History of the Early Suffrage Movement

The legal status of American women in the mid-19th century was defined by English common law, which was largely uncodified and based on custom and traditional court decisions.

According to the law, unmarried women were considered the property of their fathers, while married women belonged to their husbands. Neither group of women enjoyed many individual rights. Women could not vote, own land, make a will, sign a contract, serve on a jury, testify in court, or be sued. Even a woman's wages legally belonged to her husband or father. If her husband died without a will, a woman could inherit neither the house they lived in nor more than one-third of their mutual property. If she were widowed or divorced, she had no rights to her own children. What control a woman had over her own life was largely determined by the amount of influence she exerted over men and children through her role as nurturer and instiller of family values.

Despite their few legal or political rights, women found a powerful voice for addressing individual and societal grievances in their First Amendment right to petition the Government. Although many of the earliest of women's petitions to Congress are pension requests from the widows of Revolutionary War soldiers, by 1830 petitioning had become an important means for relating public grievances to the Government. Traveling door to door to collect signatures, many women joined the abolitionist movement in petitioning Congress for an end to the institution of slavery. The belief in equality that led women to champion the rights of slaves also led some women to question the denial of their own political rights. Women of the antislavery movement began laying the ideological foundations for the subsequent movement for women's equality. From their exposure to the tactics of the abolitionists, women learned valuable organizational and political skills, which would later benefit them in their drive for suffrage. The featured document, an appeal and petition from the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233, illustrates the increasing sophistication with which women voiced their cause.

The Roots of Suffrage

The roots of suffrage took hold when Lucretia Mott, an accomplished and confident abolitionist speaker, traveled to London in 1840 for the World Anti-Slavery Convention. Although male delegates denied her a voice at the international convention, Mott resolved to publicly confront the issue of women's rights in society. In 1848 Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a reform-minded woman with a clear memory of the cruel and unjust treatment of women in her father's courtroom, organized the first women's rights

convention at Seneca Falls, NY. The convention was the earliest organized effort for social equality for women.

The climactic event of the convention came when Stanton presented to the assembly the Declaration of Sentiments, modeled after the Declaration of Independence. She stated, "We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men and women are created equal," then listed 15 grievances and 12 resolutions, including demands for public speaking rights and increased educational opportunities for women. The delegates voted unanimously for every resolution except the ninth, the right to vote. Many of the women, including Mott, felt that the demand for "elective franchise" might be too controversial and prejudice their cause. Only when the famous black abolitionist Frederick Douglass spoke in favor of women's right to vote did the resolution finally pass. At the close of the convention, 68 female and 32 male delegates, among a curious crowd of almost 300 citizens who attended the meeting, signed the Declaration of Sentiments, which included a demand for the right to vote. Although mostly a local audience attended the meeting, word of the Seneca Falls convention and the women's movement began to spread. While the early movement received much ridicule and condemnation in the established press, reform-minded organizations such as the abolitionist movement were more sympathetic, and it was from these ranks that support continued to grow.

Many women around the country began discussing the issues of women's social and political rights. Lucy Stone, after graduating from Oberlin College in Ohio in 1847, began organizing and helping women to mobilize politically for the right to vote. When Stone married Henry Blackwell, she kept, against the custom of the day, her maiden name. Other women who followed suit became known as "Lucy Stoners." In 1850 Lucy Stone, by then an experienced and dynamic abolitionist lecturer, helped to organize the first national convention on women's rights in Worcester, MA.

Another momentous event in the history of women's rights occurred in 1851 when Elizabeth Cady Stanton befriended temperance reformer Susan B. Anthony. These two like-minded woman began a 50-year partnership to promote the cause of equal rights between the sexes. Working together, Stanton, Anthony, and Stone led the women's rights movement, using and honing their speaking, campaigning, and organizing skills in the process. All three women contributed their talents and energy both to the National Women's Rights Convention—which was held every year from 1850 to the Civil War, except in 1857 when funds were insufficient—and to the increasingly popular abolitionist movement.

Suffrage Derailed

The outbreak of the Civil War interrupted the momentum of the equal rights movement because many of the women reformers, mostly Northerners and abolitionists, dedicated their valuable time and efforts to helping the Union war effort. The enormous number of men going to fight in the war forced women to take over many traditionally male-dominated jobs. Beyond helping to feed and clothe the soldiers, women, for the first time, officially served as nurses for the U.S. Army and, in a few cases, even fought in the war. Experienced in nursing family members at home, women contributed vital medical skills to a deficient and previously male-dominated nursing corps. Stanton and most of the leaders of the women's rights movement believed that their hard work and loyalty to the Union during the war would be rewarded with the vote.

Even though many of the women's rights organizers anticipated that a grateful Congress would grant both women and freed blacks suffrage after the war, their expectations quickly faded. Surprisingly, they found that former advocates of woman suffrage shifted their support solely to obtaining rights for freed black men. A further setback came when the ratification of the 14th Amendment in 1868, which penalized states that prohibited black males from voting, resulted in the insertion of the word "male" into the Constitution for the first time. After lobbying to get women and blacks enfranchised together in the

proposed 15th Amendment, Stanton, Anthony, and their supporters vowed to campaign against any version of the amendment that denied women the vote. This insistence that the rights of women could not take second place to the rights of black men caused many former abolitionists, male and female, to side against them, producing a breech in the women's movement. In February 1869 the 15th Amendment to the Constitution was proposed, guaranteeing blacks, but not women, the right to vote.

The ideological and strategic differences that grew among suffrage leaders during and immediately after the Civil War formally split the women's movement into two rival associations. Stanton and Anthony, after accusing abolitionist and Republican supporters of emphasizing the civil rights of blacks at the expense of women's rights, formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in May 1869. Beyond campaigning for a Federal woman suffrage amendment, the NWSA broadened its platform to confront other issues such as the unionization of women workers and the reformation of labor and divorce law. In contrast, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), founded six months later by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, protested the confrontational tactics of the NWSA and tied itself closely to the Republican Party while concentrating solely on securing woman suffrage state by state. Stone and other members of the AWSA accused Stanton and Anthony of distracting attention from the suffrage movement by adopting a broader social reform agenda. Unlike the NWSA, Stone's association endorsed the 15th Amendment and accepted men into its ranks.

Although political differences between these rival associations faded over the next two decades, this split in the woman suffrage movement lasted until 1890, when the two merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association, a merger due in a large part to the efforts of Lucy Stone's daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell. Despite this reconciliation, 30 years would pass and three more constitutional amendments would be ratified before women gained the right to vote in 1920 with the 19th Amendment.

Teaching Activities

Close Reading of Document

1. Distribute a copy of the featured document to each student. After reading through the text with them, ask students the following questions: What kind of document is this? When do you think the document was created? What evidence in the text supports your conclusions about the date of the document? Who wrote the appeal for this petition? Where did the signers live? Did many men sign the petition?

Persuasive Writing

2. Share with students the background information on the suffrage movement. On the chalkboard, list the rights and privileges denied to women as mentioned in the appeal. Ask students to suggest reasons the author might have for mentioning these restrictions in a petition asking for the vote for women. Ask students to list in a second column rights and privileges they believe women are still denied today. Divide students into groups of three each. Assign each group to either defend or refute the following statement: Today women have equal rights that are guaranteed to them under the Constitution of the United States. After 15 minutes, record the strongest arguments for and against the statement on an overhead projector while students make copies of the arguments. For homework, assign students to write a well-developed persuasive paragraph on the topic. Remind students to anticipate and dismantle the opposing argument in their writing.

Comparing Citizens' Voices

3. Discuss with your students some of the differences in communication between 1869, when the appeal was created, and now. Ask students how they think Lucy Stone expected to distribute her petitions for people to sign freely and how many signers they think she could have expected to respond to this effort. In a show of hands, ask the students how many of them have signed a petition. Ask them what tactics people use today to influence the views of their senators and representatives. Direct the students to contact the local office of their

AN APPEAL.

TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICA.

DO WOMEN WISH TO VOTE? ARE MEN WILLING THEY SHOULD VOTE?

We are often told that, if women really wanted to vote, it would not be very long before they could do so. We give below a form of petition just sent out by the New England Woman's Suffrage Association. A similar one was issued by the American Equal Rights Association, at the anniversary in May last; subsequently, also, by the Washington Universal Franchise Association, and by Mrs. Stanton.

Thus early have these friends of equal human rights resorted to the one means at their command to secure justice for woman. If it be faithfully used, our object will be accomplished. It is probable that during the next session of Congress a law or constitutional amendment will be passed extending suffrage. If women are not included in this extension, it should be by no fault of theirs.

Let every woman who reads this article cut out the petition, attach it to a large sheet of paper, sign it, and get every man or woman to sign it who is not satisfied while women, idiots, felons and lunatics, and men guilty of bribery are the only classes excluded from the exercise of the right of suffrage.

Let the great army of working-women, who wish to secure a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, SIGN IT.

Let the widow, living on her "life-use" of the pitiful "thirds," and "allowed to remain forty days without paying rent in the house of her deceased husband," SIGN IT.

Let the wife, from whom the law takes the right to what she earns and the power to make a will without her husband's consent, SIGN IT.

Let the mother, who has no legal right to her own children, SIGN IT.

Let the young man, just gone out from the home where his best friend and counselor has been his mother, SIGN IT.

Let the father, whose little daughter looks trustingly to him for every good, SIGN IT.

Let the soldier, returned from battle sounder in health and stronger of limb because of the woman's hand who dressed his wounds and ministered to his wants in sickness, SIGN IT.

Let every man who regards his own right to the ballot as sacred SIGN IT.

And, when the longest possible list of names has been secured, let the petition be returned to Mary E. Gage, secretary of the American Equal Rights Association, care of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 89 Nassau street, New York.

We will join them in one long roll, and send them to brave Ben Wade, whom all the world knows as the avowed friend of Impartial Suffrage for women as well as men.

Then, if [illegible] a petition before them, presented by such a man, our senators and representatives can afford to place a ballot in the hands of the late rebels, and refuse it to the loyal mothers of this country, women can afford to wait until the American people learn that the path of justice is the only path of peace and safety.

LUCY STONE.

PETITION.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the United States pray your honorable bodies that in any proposed amendment to the Constitution which may come before you in regard to suffrage, and in any law affecting Suffrage in the District of Columbia, or any territory, the right of voting may be given to women on the same terms as to men.

Elizabeth B. Wing — N. C. Blomfield O.

[illegible]

Sirkina Foster

[illegible] Wing " " "

[illegible] " " "

[illegible] " " "

[illegible] " " "

[illegible] " " "

[illegible] " " "

[illegible] " " "

[illegible] " " "

[illegible] " " "

[illegible] " " "

Mary B. Wing " " "

Elizabeth Wilcox " "

Lucretia P. King N.H. " "

Chas. J. Smith " "

[illegible] " "

M. L. Savage " "

[illegible] " "

U.S. representative or senators to collect data about tactics contemporary constituents use to be heard. Students may want to inquire how the staff keeps track of telephone and e-mail inquiries to determine if paper petitions are considered more seriously.

Biographical Writing

4. Assign students to write an obituary or an epitaph for Lucy Stone, making sure to mention her greatest achievements and the most significant events in her life. In preparation for the writing, students should answer the following questions: What was unique about Lucy Stone's marriage to Henry Blackwell? What kind of education did Stone have? Who were some of the other famous women and men that she knew and worked with? (It may be helpful for students to read some obituaries and epitaphs to get an idea of the style and the types of information they include.)

Creating a Time Line

5. Assign small groups of students to research segments of the history of voting rights, including passage of the 14th, 19th, and 26th Amendments. Attach a long piece of butcher paper to one wall of the classroom, draw and divide a line into 10-year blocks, and direct students to place significant events in voting rights history on this time line. Lead a class discussion about the landmark events and the historical context for each of them.

Staging a Play

6. Divide the class into five teams. Ask each team to research, write, and stage one act of a television play about the events and personalities in the struggle for woman suffrage after the Civil War. The acts might focus on Susan B. Anthony's arrest in 1872; woman suffrage victories in the West; the work of Sojourner Truth, Mary Church Terrell, and the suffrage movement among black women; the great march on Washington, DC, led by Alice Paul in 1913; the picketing of the White House in 1917; the final vote on the 19th Amendment taken in the Senate on June 4, 1919; or the final battle for ratification of the amendment in the Nashville statehouse in August 1920. Schedule a media specialist to videotape the final production.

Glidden's Patent Application for Barbed Wire

Life in the American West was reshaped by a series of patents for a simple tool that helped ranchers tame the land: barbed wire. Nine patents for improvements to wire fencing were granted by the U.S. Patent Office to American inventors, beginning with Michael Kelly in November 1868 and ending with Joseph Glidden in November 1874. Barbed wire not only simplified the work of the rancher and farmer, but it significantly affected political, social, and economic practices throughout the region. The swift emergence of this highly effective tool as the favored fencing method influenced life in the region as dramatically as the rifle, six-shooter, telegraph, windmill, and locomotive.

Barbed wire was extensively adopted because it proved ideal for western conditions. Vast and undefined prairies and plains yielded to range management, farming, and ultimately, widespread settlement. As the use of barbed wire increased, wide open spaces became less wide, less open, and less spacious, and the days of the free roaming cowboy were numbered. Today, cowboy ballads remain as nostalgic reminders of life before barbed wire became an accepted symbol of control, transforming space to place and giving new meaning to private property.

Before the invention of barbed wire, the lack of effective fencing limited the range of farming and ranching practices, and with it, the number of people who could settle in an area. Wooden fences were costly and difficult to acquire on the prairie and plains, where few trees grew. Lumber was in such short supply in the region that farmers were forced to build houses of sod. Likewise, rocks for stone walls—commonly found in New England—were scarce on the plains. Shrubs and hedges, early substitutes for wood and rock fencing materials, took too long to grow to become of much use in the rapidly expanding West. Barbed wire was cheaper, easier, and quicker to use than any of these other alternatives.

Without fencing, livestock grazed freely, competing for fodder and water. Where working farms existed, most property was unfenced and open to foraging cattle and sheep. Once a year, cattle owners, unhindered by fenced property lines, led their herds on long cattle drives, eventually arriving at slaughter-houses located near urban railheads for shipping convenience. The appearance of barbed wire meant the end of both the open range and the freedom of the rancher and cowboy, an event lamented in the Cole Porter song "Don't Fence Me In."

Wire fences used before the invention of the barb consisted of only one strand of wire, which was constantly broken by the weight of cattle pressing against it. Michael Kelly made a significant improvement to wire fencing with an invention that "twisted two wires together to form a cable for barbs—the first of its kind in America," according to Henry D. and Frances T. McCallum, the authors of *The Wire That Fenced the West.* Known as the "thorny fence," Kelly's double-strand design made the fence stronger, and the painful barbs taught cattle to keep their distance.

Predictably, other inventors sought to improve upon Kelly's designs; among them was Joseph Glidden, a farmer from De Kalb, IL. In 1873 and 1874, patents were issued for various designs to strengthen Kelly's invention, but the recognized winner in this series of improvements was Glidden's simple wire barb locked onto a double-strand wire. Glidden's invention made barbed wire more effective not only because he described a method for locking the barbs in place, but also because he developed the machinery to

mass-produce the wire. His invention also survived court challenges from other inventors. Glidden's patent, prevailing in both litigation and sales, was soon known as "the winner." Today, it remains the most familiar style of barbed wire.

The widespread use of barbed wire changed life on the Great Plains dramatically and permanently. Land and water once open to all was fenced off by ranchers and homesteaders with predictable results. Cattlemen, increasingly cut off from what they regarded as common-use resources in such territories as Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming, first filed land-use petitions and then waged fierce range wars against the property-owning farmers. Gradually, there was a discernible shift in who controlled the land and thus wielded the superior power.

Living patterns of nomadic Native Americans were radically altered, as well. Further squeezed from lands they had always used, they began calling barbed wire "the Devil's rope." Fenced-off land meant that more and more cattle herders—regardless of race—were dependent on the dwindling public lands, which rapidly became overgrazed. The harsh winter of 1886, culminating in a big January 1887 blizzard, wreaked further havoc on the cattle market: Losses totaled more than $20 million in Wyoming alone. In effect, large-scale, open-range cattle enterprises disappeared.

While barbed wire symbolized the range wars and the end of widespread open grazing land for livestock in the American West, it also became a widely used commodity elsewhere, especially during land warfare. In early European history, pointed spears or palisades circumferentially surrounded many castles for protection. Barbed wire rapidly replaced these and other devices used to protect people and property from unwanted intrusion. Military usage of barbed wire formally dates to 1888, when British military manuals first encouraged its use.

During the Spanish American War, Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders chose to defend their camps with the help of barbed wire. In turn-of-the-century South Africa, five-strand fences were linked to blockhouses sheltering British troops from the encroachment of Boer commandos. During World War I, barbed wire was used as a military weapon. It was a formidable barrier along the front, stretching from Switzerland to the English Channel. Even now, barbed wire is widely used to protect and safeguard military installations and to establish territorial boundaries. It has also emerged as a commonly recognized instrument for prisoner confinement; the image of a corpse caught on the wires of a concentration camp fence has become the emblem of war's ravages. Today, barbed wire is often part of the containment wall of prisons all over the world.

Other less emotionally charged uses of barbed wire fencing exist in industry. Used on construction and storage sites and around warehouses, barbed wire protects supplies and persons and keeps out unwanted intruders. In any event, it has proved both highly useful and highly significant in altering traditional practices during both war and peace.

Glidden's patent, No. 157124, was issued November 24, 1874. The patent application and related papers are found in the Records of the Patent and Trademark Office, Record Group 241.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Divide students into pairs, and ask them to take turns "free-associating" or describing aloud any words or images they associate with barbed wire. Then ask them to discuss ways in which this object has become a symbol of the romance of the old West, war and destruction, and confinement.

2. Project a transparency of the patent drawing on an overhead projector, read the written description aloud, and then ask the students the following questions: For whom was the drawing intended? Why was it created? What is the inventor actually seeking to patent? What are the strengths of the invention? How well does the written description depict the

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

JOSEPH F. GLIDDEN, OF DE KALB, ILLINOIS.

IMPROVEMENT IN WIRE FENCES.

Specification forming part of Letters Patent No. 157,124, dated November 24, 1874; application filed October 27, 1873.

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, JOSEPH F. GLIDDEN, of De Kalb, in the county of De Kalb and State of Illinois, have invented a new and valuable Improvement in Wire Fences; and that the following is a full, clear, and exact description of the construction and operation of the same, reference being had to the accompanying drawings, in which—

Figure 1 represents a side view of a section of fence exhibiting my invention. Fig. 2 is a sectional view, and Fig. 3 is a perspective view, of the same.

This invention has relation to means for preventing cattle from breaking through wire fences; and it consists in combining, with the twisted fence-wires, a short transverse wire, coiled or bent at its central portion about one of the wire strands of the twist, with its free ends projecting in opposite directions, the other wire strand serving to bind the spur-wire firmly to its place, and in position, with its spur ends perpendicular to the direction of the fence-wire, lateral movement, as well as vibration, being prevented. It also consists in the construction and novel arrangement, in connection with such a twisted fence-wire, and its spur-wires, connected and arranged as above described, of a twisting-key or head-piece passing through the fence-post, carrying the ends of the fence-wires, and serving, when the spurs become loose, to tighten the twist of the wires, and thus render them rigid and firm in position.

In the accompanying drawings, the letter B designates the fence-posts, the twisted fence-wire connecting the same being indicated by the letter A. C represents the twisting-key, the shank of which passes through the fence-post, and is provided at its end with an eye, *b*, to which the fence-wire is attached. The outer end of said key is provided with a transverse thumb-piece, *c*, which serves for its manipulation, and at the same time, abutting against the post, forms a shoulder or stop, which prevents the contraction of the wire from drawing the key through its perforation in said post.

The fence-wire is composed at least of two strands, *a* and *z*, which are designed to be twisted together after the spur-wires have been arranged in place.

The letter D indicates the spur-wires. Each of these is formed of a short piece of wire, which is bent at its middle portion, as at E, around one only of the wire strands, this strand being designated by the letter *a*. In forming this middle bend or coil several turns are taken in the wire, so that it will extend along the strand-wire for a distance several times the breadth of its diameter, and thereby form a solid and substantial bearing-head for the spurs, which will effectually prevent them from vibrating laterally or being pushed down by cattle against the fence-wire. Although these spur-wires may be turned at once around the wire strand, it is preferred to form the central bend first, and to then slip them on the wire strand, arranging them at suitable distances apart. The spurs having thus been arranged on one of the wire strands are fixed in position and place by approaching the other wire strands *z* on the side of the bend from which the spurs extend, and then twisting the two strands *a z* together by means of the wire key above mentioned, or otherwise. This operation locks each spur-wire at its allotted place, and prevents it from moving therefrom in either direction. It clamps the bend of the spur-wire upon the wire *a*, thereby holding it against rotary vibration. Finally, the spur ends extending out between the strands on each side, and where the wires are more closely approximated in the twist, form shoulders or stops *s*, which effectually prevent such rotation in either direction.

Should the spurs, from the untwisting of the strands, become loose and easily movable on their bearings, a few turns of the twisting-key will make them firm, besides straightening up the fence-wire.

What I claim as my invention, and desire to secure by Letters Patent, is—

A twisted fence-wire having the transverse spur-wire D bent at its middle portion about one of the wire strands *a* of said fence-wire, and clamped in position and place by the other wire strand *z*, twisted upon its fellow, substantially as specified.

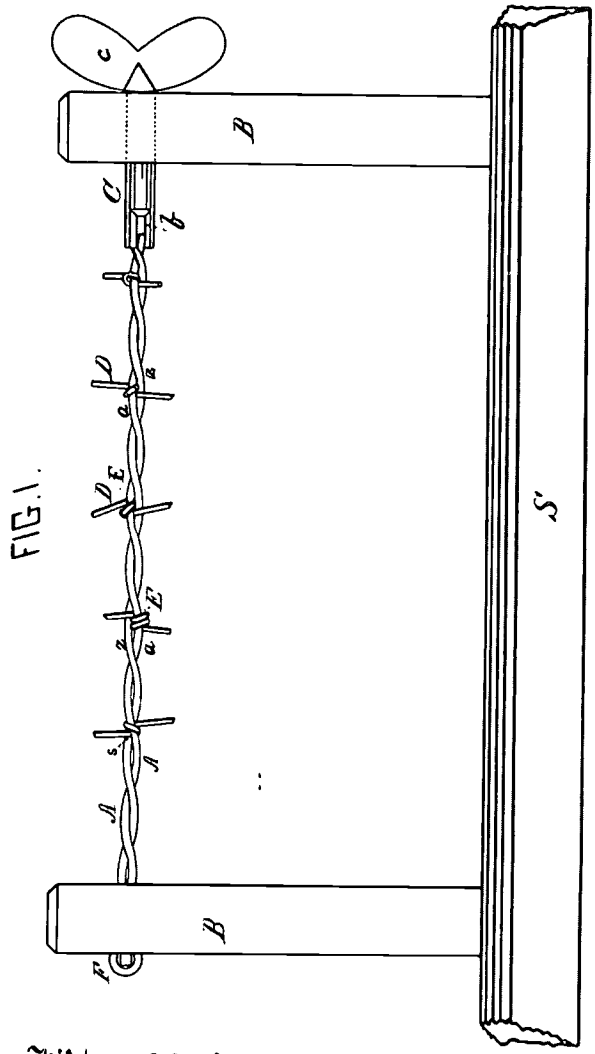
JOSEPH F. GLIDDEN.

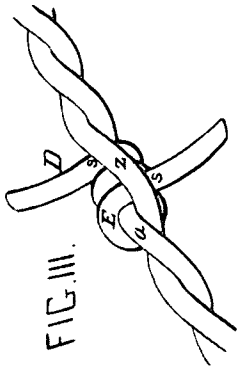
Witnesses:
G. L. CHAPIN,
J. H. ELLIOTT.

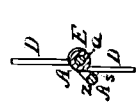
J. F. GLIDDEN.

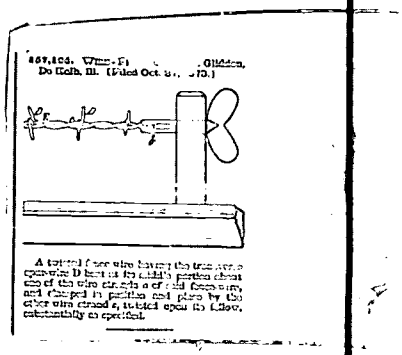
Wire-Fences.

No. 157,124. Patented Nov. 24, 1874.









Witnesses:

J. W. Ellis

G. G. Bellows

Inventor:

Joseph F. Glidden,

By G. D. Chapin,

Atty.

physical design and intended use? What aspects of the description need enhancement?

3. Ask students to consider what skills were required for the inventor to design these improvements to wire and what skills were required to manufacture, market, and sell the product. Ask the students to connect these skills to professions and technical fields, and list them on the chalkboard. As an optional follow-up, ask some students to create advertisements for barbed wire. Help them locate a reproduction copy of a 19th-century Sears Roebuck catalog. Project copies of student designs and pages from the catalog that advertise barbed wire on an overhead projector, and ask the class to compare the two sets of designs.

Writing and Defining a Position

4. Divide the class into four groups, and instruct each group to research and prepare a position on the invention as follows: first group, cowboys or herders; second, farmers; third, Native Americans; and fourth, wire manufacturers. Convene a community meeting to discuss the various viewpoints of each group regarding the safety, privacy, and other issues related to the invention.

Comparing Written and Visual Descriptions

5. Ask students to write a description of an improvement for an object they use regularly in the classroom, such as a pencil sharpener, chalkboard, or desk. Pair the students, and instruct them to take turns reading the description aloud to their partners, who must draw their impressions of what the object looks like. Ask them to assess the accuracy of the results and to explore reasons why the visual and verbal descriptions matched or failed to match. Then discuss with the class why the patent office requires both written and visual descriptions of patent applications.

Relating Personal Experiences

6. Collecting barbed wire is a popular hobby. The Barbed Wire Museum in Canyon, TX, has over 200 specimens of barbed wire in its collection. Ask your students what their encounters with barbed wire have been. Also ask them how they would account for the continued fascination with barbed wire.

Creative Interpretation

7. Locate the words and a recording of Cole Porter's song "Don't Fence Me In." Ask the class to identify the point of view of the singer as you project the words from a transparency and play the recording. Ask students to translate the images raised by the songwriter in another medium, such as a drawing, pantomime, poem, or dance. Encourage some students to take another viewpoint related to the changes produced by barbed wire and to express those feelings in an appropriate medium.

Further Research Activity

8. Ask for volunteers to research other inventions or improvements to inventions that significantly influenced the changing landscape of the American West, such as the rifle, six-shooter, telegraph, windmill, and locomotive. Arrange for these students to conduct a panel discussion for the class on the effects of these improvements on life in the West.

Native American Education

In February 1876 Reverend George Ainslie, Presbyterian missionary to the Nez Percés, wrote a letter to Professor F.V. Hayden, renowned leader of explorations in the West and Southwest, requesting Government assistance in providing copies of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostle's Creed in all the Indian languages. That letter is featured in this article.

Viewed from the context of Supreme Court decisions since the 1940s, this request is a clear breach of the First Amendment principle of separation of church and state. At the time the letter was written, however, the U.S. Government and church-sponsored missionary boards were joined in a partnership for the "civilizing" of Native Americans. Since colonial times, the missionary responsibility to convert and moralize Native Americans with government support was a clear and accepted policy of both church and government. Missionary programs were interrupted by the Revolutionary War and again by the Civil War, but from the close of the Revolution, past the turn of the century, and throughout most of the 19th century, missionary developments expanded and gained support and power. At no time was the program stronger than during President Ulysses Grant's administration, when a full partnership between the Government and the missions was set forth under the Peace Policy of 1868. Grant, however, strongly opposed public funds for sectarian schools and supported the Blaine amendment prohibiting the teaching of religion in public schools.

Grant's Peace Policy was established following a congressional investigation into the state of Indian affairs. The objectives of the policy, according to historian Pierce Beaver, were "the pacification of the Indians through just and fair dealing, the appointment of able and honest Indian agents devoted to Indian improvement and nominated by the religious societies, settlement of the tribes on reservations and within Indian Territory as far as possible, fostering their progress in 'civilization' through education, and thus neutralizing them as an obstacle to white settlement of the western country." Grant's ultimate goal was citizenship for the Indians.

The establishment and maintenance of schools were an important part of the efforts to "civilize" the Indians. Generally, public education has been a state-controlled institution, but a principal exception was the education of reservation Indians who were "wards of the Government" rather than citizens. Schools, therefore, along with other Indian affairs, fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, the agency Reverend Ainslie appeals to in his letter.

Though the Constitution gives control of Indian affairs to Congress, the administration of those affairs has been delegated to the President by legislation that divided Indian territory into two districts, each with a superintendent who reported to the Secretary of War. Later, as Indian affairs became more complex, other provisions allowed the President to appoint agents, promote civilization, and secure friendship. Legislation of 1818 defined the procedure by which superintendents and agents were to be nominated by the President and appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate. In the meantime, the Department of the Interior, which was created in 1849, assumed responsibility for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, whereby the bureau passed from military to civilian control. The argument for the transfer was expressed by Secretary of the Treasury Robert Walker in his annual report to Congress:

> The duties now performed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are most numerous and important, and must be vastly increased with the great number of tribes scattered over Texas, Oregon, New Mexico, and California, and with the interesting progress of so many of the tribes in Christianity, knowledge, and civilization. The duties do not necessarily appertain to war, but to peace, and to our domestic relations with those tribes placed by the Constitution under the charge of this Government.

Except for a short period when Army officers served as agents, Indian agencies have been served by appointees from civilian life. Indian agents were notorious for cheating Indians, diverting goods and appropriations for their own advancement. Representative James A. Garfield described the problem in 1869 as follows: "No branch of the national government is so spotted with fraud, so tainted with corruption, so utterly unworthy of a free and enlightened government, as this Indian Bureau."

In an attempt to improve the appointments during Grant's administration, links between religious denominations and the Government strengthened. Agents were selected upon the recommendation of religious denominations with a certain number of agencies being assigned to each denomination. According to a special report issued by the Bureau of Education in 1888, "The intent of this distribution of agencies was to enlist the active sympathy of the several religious organizations in the Indian work, and to obtain men specially qualified by disposition and character for the peculiar service desired."

Reports from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during this time include tables of statistics with such categories as numbers of schools, scholars, and teachers; denomination in charge of schools; amount contributed by religious society; and numbers of missionaries, school buildings, church buildings, Indians brought immediately under the civilizing influence of the agency, and Indians who have learned to read. The schools included day schools and boarding schools in Indian country and boarding schools in communities outside the Indian reservations. The general policy of the Government schools was to teach Indian children to speak, read, and write the English language and to instruct them in arithmetic, geography, U.S. history, farming and trades for the boys, and housekeeping for the girls. In addition, religious training was required.

Education and religious training were fostered by funds from the Native Americans themselves, from church funds, and from Government appropriations. The major church-related missions were the American Missionary Association (Congregational), which was the first national foreign missionary society, as well as Catholic, Presbyterian, Friends, Protestant Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, Moravian, Reformed Dutch, Christian, Lutheran, and Unitarian. Reports of the operations of the Government and missionary societies under the Indian peace policy describe the "civilizing" progress in terms of literary accomplishments, church attendance, "citizens' dress," house accommodations, and extent of farming and stock raising. The Cherokees were the most successful farmers and stockraisers. All of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes—the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles—established a republican government, set up school systems, and made rapid progress in literacy and agriculture, thus proving to most leaders of the time that Indians could be conditioned to "live as white men." It was also commonly believed that civilization followed conversion to Christianity.

Overt control of agent appointments by missionary societies ended when Secretary of the Interior H.M. Teller under President Chester Arthur excluded mission boards from administering the agencies. Secretary Teller announced in 1882 that he would not consult the religious organizations because "I know no reason why government officials should be selected for one class of government employment by religious bodies and not by all."

Rochester Minnesota
Feb. 29th 1876

Prof. F. V. Hayden

Dear Sir

Inclosed you will find the Lord's Prayer in Dez Peres and one of their Hymns interlined as you desired. I will also mail to you a copy of Catechism.

I expect to receive the Proof Sheets of the Gospel of John. When the work is ready I will send you a copy.

I have written to James Reuben, asking him to write a History of his tribe and giving him an outline for an Introduction and fourteen Chapters comprising everything of interest in regard to their History - Habits - Civilization Language &c. If he consents to write - When I get his MS. I will rewrite and forward to you. I am confident he will write an interesting history.

It would make an interesting Vol. to have the Lord's Prayer - the Ten Commandments and the Apostle's Creed in <u>all the Indian Languages</u>. Why may we not aim at this? I can collect a considerable number. Perhaps the Department of the Interior could make provision for a thorough collection.

Very Truly Yours
Geo. Ainslie

By 1889 a majority of the schools were controlled and operated by the Indian Bureau. Only four boarding schools remained by contract in the hands of religious societies, although they received Government assistance in the form of supplies and clothing. A contract school was one wherein the Government paid a stated sum for each pupil, and the religious society provided the teachers, the building, and other expenses. Gradually the church-state partnership decreased in the administration of Indian education, but some entanglements of tribal funding and mission land and buildings persisted. Although Commissioner of Indian Affairs Gen. Thomas J. Morgan was himself a Baptist minister, he promoted a comprehensive, compulsory, nonsectarian education program conforming to the laws of the several States in his 1889 annual report. It was not until the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, however, that the Government policy was dramatically changed, returning control to tribal governments and ending compulsory attendance of Indian children at Christian classes and worship services.

It is not surprising that in 1876 Rev. George Ainslie believed that the Department of the Interior would be amenable to translating religious literature into various Indian languages. His request is addressed to geologist Ferdinand V. Hayden, who led several significant expeditions to the Dakota Badlands, Yellowstone, and Colorado's Mesa Verde as a scientist for the U.S. Geological Survey.

In his letter, Ainslie mentions James Reuben, a Nez Percé youth, who according to Ainslie was "quite gifted and master of English to a remarkable degree" and a good candidate for writing a history of his tribe. He also mentions several religious writings that he and fellow missionary Henry S. Spalding translated into the Nez Percé language. Ainslie was a student of the Nez Percé language and wrote a grammar for it.

The original Ainslie letter is located in the Records of the U.S. Geological Survey, Record Group 57, Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories (Hayden Survey), Letters Received 1867–1879, vol. A–B.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Ask students to read the document closely and answer the following questions:
   a. Who wrote the letter?
   b. To whom was the letter written?
   c. When was the letter written?
   d. Why, according to the author, was the letter written?
   e. What is the tone of the letter?
   f. What request does the author make?
   g. Given Supreme Court decisions since 1948, how is his request a breach of the First Amendment separation of church and state?
   h. Why do you suppose the author expects the Department of Interior to accommodate his request?

Lead a class discussion of the student responses.

Analysis of Grant's Peace Policy

2. Using the information in the article and other research sources, students should answer these questions:
   a. What was the purpose of the policy?
   b. How did it work?
   c. How was it a violation of the separation of church and state?
   d. Why was it enacted?
   e. What were its accomplishments and its failures?
   f. How did it conflict with Grant's policy for common schools?

Map Work

3. Ask students to mark the location of the various Indian reservations on a blank map of the United States. Instruct them to plot the missions that conducted schools on the reservations. Ask students to present oral reports on the history of Indian mission schools and Government support. Assign segments of time to several students to cover the developments by the colonial companies in Virginia and New England, by Secretary of War Henry Knox and President James Monroe after the Revolution, by the Five Civilized Tribes, by Presidents Grant and Rutherford Hayes after the Civil War, by the Dawes Act of 1887, and by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

Storytelling

4. Ask students to study the personality and events in the lives of F.V. Hayden, U.S. Grant, Chief Joseph, Jeremiah Evarts, and T.J. Morgan. In a role-playing exercise, students should assume the personality of each man and tell the story of the Indians, education, and the Federal Government from his viewpoint.

Position Paper

5. Assign students to write a position paper in response to the following question: Had Native Americans been given a reasonable amount of land and adequate subsidies and allowed to maintain their way of life, might they have accepted the reservation policy and ceased hostility?

Research Options

6. For further research, students might examine these related topics: the plight of the Nez Percés, the friction between church and Government over the removal of the Cherokees, Native American cultural history, Native American religion, the Constitution and the Indians, Indian citizenship, the Blaine amendment to prohibit teaching of religion in public schools and using public funds for sectarian schools, the Hampton and Carlisle Indian Schools, the Protestant-Roman Catholic conflict over Indian schools, and major church-state issues that are currently affecting public and private schools.

Alexander Graham Bell's Telephone Patent

On his 29th birthday, Alexander Graham Bell's patent application for the telephone was formally received and approved by the United States Patent Office. Four days later, on March 7, 1876, U.S. Patent No. 174,465 for the telephone, one of the most valuable patents ever issued, was granted to Bell. Both the drawing, which is included in this article, and the written application are located in the Records of the Patent and Trademark Office, Record Group 241.

Bell's family history is a part of the story of his invention of the telephone. Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on March 3, 1847, he was a third-generation elocutionist and speech therapist. Aleck (as he was called by his family) was influenced by both his grandfather Alexander Bell, an expert on elocution and drama, and his father Alexander Melville Bell, the inventor of a renowned system of writing down speech symbols called Visible Speech (the model for the method used by Professor Higgins to improve Eliza's speech in George Bernard Shaw's play *Pygmalion*. Following graduation from the Royal High School in Edinburgh at the age of 14, Aleck lived in London for a year with his grandfather. Under his grandfather's influence, he abandoned his dream of becoming a pianist in favor of a career in speech, "the turning point in my whole life," according to Bell. A working association with his father led him to use Visible Speech techniques to teach speech to the deaf, the occupation Bell most closely identified himself with throughout his lifetime. Bell outpaced both father and grandfather with his own accomplishments, however, and earned the distinction he longed for from age 11 when he added Graham to his name in an effort to distinguish himself from his namesakes.

Bell and his parents sailed to America in 1870 after tuberculosis claimed the lives of his two brothers and illness was threatening his own health. They settled in Ontario, Canada, for a two-year trial but never returned to live in Great Britain. Interest in teaching Visible Speech to the deaf brought Bell to Boston in 1871 to teach at the School of the Deaf (later the Horace Mann School). The development of the telephone was a direct result of his deep personal interest in helping deaf students. This work was recognized by his friend and student Helen Keller when she dedicated her autobiography, *The Story of My Life*, "to Alexander Graham Bell who taught the deaf to speak." No doubt the deafness of both his mother and his wife, Mabel, increased his commitment to alleviating communication problems faced by the deaf.

Although Bell's talents and skills with musical and vocal sounds were necessary for developing the telephone, he lacked the knowledge of electricity essential for translating his theory of the electric-speaking telephone into a working model. He solved this problem in 1874 when he discovered Thomas A. Watson in a Boston electrical workshop. Watson, a bright young electrician, became Bell's dedicated assistant and is immortalized in the now famous, though disputed, first words spoken over the telephone, "Mr. Watson, come here; I want to see you!"

Inventions and Patents

The art of inventing requires a special set of talents, interest, temperament, and environment. According to the biographer Robert V. Bruce, Bell was born with the talents and temperament,

his upbringing gave him the interest, and chance brought him to Boston where he encountered the intellectual, technical, and economic environment that made the invention of the telephone possible. It was the Federal Government, however, that provided the legal environment to protect Bell's invention and ensure that the invention was understood by all parties concerned, such as manufacturers, patent agents, and other inventors. Through power granted by the Constitution, Congress set up the patent process that resulted in the issuance of 30 patents associated with Bell and protected his most lucrative and contested invention, the telephone.

The Role of the Federal Government

Article I, section 8, of the Constitution grants Congress the power "To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries"—that is, to issue copyrights and patents. To establish a process for such activity, Congress passed the first patent legislation in 1790, which guaranteed certain rights to inventors and granted the authority to issue patents to the executive branch. As a result, the U.S. Patent Office was established to review, approve, and register applications for patents. Applications consist of a written description called a specification, a drawing, and until 1880, a model of the invention. During the years between the Civil War and the end of the 19th century, the U.S. Patent Office granted more than half a million patents, including those for Bell's telephone, George Eastman's camera, and Thomas Edison's electric lightbulb. In the words of writer Alistair Cooke, it was "the heyday of the Ingenious American."

Success of the Telephone

The Centennial Exposition, held in Philadelphia in 1876, was organized to celebrate the first 100 years since the signing of the Declaration of Independence and featured examples of the technological progress of the era. Among the scientists demonstrating their inventions at the exposition was A. Graham Bell, who received a centennial award for the telephone. Although his invention received the highest praise from the chairman of the judges, Sir William Thomson, a notable scientist responsible for the first successful transatlantic cable, it was not until later that the scientific community saw the commercial possibilities of Bell's invention. Until World War I, the telegram continued to be the most widely used means of quick communication. Since then, the telephone has become so essential in our lives that Marshall McLuhan was moved to describe its history in these words: "The telephone began as a novelty, became a necessity and is regarded as an absolute right."

Teaching Activities

Choose or adapt from the following suggestions activities based on Bell's patent drawing of the telephone. The activities are arranged by topic or discipline, not by grade level or ability.

Introduction

1. Make a transparency of the document. Display it for the class, and ask the students the following questions: What do you think this is? Is there anything familiar on this document? What is the date of this document? Whose names appear on this document?

Then ask them to find out all they can about the document before the next class day.

Government

2. Discuss with your students the purposes and procedures for securing a patent. Ask them to find the authority for granting patents in a copy of the Constitution.

History

3. Assign students to find all they can about Alexander Graham Bell and the invention of the telephone, or tell them the story as recorded in the accompanying note to the teacher. Ask the students to tell the story of Bell and his invention using the relay method, whereby you or a student begins the story, then pass it on to the next person, and so on until the story is completed.

2 Sheets—Sheet 2.

A. G. BELL.

TELEGRAPHY.

No. 174,465. Patented March 7, 1876.

Fig 6.

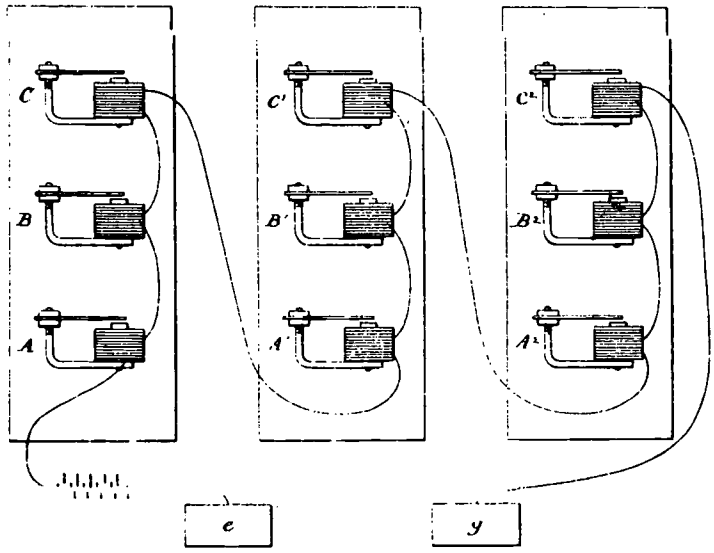
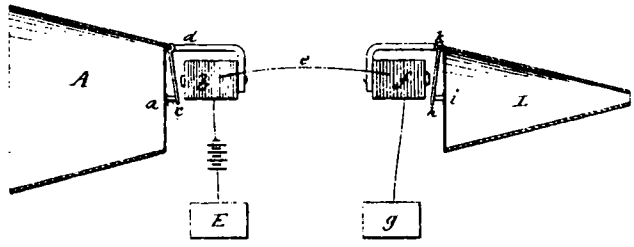


Fig. 7



Witnesses

Ewell & Sick

N. J. Hutchinson

Inventor

A. Graham Bell

by atty Pollok & Bailey

Science

4. Record on the chalkboard objects that operate by electricity as the students list them orally. With the help of a science teacher or a visiting electrician, ask students to construct a model of an electrical circuit. Display Bell's patent drawing and ask the students to compare their circuits with the drawing.

Writing

5. Ask students to design a new product to benefit industry in the United States and then write an application for a patent keeping in mind that a patent application requires a certified declaration of a new and useful improvement with reasons why the product should be manufactured, a written description of the invention, a drawing of the invention, and until 1880, a model of the invention.

Vocabulary

6. Write the two Greek words "tele," meaning afar, and "phone," meaning voice, on the chalkboard. Ask students to write as many words as they can think of that use one or the other of these Greek words. Use the list as a spelling and vocabulary quiz.

Social change

7. Ask students to imagine that they are transported back in time and space to the United States in 1876. Using the jigsaw method of group activity, divide the students into five groups. With each group concentrating on a different category—such as modes of travel, roads and bridges, means of communication, common household items, and types of work—ask them to describe what sort of world they see around them. Reassemble the groups so that the new groups contain at least one person from each of the original five. Ask all the students to report their descriptions in their reorganized group. Then, as a class, discuss how the telephone and its sister inventions have changed the way we live since 1876, revolutionizing communications, industry, and society itself. Remind your students that the late 19th century was an age of letter writing, when the telegraph was the swiftest means of communication, and intrusions such as wiretapping, telephone solicitations, and crank telephone calls were unforeseen nuisances. Consider also the dramatic changes the invention meant for women, moving thousands from the kitchen stove to the switchboard.

Mapping a Mystery: The Battle of Little Bighorn

The Battle of Little Bighorn is a study in contrasts. In the East, reports of the defeat vied in newspaper headlines with hoopla about the celebration of the Nation's centennial. A great Indian victory ultimately led to Indian subjugation. Cavalry commanders who saved their troops were disciplined rather than commended. "Custer's Last Stand" is one of the best-recognized episodes in American history, yet very little is known about the events of that hot summer day. What was a minor episode in military history has become an enduring topic of study and debate.

In terms of documentation and verification, Little Bighorn presents a complex challenge to the historian. The salient difficulty is that neither Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer nor a single man of the five companies under his command lived to tell his story of the day. Reliable accounts of the 7th Cavalry's actions end at a point four miles from Last Stand Hill where Capt. Frederick W. Benteen was ordered to scout bluffs to the south of Custer's advance and Maj. Marcus A. Reno was ordered west across the river to attack an Indian encampment. From official reports filed immediately following the battle and in testimony recorded some months later at the court of inquiry that absolved Major Reno of misconduct, the modern researcher can get a good grasp of what happened at the Reno-Benteen entrenchment. However, this information sheds little light on the events of the late afternoon of June 25, 1876, that resulted in the massacre of Custer's contingent. Even though Reno and other witnesses heard shots to the north, their view was obscured by dust, trees, bluffs, and distance. They did not know of their comrades' fates until relieved on June 26 by troops led by Gen. Alfred H. Terry and Col. John Gibbons.

General Terry attempted immediately to reconstruct onsite the events that had led to the debacle, but the investigation was hasty because he feared renewed Indian attack and getting wounded survivors to medical stations was urgent. On the afternoon of the 26th and part of the 27th, Lt. Edward MacGuire of the Corps of Engineers and his assistant, Sgt. Charles Becker, sketched the battle site. They took compass bearings to construct a plat, made stick measurements of the locale by walking over much of the 10,000 acres of the battlefield, and recorded distances with an odometer cart. The dead were located and identified, when possible, by burial parties and MacGuire included some of this information on his map. Other evidence collected was less absolute. Because Reno and Benteen's men had left their positions when rescued, MacGuire interviewed them to determine their placement and movements during the engagement. When they observed Terry's column, the Indians left, breaking up their camp and removing most of their dead. MacGuire studied lodge pole holes and hearths to reconstruct the Indian encampment, and hoofprints, crushed grass, and artifacts to figure out their movements. It was as good a map as could be made under the circumstances, but MacGuire knew it was not fully accurate, as he testified at the Reno inquiry. "This map, except with regard to the relative position of points is a survey made with transit and chain," he admitted.

It is important to recall that there were surviving eyewitnesses to the swirl of action on Last Stand Hill—the Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. As they surrendered or were captured and placed on reservations, government officials interviewed them. Their accounts trickled in beginning in August 1876. Understandably, many were reluctant to provide details of their roles. Sioux warrior Red Horse said, "I don't like to talk about that fight. If I hear any of my people talking

about it, I always move away." Most Indian accounts were relayed in sign language, interpreted by translators, and summarized by reporting agents. Through this process, the Indian accounts were filtered by the white man. In spite of his reluctance, on February 27, 1877, at the Post Cheyenne Agency, Red Horse gave one of the most detailed reports of the Indian side of the battle, which was subsequently included in a report by Col. W.H. Wood. Five years later, at the request of surgeon Charles McChesney, Red Horse also drew a series of pictographs of the battle.

A report filed by Lt. W.P. Clark, 2d Cavalry, was incorporated into an assessment of the battle by his commander and was forwarded to the headquarters of the Military Division of the Missouri in Chicago. Clark had collected information from Indian witnesses to the battle with the help of interpreters and had obtained an Indian sketch of the site. Clark's commander was not convinced of the reliability of Indian information and warned headquarters that "the narrative of the Indians should be received with a considerable degree of allowance and some doubt, as Indians generally make their descriptions to conform to what they think are the wishes of those who interview them." He was skeptical of the map, too, and wrote: "General features of the enclosed topographical sketch of Custer's battlefield are correct, but I doubt if the Indian who made it was in the fight as he puts the main attack on Custer's party upon the wrong [side?] of the ridge." After the report was received in Chicago, Capt. Garrett J. Lydecker of the Engineers was ordered to trace the Indian map. His tracing was attached to the report and sent on to the Adjutant General's Office, which received both items on November 6, 1877. Lydecker's tracing of the Indian's map, however imperfect, names the remnants of tribes resisting enclosure on the reservation, including Blackfeet, Cheyenne, and seven tribes of the Sioux Nation, and provides additional information about the conduct of the battle. For that reason, it is the featured document in this article.

The MacGuire map, Lydecker tracing, official Army reports, telegrams, court testimony, and newspaper articles based on official information are all part of the National Archives collection of material related to the Sioux Wars. Although contemporary with the event, they are not particularly objective, verifiable, or complete; the historian cannot definitively recreate the Battle of Little Bighorn. A prairie fire in 1983 enabled the National Park Service to conduct the first major scientific excavation of the site. The general outlines of contemporary reports were confirmed by the thousands of artifacts uncovered and ballistic studies of spent bullets and cartridges. Still, the specifics of this event, like many in history, continue to elude us.

The Lydecker sketch is kept in the Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's–1917, Record Group 94, Miscellaneous File, #53½. It is a black ink tracing, measuring 11⅝ by 13⅜ inches, with Indian movements noted in red, soldiers' in blue. Additional information can be found in National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, roll 273 (reports filed by the expeditionary force) and M592, rolls 1 and 2 (the Reno Court of Inquiry).

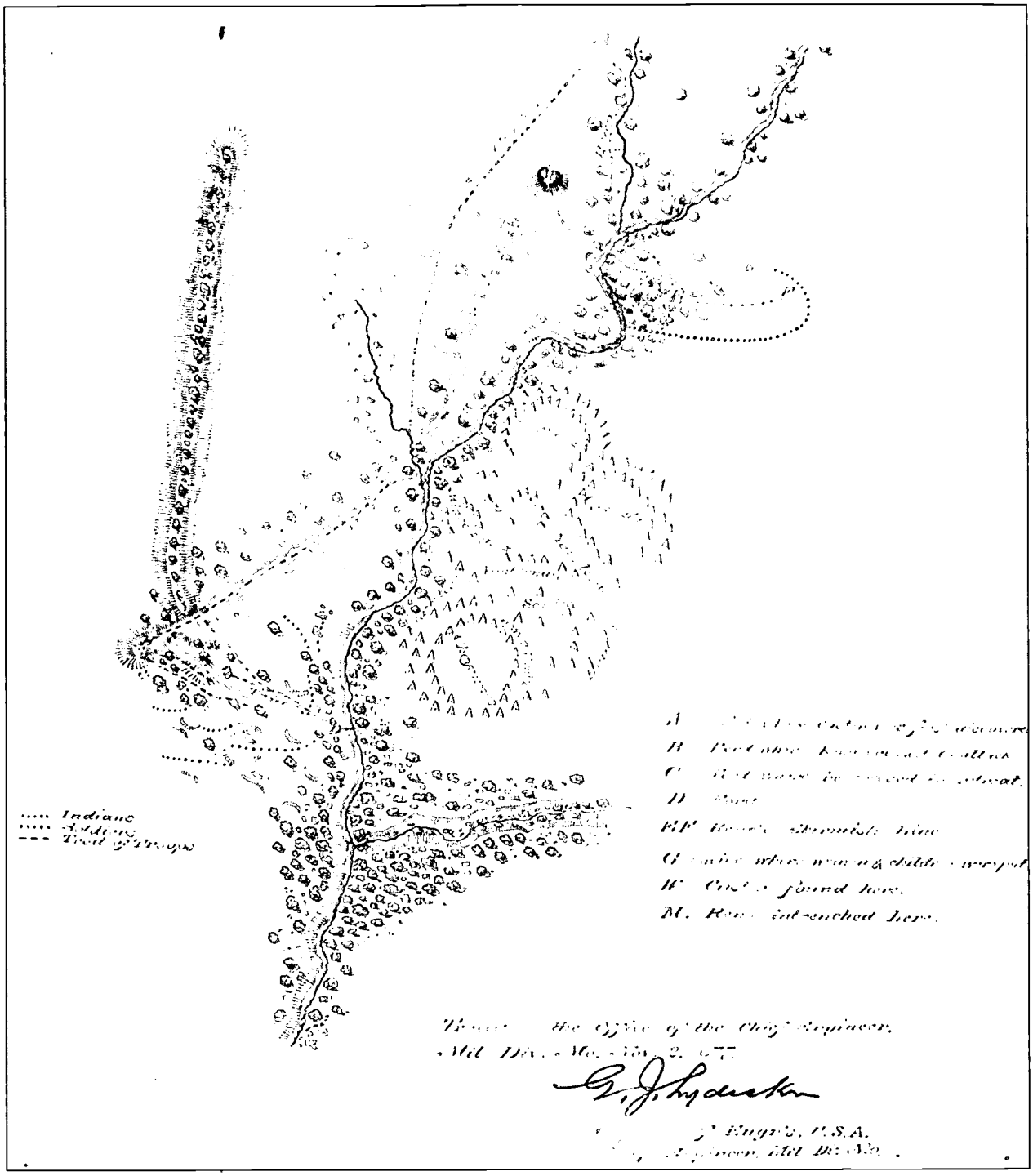
Teaching Activities

Map Analysis

1. Ask students to review their textbooks' account of the Battle of Little Bighorn or a general article in another reference book. Duplicate and distribute a copy of the map and the following map worksheet to each student. Use the Map Analysis Worksheet with your students to analyze the map.

Mapping Activity

2. Divide the class into small groups of two or three students each. Ask each group to make a map of an event that occurred in their school or neighborhood during the past year. The map should be accurate spatially and include standard aids to the map reader such as scale, orientation, and key. It should be based on research and interviews—the memory of the group members requires additional verification—and these should be listed in a bibliography attached to the map. Subjects for this activity might include:



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MAP ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Type of map (check one):

___ Raised relief map
___ Political map
___ Natural resource map
___ Bird's-eye view
___ Satellite photograph/mosaic
___ Weather map
___ Topographic
___ Contour-line map
___ Military map
___ Artifact map
___ Pictograph
___ Other (_____)

2. Physical qualities of the map (check one or more):

___ Compass
___ Date
___ Scale
___ Title
___ Legend (key)
___ Handwritten
___ Notations
___ Name of mapmaker
___ Other (_____)

3. Date of map:_____

4. Creator of map:_____

5. Where was the map produced?_____

6. Map information

A. List three things included on the map that you think are important.

1._____
2._____
3._____

B. Why do you think this map was drawn?

_____
_____

C. What evidence in the map suggests why it was drawn?

_____
_____

D. What information does the map add to the textbook's account of this event?

_____
_____

E. Does the information in this map support or contradict information you have read about this event? Explain.

_____
_____

F. Write a question to the mapmaker that is left unanswered by this map.

_____
_____

- The first series of downs at the first home football game of the past season
- The order and progress of the homecoming parade
- The arrangement of tables and entertainment at a prom including location of refreshments, chaperones, and the movements of the prom queen and her escort
- The arrangement of graduation ceremonies, a flow pattern of the procession, and an indication of speakers, faculty, valedictorian, and guests.

Further Research

3. You may wish to instruct students to examine other maps and read additional primary and secondary accounts of the Battle of Little Bighorn, then write a paragraph with their own evaluations of the accuracy of the Lydecker map. Secondary resources might include:

Capps, Benjamin. *The Indians*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1973.

Graham, Col. W.A. *The Custer Myth*. 1953. Reprint. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1986.

Jordan, Robert P. "Ghosts on the Little Bighorn." *National Geographic* 170, no. 6 (December 1986): 787.

Stewart, Edgar I. *Custer's Luck*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.

U.S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service. *Custer Battlefield*. Washington, DC, 1987.

Utley, Robert. *Cavalier in Buckskin*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Little House in the Census: Almanzo and Laura Ingalls Wilder

Every 10 years since 1790, the U.S. Government has taken a census to enumerate the population so as to apportion seats in the House of Representatives. Census enumerators canvass their districts house-to-house, collecting information about individuals and households on large forms called population schedules.

In each decennial census, Americans from the famous to the unsung and the infamous appear, including favorite figures of literature. Laura Ingalls, Almanzo Wilder, and their families of the popular *Little House on the Prairie* series were not merely characters of book and television. They were real people who appeared in the census many times, including those of 1880 in the Dakota Territory and 1900 in Missouri.

The information briefly tallied in the census reports gives us glimpses of the drama so richly and lovingly expanded upon by Laura Ingalls Wilder in her tales. For example, in the 1880 census, the records show that Mary was blind, but provided "help in keeping house." Enumerators in that census were instructed not to make such a note unless a daughter contributed substantially to the welfare of the household.

Thus, an imaginative researcher can surmise that Mary lived a productive life despite her blindness. One can confirm this hypothesis by reading the *Little House* books, learning that Mary attended and graduated from the Iowa School of the Blind.

The census sheets shown are two pages of the hundreds of thousands of pages in the custody of the National Archives. The National Archives holds original enumeration schedules from 1790 to 1870 and microfilm copies of the 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920 schedules. The microfilm copies of all these schedules are available to researchers. Most of the 1890 census was destroyed by fire in 1921, but microfilm of surviving fragments is also open for examination. To protect the privacy of people enumerated during a census, the records are closed to research for 72 years. The release date for the 1930 census will be 2002. The schedules are part of the Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29.

The Ingalls and Wilder families can be found in the 1880 census of the Dakota Territory, Kingsburg County, T9, roll 113, enumeration district 87, supervisor's district 15, pages 146a and 147c. In the 1900 census the married couple, Laura and Almanzo, appears in the schedule of Missouri, Wright County, T623, roll 908, enumeration district 152, supervisor's district 8, page 226a.

Census records for many states are incomplete. Before 1830, often only the number of persons in an enumeration district was forwarded to Washington, DC. Schedules from 1790 through 1840 give names of the heads of households only; other family members and slaves are tallied by age and sex. With each succeeding census, additional information was gathered, as can be seen in the examples from 1880 and 1900.

The National Archives has microfilmed all the available census schedules and the indexes to them, and positive microfilm copies are available

Page No. 1 — Supervisor's Dist. No. 15 Dak — Enumerator's Dist. No. 87

Note A.—The Census Year begins June 1, 1879, and ends May 31, 1880.
Note B.—All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June, 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.
Note C.—Questions Nos. 10, 14, 22 and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in De Smet, in the County of Kingsbury, for State of Dakota, enumerated by me on the 7th day of June, 1880.

Geo H Carroll, Enumerator.

1	1	Carroll, John H.	W	M	3					Clerk District Court							Pennsylvania	England	England
		Lora R.	W	F	25			Wife		Keeping house							Michigan	Vermont	N.Y.
		— Louis B.	W	M	1	Feb		Son		At home							Minnesota	Pa.	Penn
		Jones Ellen J.	W	F	35			Sister-in-law		Teacher							Michigan	Ohio	N.Y.
	2	2	Brindle, George	W	M	24				Druggist							Wisconsin	Pa.	
			Hilton C.	W	F	22		Wife		Keeping house							Wisconsin	Pa.	Ohio
			Clarence E.	W	M	[illegible]		Son		At home							Minnesota	Wis	N.Y.
	3		Hellmann, George B.	W	M	38				Grocery clerk							Pennsylvania	Pa	Pa
	4		Hoyt, Henry	W	M	26				Shoemaker							Wisconsin	Pa	
			Hall, Henry W.	W	M	25		partner		Partner in firm							Michigan	England	England
	5		Barker, Charles P.	W	M	31				Grocery clerk	3						Canada	Eng.	Eng.
			— Elizabeth J.	W	F	28		wife		Keeping house							Iowa	Eng.	Eng.
			Federal A.	W	M	2		Son		At home							Minnesota	Canada	Iowa
			— Earl	W	M	[illegible]	Feb	Son		At home							Minnesota	Canada	Iowa
			Dullon Carrie	W	F	5		Servant		Servant							Wisconsin	Ill	Ill.
	6	6	Ferguson, George H.	W	M	29				Butcher							Canada	Ireland	[illegible]
	7		Hawkins, Ellsbe M.	W	M	39				Grocery clerk							Maine	Maine	Maine
			— Frank R.	W	M	23		Son		Grocery clerk							Minnesota	Me	
	8	8	Hardcastle, Thomas	W	M	57				Dealer in feed							New York	Conn	Conn
			— Morrill J.	W	M	23		Son		Farm laborer							Michigan	N.Y.	Canada
	9		Hope, Frank E.	W	M	22				Retail Grocer	3						Pennsylvania	Pa	Pa
			Eckson, Thomas	W	M	32		Lodger		Farmer							[illegible]	Del	Del
			Connado, David A.	W	M	50				Dealer agl. Implements	3						New York	N.Y.	N.Y.
			Fuller, Charles S.	W	M	30				Dealer Agl. Implements							New York	England	England
			Gerald C. R.	W	M	30		Brother		Dealer Agl. Impts.							New York	Eng.	Eng.
			Hopp, Jacob N.	W	M	22		Lodg		Printer							Iowa	Prussia	Prussia
	2	2	Barrett, Fletcher T.	W	M	29				Lawyer							New York	Eng.	Eng.
	3		Ingalls, Charles P.	W	M	44				Farmer							New York	Vt	N.Y.
			— Caroline E.	W	F	40		Wife		Keeping House							Wisconsin	Mass.	Mass
			Mary A.	W	F	5		Daughter		Keeping House							Wisconsin	Wis.	Wis.
			— Laura E.	W	F	3		Daughter		Keeping House							Wisconsin	N.Y.	Wis
			Caroline C.	W	F	9		Daughter								1	Kansas	N.Y.	Wis
			Grace L.	W	F	3		Daughter									Iowa	Wis	Wis
			Masler, George E.	W	M	27				Green House							New York	N.Y.	N.Y.
			Margaret	W	F	22		Wife		House Keeper							Minnesota	Scotland	Scotland
			George E. Jr.	W	M	[illegible]		Children									Dakota	N.Y.	Mass.
	4	4	Crook, William H.	W	M	22				Tinsmith							Wisconsin	England	England
			Tinkham, Charles N.	W	M	26		Boarder		Cabinet Maker							Maine	Me	Me
	5		McKee, James W.	W	M	30				Railroad Engineer	7						Ohio	Pa	Pa
			— Martha E.	W	F	31		wife		Keeping House							Ohio	Pa	Pa
			— Mary E.	W	F	8		Daughter								1	Illinois	Pa	Ohio
	6	7	Drake, Orford A.	W	M	25				Farmer							Ohio	N.Y.	N.Y.
			Crumpton, Chauncey L.	W	M	21				Dry goods							Wisconsin	N.Y.	N.Y.
			— Ella C.	W	F	22		Wife		Keeping house							Iowa	N.Y.	N.Y.
			— Nettie	W	F	3		Daughter									Minnesota	N.Y.	Ohio
			Hewitt, Horace	W	M	67		Boarder		Keeper Hotel							Illinois	Vt	Vt
			— Martha R.	W	F	65		Wife		Keeping house							Illinois	Vt	Vt
			Dean, Marcus	W	M	57				Jobber in Rubber							Norway	Nor	Nor
			— Sarah	W	F	57				Keeping House							Norway	Nor	Nor

T-624.

TWELFTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

A

State Missouri
County Wright

SCHEDULE No. 1.—POPULATION.

Supervisor's District No. 17 (XVII-TH.)
Enumeration District No. 152
Sheet No. 2

Township or other division of county Pleasant Valley Township
Name of Institution. X
Name of incorporated city, town, or village, within the above-named division. Mansfield
Ward of city. 1
Enumerated by me on the 1 day of June 1900. C. F. Hinsley, Enumerator.

Location	Name	Relation	Personal Description: Color or Race	Sex	Age	Birth Month	Birth Year	Years married	Children born	Children living	Nativity: Place of birth of this person	Place of birth of father of this person	Place of birth of mother of this person	Citizenship	Occupation, Trade or Profession	Education: Attended school	Can read	Can write	Owned or rented	Owned free or mortgaged
21 21	Kelley Ruth M.	daughter	W	F	S	Apr	1882				Missouri	Missouri	Missouri							
22 22	Miller Jas.	Head	W	M	W	Apr	1863	20	5		Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky		Merchant (Farm)	3	yes	yes	R	M
—	— Lizzie	wife	W	F	W	Nov	1872	21	5	0 0	Missouri	Illinois	Missouri							
23 23	Whitney Wm.	Head	C	M	B	Jan	1853	25	15		Tennessee	Virginia	Tennessee		Bartender	2			R	M
—	— Margaret	wife	C	F	W	Oct	1862	22	13	9 4	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee							
—	— Beulah	daughter	C	F	W	Jul	1889	11	6		Missouri	Tennessee	Tennessee							
—	— Orville	son	C	M	W	Mar	1897	3			Missouri	Tenn	Tennessee							
—	— Etta	dau	C	F	W	Jul	1898	1	2		Missouri	Tennessee	Tennessee							
—	— John	son	C	M	W	Sep	1899	9	2		Missouri	Tennessee	Tennessee							
24 24	Neff John L.	Head	W	M	W	Jan	1859	39	11		Iowa	Kentucky	Indiana		Merchant (Farm)	0	yes	yes	R	M
—	— Ida M.	wife	W	F	W	July	1861	38	11	1 1	Iowa	Ohio	Iowa							
—	— Virgie	daughter	W	F	W	Jul	1883	16	2		Missouri	Iowa	Iowa		At School					
25 25	Moore Wm.	Head	W	M	W	Jan	1857	43	10		Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee		Land lord	0	yes	yes	O	F M
—	— Samantha	wife	W	F	W	June	1857	29	0	7 4	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee				yes	no		
—	— Nora	daughter	W	F	W	Oct	1887	12	3		Missouri	Tennessee	Tennessee		At School		yes	yes		
—	— May	daughter	W	F	W	Jul	1888	6	2		Missouri	Tennessee	Tennessee		At School					
26 26	Young Tilt	Head	W	M	W	Feb	1846	54	14		Missouri	Indiana	North Carolina		Merchant (Farm)	0	yes	yes	O	F M
—	— Ida	wife	W	F	W	July	1863	37	14	3 3	Missouri	Missouri	Ohio				yes	yes		
—	— Ordie	daughter	W	F	W	Oct	1887	12	3		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri		At School		yes	yes		
—	— Myrtle	dau	W	F	W	Mar	1891	9	2		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri		At School		yes			
—	— Ada	son	W	M	W	Jul	1896	3	2		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri							
27 27	Patterson A. D.	Head	W	M	W	Mar	1863	37	2		Pennsylvania	Ireland	Pennsylvania		Minister (Free)	0	yes	yes	R	M
—	— Anna	wife	W	F	W	Apr	1868	30	2	0 0	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana				yes	yes		
28 28	Mann L. D.	Head	W	M	W	Feb	1863	37	1		Missouri	Kentucky	Missouri		Stock (Farm)	0	yes	yes	O	F M
—	— Emma	wife	W	F	W	Feb	1872	28	1	0 0	Missouri	Germany	France				yes	yes		
—	— Ress	Brother	W	M	W	Apr	1881	19	2		Missouri	Kentucky	Missouri		Bookkeeper (Bank)	0	yes	yes		
29 29	Lunsford Henry	Head	W	M	W	Feb	1860	40	14		Missouri	Tennessee	Tennessee		Merchant (Gen. Mer.)	0	yes	yes	O	F M
—	— Mary	wife	W	F	W	Oct	1869	30	7	6 6	Illinois	Tennessee	Tennessee				yes	yes		
—	— Harry	daughter	W	F	W	Oct	1888	11	2		Missouri	Illinois	Illinois		At School		yes	yes		
—	— Otto	son	W	M	W	Feb	1892	8	2		Missouri	Missouri	Illinois		At school		yes	yes		
—	— Orla	daughter	W	F	W	Oct	1894	5	2		Missouri	Missouri	Illinois		At School		yes	yes		
—	— Trial	son	W	M	W	Nov	1897	2	2		Missouri	Missouri	Illinois		At school					
—	— Frank	son	W	M	W	Feb	1899	1	2		Missouri	Missouri	Illinois							
—	— Omer	son	W	M	W	May	1899	1	2		Missouri	Missouri	Illinois							
30 30	Clark Sarah	Head	W	F	W	Nov	1833	66	2	6 0	Kentucky	North Carolina	Virginia				yes	yes	O	F M
30 31	Moore Wm. T.	Head	W	M	W	Oct	1867	30	9		Illinois	Missouri	Ohio		Rail road man	0	yes	yes	R	M
—	— Maggie	wife	W	F	W	Jun	1876	24	9	1 1	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri				yes	yes		
—	— Willie	daughter	W	F	W	Feb	1895	5	2		Missouri	Illinois	Missouri							
31 32	Conley Irving M.	Head	W	M	W	Jan	1868	32	2	2 2	New York	New York	Pennsylvania		Capitalist		yes	yes	O	F M
—	— Paul G.	son	W	M	W	Oct	1894	5	2		South Dakota	New York	New York		At school		yes	yes		
—	— Geo. N.	son	W	M	W	Mar	1896	4	2		South Dakota	New York	New York		At School		yes	yes		
32 33	Molder A. J.	Head	W	M	W	Jul	1839	61	10		New York	New York	Ireland		Agent (Dry Goods)		yes	yes	O	F M
—	— Lydia	wife	W	F	W	Feb	1852	48	10	2 1	Wisconsin	New York	Wisconsin				yes	yes		
—	— Rose	daughter	W	F	W	Dec	1879	20	1		South Dakota	New York	Wisconsin		At school		yes	yes		
33 34	Wright John	Head	W	M	W	Jan	1865	35	10		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri		RR. section hand	0	yes	yes	R	M
—	— Martha	wife	W	F	W	Mar	1865	35	7	7 4	Missouri	Tennessee	Tennessee				yes	yes		
—	— Willie	daughter	W	F	W	Jan	1891	9	2		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri				yes	yes		
—	— Minnie	daughter	W	F	W	Dec	1893	6	2		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri		At School		yes	yes		
—	— Rosie	daughter	W	F	W	Nov	1895	4	2		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri		At School		yes	yes		
—	— Freddie	son	W	M	W	May	1897	3	2		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri		At School		yes	yes		

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at a modest price. These microfilm rolls are arranged alphabetically by state and thereunder alphabetically by county. Usually, all of the schedules for one county are on the same roll; some rolls contain records for several counties. You may get ordering information by writing to Product Development and Distribution Staff (NWCP), National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC, 20408. Microfilm copies of census schedules are also available for use in the research rooms of the National Archives regional facilities. In addition, many state archives, state historical societies, and university and public libraries have collections of census microfilm for researchers' use.

Teaching Activities

Vocabulary Development

1. Many terms in your explanation of the census and in this document need to be identified for students. Ask students to locate the following terms in the documents and to use classroom resources (textbooks and reference books) to explain each term: census, document, enumeration district, incorporated, mortgage, nativity, owned free, population schedule, and supervisor's district.

Analyzing the Document

2. Instruct students to examine the documents.
   a. Ask students to figure out the column headings, the number of families represented, their place of origin, their level of education, and their economic status.
   b. The 1880 census gives Laura's age as 13, the 1900 as 32. Both censuses were taken in June. Which is correct? How do you account for the error?
   c. Using the questions from the 1900 census, direct students to conduct a census of their own households.
   d. Direct students to compare and contrast the responses to the questions in 1880, 1900, and the census the students made of their households. Discuss with them similarities and differences and ask them to hypothesize explanations and generalizations based on their census information.
   e. Ask students to brainstorm a list of other resources they could use to substantiate their theories.

Map Skills

3. Ask students to extract geographical information from the population schedules of 1880 and 1900 to answer the following questions.
   a. In what area of the Dakota Territory did the Ingalls family live?
   b. In what area of Missouri did the Wilder family live?
   c. Estimate the number of miles that Laura Ingalls Wilder traveled when she moved from the Dakota Territory to Missouri.
   d. On a map, use colored pushpins and yarn or highlight lines to illustrate where the Ingalls and Wilder parents came from and trace the families' moves from where the parents were born to Missouri. (For a more complete tracing, students may wish to refer to the *Little House* books for clues.)
   e. Follow-up: On a world map, use yarn or highlight lines to illustrate the movement of all the people enumerated on this page of the 1900 census from their places of origin to Wright County, MO.

Research and Synthesis

4. Ask students to examine the census of 1880 (or 1900) for their county. Direct students to write a paragraph describing the lifestyle of a typical family in that county in 1880 (or 1900) based only on information provided by the census. Students might include such topics as work, family, employment, and migration patterns.

The Statue of Liberty Deed of Presentation

For more than a century, shipborne millions entering the Verrazano Narrows of New York Harbor have strained for a first glimpse of the Statue of Liberty. Others have seen its image and longed to stand before it in the "Land of Liberty." Many immigrants who came to the United States between 1890 and the early part of the 20th century begin accounts of their arrival with "When I first saw the Statue of Liberty. . . ." For those who have seen her colossal form glinting green against an azure sky, she evokes an emotional response—not so much for what she is, but for what she represents.

The statue was given to the United States by the people of France as a symbol of Franco-American friendship forged during the American Revolution. The design of the statue, a robed woman holding a torch aloft, is a long-standing symbol of freedom from tyranny. Over time, the Statue of Liberty has become closely associated with immigrants seeking freedom and opportunity in the United States.

Edouard René Lefebvre de Laboulaye, French jurist, admirer of republicanism, and an authority on the United States, chafed under the repressive regime of Napoléon III and saw in the United States a balance between liberty and stability that eluded France. He envisioned a monument that would keep alive the republican ideal in France yet reside in the United States, because he believed that a strong symbol of liberty in France would not be tolerated by the emperor.

During a dinner party at his estate near Versailles in 1865, Laboulaye suggested to his guests that a monument to liberty be presented by the people of France to the people of the United States to commemorate the centennial of that country's independence 11 years later. The gift, Laboulaye believed, would become a memorial to the friendship between the two republics. Present at the dinner party was sculptor Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, who was intrigued by the idea.

The Artist's Vision

Bartholdi created statues of immense size. In 1856 he visited the Sphinx and pyramids and confirmed his desire to create works on a colossal scale. When he returned to Egypt in 1869 to attend the opening of the Suez Canal, he failed to persuade the Egyptian ruler Ismail Pasha to commission a monument that would stand alongside the canal. Bartholdi envisioned a colossal peasant woman, twice the size of the Sphinx, veiled and garbed in the traditional flowing robe, holding a torch aloft. She would represent "Progress," or "Egypt Carrying the Light to Asia." Positioned at the canal entrance, the statue would have served as both monument and lighthouse. Although rebuffed in Egypt, Bartholdi presented the idea to Laboulaye as the fulfillment of his dinner party proposal.

Laboulaye proved receptive to Bartholdi's idea and suggested that Bartholdi visit the United States to present the project to friends and officials. When he entered New York Harbor in June 1871, the sculptor found the perfect spot for his statue: Bedloe's Island. As a major port of entry to the United States, the site held strong symbolic value.

Bartholdi spoke to President Ulysses S. Grant, who was not interested. Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner promised support, however, as did members of the New York French-American Society. Bartholdi presented his vision of a gigantic statue, financed by the French, that he called

"Liberty Enlightening the World." He argued, "Colossal statuary does not consist simply in making an enormous statue. It ought to produce an emotion in the breast of the spectator, not because of its volume, but because its size is in keeping with the idea that it interprets, and with the place which it ought to occupy."

When Bartholdi began fabricating the statue in 1875, he enlisted the aid of Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel, who created a central wrought-iron pylon for the structure. This pylon supported a secondary framework to which the statue's hammered copper skin was attached with flexible iron bars. This ingenious design allowed the skin to "breathe," making it strong enough to withstand high winds, yet resilient enough to expand and contract with temperature changes.

Congress Accepts the Gift

In 1877, the U.S. Congress accepted the proposed French gift through a joint resolution. The resolution noted that in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of U.S. independence, the statue would be erected at the expense of the people of France (some $400,000 was donated by French cities, corporations, and private citizens) and would be placed "upon a pedestal of suitable proportions to be built by [U.S.] private subscription." Although too late for the centennial, the resolution directed the President "to accept the colossal statue of 'Liberty enlightening the world' when presented by citizens of the French Republic, and to designate . . . for the erection thereof, a suitable site upon either Governors or Bedloes Island, in the harbor of New York." It also authorized the President "to cause suitable regulations to be made for its future maintenance as a beacon, and for the permanent care and preservation thereof as a monument of art, and of the continued good will of the great nation, which aided us in our struggle for freedom."

The statue was completed and displayed in Paris in 1884, where Victor Hugo, saddened by the state of the French political system, saw the statue and uttered, "The idea. It is everything." Work on the pedestal stalled for lack of funds and remained incomplete until 1885, when New York newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer launched a public subscription campaign that raised the final $100,000 from more than 120,000 individual donors.

On May 21, 1885, the 151-foot, 450,000-pound statue was shipped to the United States in 210 crates—36 for nuts, bolts, and rivets. En route, a violent storm tossed the ship for 72 hours, but the cargo arrived intact. At last in place on Bedloe's Island, the statute was dedicated by President Grover Cleveland on October 28, 1886.

The Statue of Liberty possesses deep symbolic value for many immigrants who revere it. It also causes deep-seated emotions of a different nature among many Native Americans, African Americans, and others who consider the statue a hypocritical tribute to liberty. In addition, since the beginning of the 20th century, the Statue of Liberty has become the chief symbol of the United States.

From Cultural Icon to Controversy

The Statue of Liberty, built by French workers in Paris and erected upon a pedestal fashioned by Italian immigrant stonemasons, holds great symbolic value today. Indeed, some immigrants claim that the statue is appreciated more by those who have not always lived free than by freeborn U.S. citizens. Poet Emma Lazarus paid tribute to immigrants in the sonnet, "The New Colossus," which she penned as part of the pedestal fund drive. In that poem, which was inscribed in 1903 on a bronze plaque and placed in the pedestal, she vividly recalls how the sight of Jewish refugees arriving in New York from czarist Russia affected her. Lazarus saw in the statue not only a magnificent tribute to liberty, but also an embodiment of the "Mother of Exiles," who welcomes "your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

For many, the statue holds little or no meaning. For example, noted African American author James Baldwin, interviewed in the 1985 Ken Burns film *The Statue of Liberty*, stated, "For a black American, the Statue of Liberty is simply a

very bitter joke, meaning nothing to us." The statue has been the focus of many civil rights demonstrations, both peaceful and not so peaceful. Would-be bombers plotted in 1965 to make a forceful statement about discrimination against black people in the United States. After placing dynamite in her arm, the conspirators planned to decapitate and amputate, as they put it, the "damned old bitch." The plot was uncovered before any damage was done.

Through two world wars, when its image was used to arouse support for liberty bond drives, the Statue of Liberty became a cultural icon. Its image is used by advertisers who seek to portray their products as "all-American." From Vietnam Veterans Against the War to radical student groups, from newly naturalized citizens to long-time citizens of the United States, the Statue of Liberty does "produce an emotion in the breast of the spectator," as Bartholdi hoped. What does she symbolize for you and your students?

Deed of Presentation

The document featured here is the deed of presentation of the Statue of Liberty from the French people. It is found in the General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, Entry 820, "miscellaneous manuscripts." The oversized original is beautifully watercolored. Translated, it reads as follows:

> [on ribbon] To the time-honored friendship of France and the United States
> The fourth of July, the year one thousand eight hundred eighty-four, anniversary day of the Independence of the United States. In the presence of Monsieur Jules Ferry, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur Ferdinand de Lesseps, in the name of the Committee of the Franco-American Union and of the national demonstration of which the Committee is the voice, presented the colossal statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," work of sculptor A. Bartholdi, to his Excellency Monsieur Morton Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in Paris in requesting him to be the bearer of the sentiments of which this work is the expression.
> Monsieur Morton, in the name of his fellow countrymen, thanks the Franco-American Union for this evidence of goodwill of the French people; he proclaims that in virtue of the powers conferred upon him by the President of the United States and the Committee for the work in America represented by its honorable President Mr. William M. Evarts, he accepts the statue and that it will be erected by the American people, conforming to the vote of Congress of 22 February 1877, in the harbor of New-York in remembrance of the time-honored friendship that unites the two nations.
> In faith of which have signed:
> In the name of France,
> Jules Brisson, President of the Chamber
> Jules Ferry, Minister of Foreign Affairs
> In the name of the United States,
> Levi P. Morton, Minister of the United States
> In the name of the Committee of the Franco-American Union,
> Ferdinand De Lesseps
> E. De Lafayette

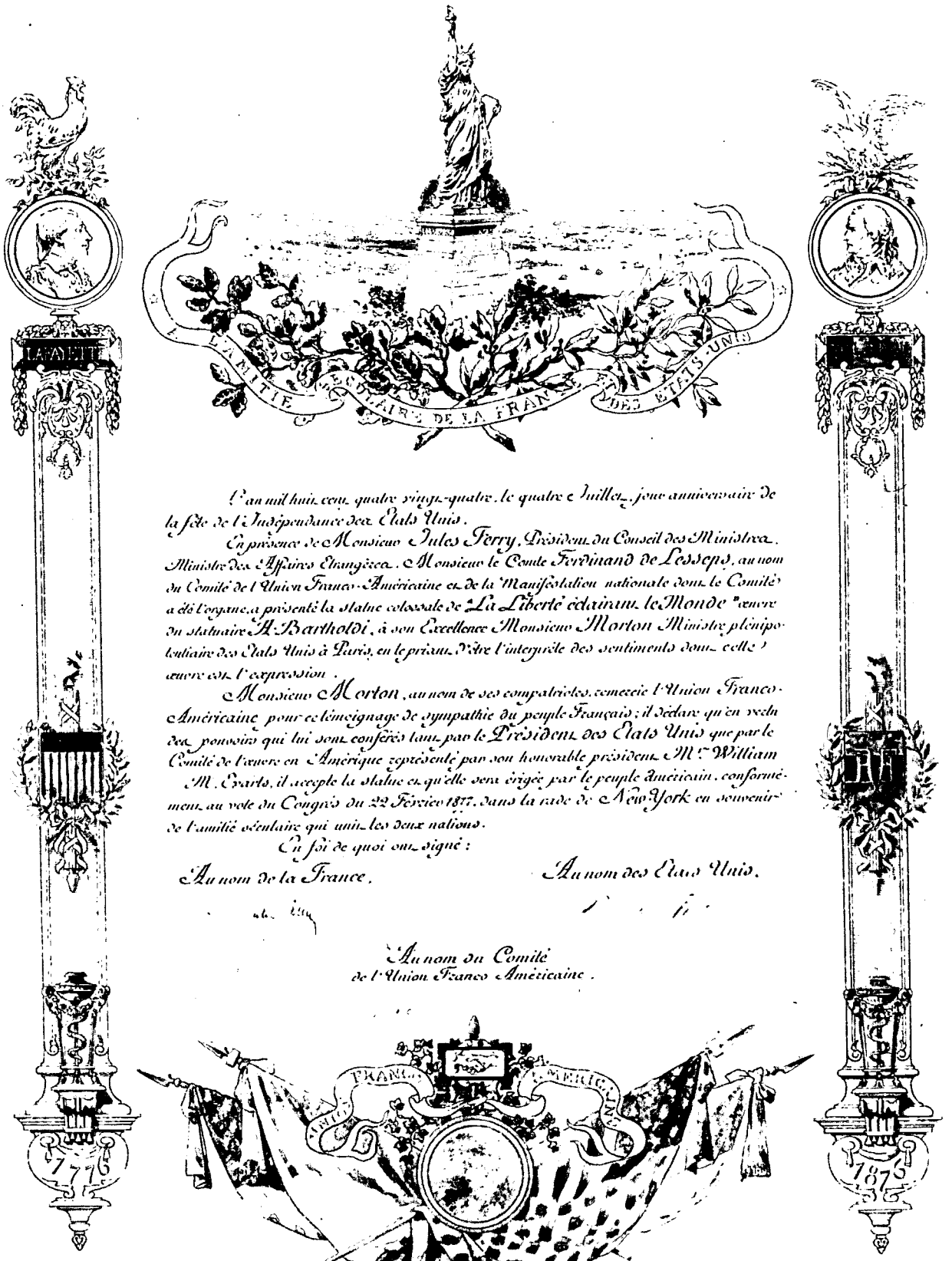
Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Ask a French-speaking student, a French teacher, or any person who can speak French to help the class translate the document. Then ask your students the following questions:
   a. What is the date of the document?
   b. Who created the document?
   c. Who received the document?
   d. To whom was the statue presented?
   e. According to this document, why was the statue given?

Class Discussion

2. It has been said that the Statue of Liberty is the first monument to an idea rather than to a person or an event.
   a. Discuss with your students the concept of monuments. Include questions such as: What or who is worthy of a monument today? What form can the monument take? Where can monuments be located?
   b. After the discussion, ask your students about monuments or memorials in your



L'an mil huit cent quatre vingt-quatre, le quatre Juillet, jour anniversaire de la fête de l'Indépendance des Etats Unis.

En présence de Monsieur Jules Ferry, Président du Conseil des Ministres, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Monsieur le Comte Ferdinand de Lesseps, au nom du Comité de l'Union Franco-Américaine et de la Manifestation nationale dont le Comité a été l'organe, a présenté la statue colossale de "La Liberté éclairant le Monde" œuvre du statuaire A. Bartholdi, à son Excellence Monsieur Morton Ministre plénipotentiaire des Etats Unis à Paris, en le priant d'être l'interprète des sentiments dont cette œuvre est l'expression.

Monsieur Morton, au nom de ses compatriotes, remercie l'Union Franco-Américaine pour ce témoignage de sympathie du peuple Français; il déclare qu'en vertu des pouvoirs qui lui sont conférés tant par le Président des Etats Unis que par le Comité de l'œuvre en Amérique représenté par son honorable président Mr William M. Evarts, il accepte la statue et qu'elle sera érigée par le peuple Américain, conformément au vote du Congrès du 22 Février 1877, dans la rade de New York en souvenir de l'amitié séculaire qui unit les deux nations.

En foi de quoi ont signé :

Au nom de la France. Au nom des Etats Unis.

Au nom du Comité
de l'Union Franco Américaine.

community. Who or what is memorialized? Why? Who, if anyone, is maintaining the site?

c. Select several students to investigate and present oral reports on local individuals who have been memorialized by having public buildings named after them.

3. Ask students to look at a map of New York Harbor and analyze why Bedloe's Island was selected as the Statue of Liberty site. What other sites may have been appropriate locations for the statue in 1884 or today?

4. Ask students to describe their reactions to viewing the statue in person for the first time. If they have not seen it, ask them to describe the first encounter of a parent, relative, or neighbor.

5. Ask students to reflect upon and discuss what the Statue of Liberty symbolizes. Discuss with students the meanings of "liberty."

Writing Activities

6. Ask volunteers to investigate and prepare reports on one of the following topics related to the statue: its use in advertising or in the media today; anecdotes or events such as its erection in Paris, use of the arm and torch in the United States as a fund-raiser prop to attract donations for the pedestal, and the unveiling ceremony, complete with a French flag shrouding the face (a face reputedly modeled after Bartholdi's mother); centennial celebrations; renovation required after withstanding a century of wind, air, rain, and pollution; Eiffel's engineering of the superstructure, which presaged the skyscraper; or the history of Bedloe's Island.

7. Provide students with a copy of Emma Lazarus's sonnet "The New Colossus." After analyzing its meaning, ask them to compose a sonnet expressing a message to immigrants today. As a contrast to the immigrant imagery, ask your students to write a sonnet expressing the viewpoint of a disaffected group that has staged a protest at the Statue of Liberty.

Design Activities

8. Describe and analyze the design elements of the statue (e.g., the torch, the upraised arm, the broken chain at its feet, the tablet inscribed July 4, 1776, in Roman numerals). Ask students to consider what elements would be included in a monument to liberty today and to draw or model a design. Ask them where they would locate their monuments.

9. Ask your students to choose a person, event, or thing to memorialize and to design an appropriate monument. The design should be accompanied by an explanatory statement about the form of the monument (e.g., statue, granite block, or garden) and the monument site.

Research Activities

10. Assign students to conduct a poll of neighbors or shopping mall visitors to collect data on public opinion about the Statue of Liberty. They should ask questions such as the following: What is the Statue of Liberty, and where is it located? What does the Statue of Liberty mean to you and why? What does the Statue of Liberty symbolize? Using the data collected, conduct a class discussion to determine public opinion about the statue. Students may wish to share the results with a local newspaper or television station.

11. Ask students to investigate immigrant assimilation into an "American culture" over the years and to report orally or in writing on one of the following topics related to immigrants and immigration: elements of U.S. culture derived from immigrants' native cultures, immigration trends over the last century, areas of the United States that are centers of ethnic populations, the ethnic composition of the community in which your school is located, factors that cause people to emigrate, contributions to U.S. society by immigrants, the debate over limitations on immigration, or the debate over "English-speaking only" schools or workplaces.

Cache Note from Peary's North Greenland Expedition of 1892

In the late 19th century, few terrestrial frontiers remained unexplored by humanity. Nevertheless, a young, adventurous engineer in the U.S. Navy, Robert E. Peary, resolved in 1886 to carve his niche in history by exploring the Arctic regions in search of the North Pole. Over the next 25 years, Peary and his teams made numerous expeditions in the Arctic, building with each foray the knowledge and experience that would bring him successfully (but not without controversy) to his goal. He learned how to wait out a blizzard, to avoid exhaustion, to keep from being frostbitten, and to cross perilous leads (breaks in the ice cover). With painstaking patience, Peary accumulated the information, built the endurance, and secured the financial support that would help him reach his goal.

On April 6, 1909, Peary finally reached the North Pole. His revelry, however, was cut short. Upon his return to the United States, Peary discovered that another explorer, Dr. Frederick Cook, claimed to have reached the pole a month before him. Both claims were investigated, and Cook's was eventually discredited. Peary produced documents—compass and temperature readings, field notes, journals, and photographs—to support and validate his claim.

Peary kept meticulous records of all his Arctic experiences. In them he recorded the valuable lessons he learned from the indigenous people and animals of the Arctic. He documented the successes and analyzed the failures of each of his expeditions. His exposure to exploration in the North led Peary to dress in fur, like the Eskimo. When he realized that it would prove impossible to reach the pole by sea, he learned to drive a dog sled. Rather than expend the precious energy of the dogs by having them lug tents that became ice-covered and were prone to ripping, Peary learned to construct igloos for shelter. For food, he improved upon pemmican, a paste of grease and meat that was highly caloric, making it more dense and thus easier to carry.

There was another reason for Peary to keep field notes and journals. When officially given leave from his naval duties to become a full-time explorer, Peary needed substantial funding. Between expeditions, the savvy entrepreneur and businessman would travel the world seeking sponsorship for his Arctic projects. By lecturing and writing articles for magazines such as *National Geographic*, Peary found a curious and enthusiastic public willing to support his ambitions. The information in his records provided him with interesting tales to tell during his numerous lectures.

Communication was problematic in the Arctic. The base camp established by each expedition was accessible by sea only during the brief summer months. Throughout the long winters, there were no occasions to convey information or findings to the waiting public. To compensate for this dilemma, explorers left caches on the ice with greetings, geographic information, liquor, or food for those who might follow. The cache notes also served to verify competing claims to "firsts" and discoveries. Explorers built cairns of ice and rock that were highly visible so that the caches could be located in the vast expanse of ice and snow. The featured doc-

ument drawn from the National Archives Gift Collection, Records of Polar Regions, Record Group 401, is one such cache note. It details one of Peary's early triumphs—verification of Greenland's insularity.

The Expedition of 1891–92

In May of 1892, Peary and three others (including his ultimate betrayer Dr. Cook) left their base camp at Redcliff House near Whale Sound in Greenland. After three weeks, Cook and another man turned back, leaving only Peary, Einuid Astrup, and three dog sleds to cross the glacial expanse of North Greenland. The men traveled by night to avoid the blinding glare of the sun. They smeared their faces with Vaseline as protection against an incessant, raw wind. When dogs weakened or went lame, Peary fed them to the rest of the pack to conserve precious food. On good days, the party traveled close to 20 miles, but more often they struggled to gain half that distance. On several occasions, blizzards stopped their travel completely.

At the beginning of July, weary and with a dangerously short supply of food rations remaining, Peary and Astrup caught sight of two musk oxen. Immediately, they tethered their dogs and went in for the kill. They later captured a calf and two more musk oxen. Because they were unable to carry this much meat, the men and dogs spent two days feasting and recuperating from their two-month trek. Unbeknownst to the pair, they were only a short distance from the sea.

With renewed strength and vitality, Peary marched to the end of the land strip on which they were traveling. He found himself atop a 3,800-foot cliff, gazing down into the Arctic Ocean. Peary had crossed Greenland. He called this point "Navy Cliff." Before setting off on the equally perilous return, Peary took the time to build a cairn and scribble in pencil the featured cache note. His journey home was without incident; he had covered more than 500 miles in one month. He emerged from what he called in his journals "the long white march" on August 4, 1892.

The cache note was not retrieved for another 20 years. During a North Greenland expedition of 1912, the Danish explorer Knud Rasmussen retrieved the note from Peary's intact cairn. He remarked that the brandy bottle in which the note was encased still smelled of liquor. The note was forwarded to Washington, DC, as per the instructions, and eventually found its way back to Robert E. Peary.

Teaching Activities

The featured document lends itself to cross-disciplinary teaching. Choose or adapt from the following suggestions as many of the activities as time allows. You may want to team with a colleague to design a shared lesson and follow-up.

Document Analysis

1. Copy the two sides of the featured document onto one page, and distribute it to students. Begin analyzing the handwritten side of the document by asking students to identify the date, physical characteristics, and interesting information given in the document. Ask students what information they have about Peary from the document and from personal knowledge. Instruct a student to locate Greenland on a world map.

2. Demonstrate how to fold the document along the apparent creases. From what is legible on the outside of the note, the students should hypothesize about the possible purpose and life cycle of this document. Ask them to consider why the document was written and whether or not they believe it to be part of Peary's journal. Ask them to identify the six languages printed on the back of the stationery. Use a polar projection (azimuthal) map to determine with the class if any of the languages seem out of place for Arctic exploration.

3. Share with students the background information about Peary and the expedition of 1892. Discuss with them why the note was written in pencil. Ask them what other travel precautions Peary may have made for Arctic travel.

North Greenland Expedition

of 1891'92

ROBERT E. PEARY, Civil Engineer, U. S. N.

WHOEVER FINDS THIS PAPER is requested to forward it to the Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C., with a note of the time and place at which it was found; or, if more convenient, to deliver it, for that purpose, to the U. S. Consul at the nearest port.

QUICONQUE TROUVERA CE PAPIER est prié d'y marquer le temps et lieu où il l'aura trouvé, et de le faire parvenir au plutôt au ministre de la marine, à Washington en Amérique.

CUALQUIERA QUE HALLARE ESTE PAPEL se le suplica de que lo envie al Secretario de la Marina, en Washington, con una nota del tiempo y del lugar en donde se halló.

EEN IEDER DIE DIT PAPIER MAG VINDEN wordt hiermede verzocht, om het zelve ten spoedigste te willen zenden aan den Heer Minister van de Marine der Nederlanden in 's Gravanhage, of wel aan den Secretaris der Amerikaansche Admiraliteit te Washington, en eene Nota daar bij te voegen den tijd en de plaats meldende, alwaar dit Papier is gevonden geworden.

FINDEREN AF DETTE PAPIER OMBEDE Snaar Leilighed gives, at sende samme til Admiralitets Secretairen i Washington, eller til den nœrmeste, Embedsmand i Danmark, Norge, eller Sverrig. Tiden og Stedet hvor det er blevet fundet önskes venskabeligt paategnet.

WER DIESES PAPIER FINDET, wird hiermit ersucht dasselbe an den Marineminister in Washington zu schicken, und gefälligst zu bemerken an welchem Orte und zu welcher Zeit dasselbe gefunden worden ist.

NORTH GREENLAND EXPEDITION OF 1891-'92

ROBERT E. PEARY, CIVIL ENGINEER, U. S. NAVY.

July 5° 1892 Lat. [illegible] Long.

Have this day with one companion, Eivind Astrup, & eight dogs, reached this point via the Inland Ice from McCormick Bay, Whale Sound. We have travelled over 500 miles & both men & dogs are in best of condition.

I have named this fiord "Independence", in honour of that day ~~which~~, July 4th, on which we looked down into it.

Have killed nine musk oxen in the valley above & seen several others.

I start back for Whale Sound tomorrow.

R. E. Peary, U. S. Navy.

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Geography

4. Locate Pearyland on a polar projection (azimuthal) map. Many geographic place names reflect the names and cultures of those who explored them. Divide your class into heterogeneous teams equipped with atlases. Assign each team a different geographical region to search carefully and compile a list of place names that indicate something about who "discovered" them. After five minutes, ask students to read their lists aloud.

5. Assign students to research conditions at the North Pole and write a paragraph that identifies the types of flora and fauna of the region, contrasts the Arctic with the Antarctic, and explains why is it possible to mark the South Pole but not the North Pole.

Writing

6. Ask students to imagine what Peary's fund-raising lectures must have been like. Brainstorm with them some of the elements of persuasion. Then ask students to write and deliver a short persuasive speech or write a fund-raising letter seeking support for an expedition. Students may choose to assume Peary's persona, that of a contemporary explorer, or of a futuristic space traveler.

7. Write the following form for creating a Biopoem on the chalkboard or an overhead projector. Group the students in threes, and ask them to write a poem about Robert E. Peary. Tell them they may use more or less detail than is prompted in the outline. Ask several students to read their poems to the class, and select other poems to post on a class bulletin board.

   Line 1 First name
   Line 2 Title
   Line 3 Four words to describe that person
   Line 4 Lover of (three things or ideas)
   Line 5 Who believed in (one or more ideas)
   Line 6 Who wanted (three things)
   Line 7 Who learned (three things)
   Line 8 Who gave (three things)
   Line 9 Who said (a quote)
   Line 10 Last name

Science

8. Explore with students the properties of a compass. Ask them what happens to compass readings at the North Pole and what other means of measurement Peary might have used to verify his position at the North Pole.

9. Tell your students that Peary developed high calorie, compact pemmican to feed himself and his dogs during polar expeditions. Ask them why they think caloric intake is so important in the Arctic. Ask several students to find out what commercial food products are available to explorers and extreme adventure enthusiasts today. Students could bring packages or labeling from several products to class to analyze the nutrition labels. With your students, identify which products would be best for Arctic travel, for jungle exploration, or for desert journeys.

The Pledge of Allegiance

The 23 words of the Pledge of Allegiance, as published in *The Youth's Companion*, were recited by schoolchildren for the first time as part of the National Public School Celebration of Columbus Day in October 1892. More than 100 years later, the daily practice of saluting the flag is familiar to most schoolchildren, but the recitation has been marked by change and dispute.

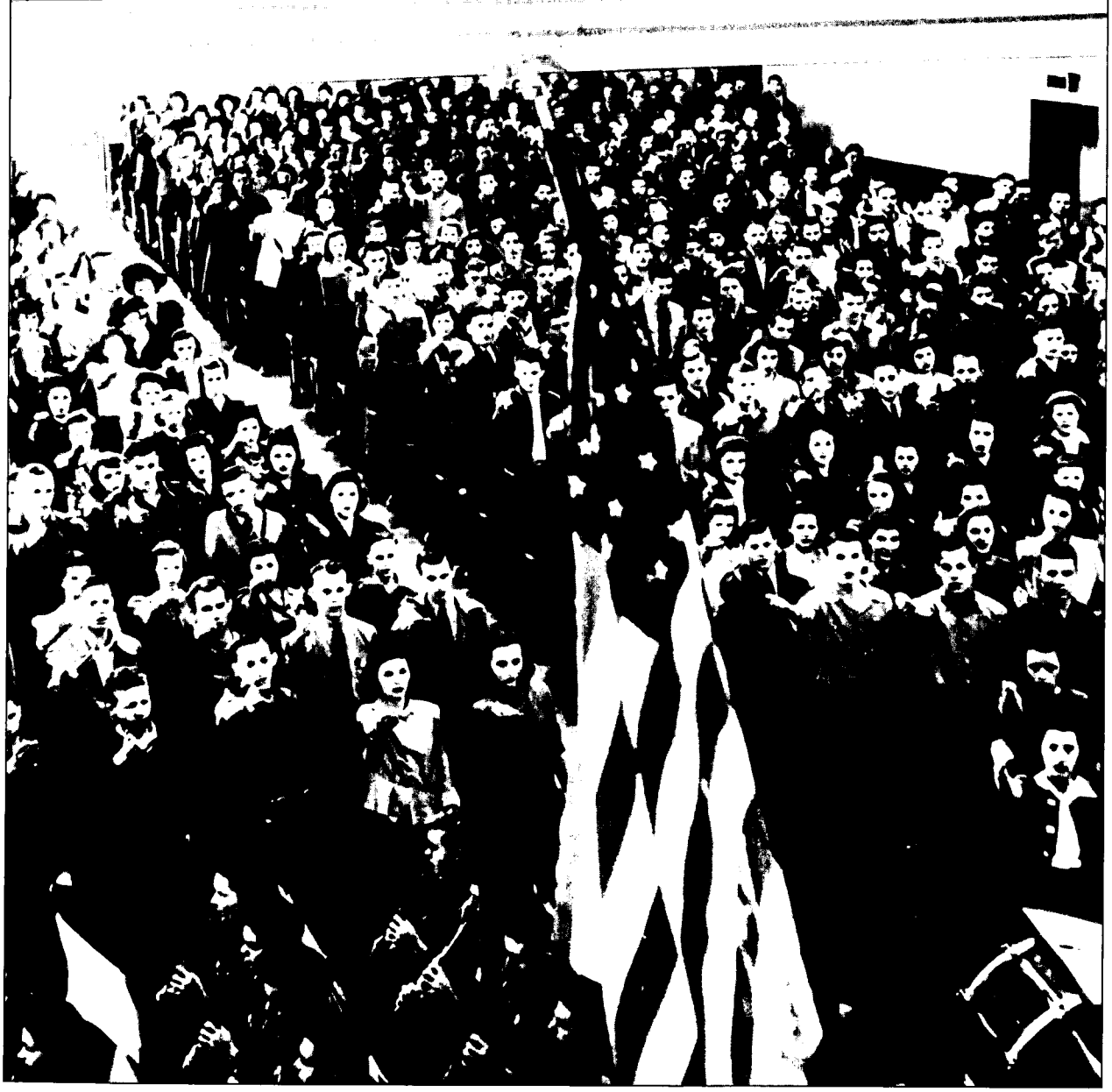
The origin of the pledge is attributed to Francis Bellamy, who organized the National School Celebration as part of the first national Columbus Day holiday. President Benjamin Harrison had declared October 21, 1892, a national holiday to honor "the Discoverer" and to express appreciation of "the great achievements of the four completed centuries of American life." Citing the public school system as a "salutary feature" of these achievements, the President urged schools to participate in exercises that "shall impress upon our youth the patriotic duties of American citizenship."

In his position as a journalist with *The Youth's Companion*, a Boston-based magazine for children, Bellamy organized a national celebration sponsored by the magazine. The official program, published in the September 8, 1892, issue of the *Companion*, described an order of events that included reading the President's proclamation, raising and saluting the flag, and singing "America." In addition, the program outlined activities to help communities plan full-day celebrations across the country.

The display of flags in and on school buildings and the daily recitation of a flag salute by schoolchildren were part of the patriotic fervor that increased following the Civil War and the flood of new immigrants. Many states legislated mandatory flag salutes in the schools, and patriotic groups such as the Veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and their women's auxiliary, the Women's Relief Corps, donated flags to schools and other public buildings. By 1945 Congress had passed a joint resolution adding a set of rules and regulations pertaining to the display and use of the flag. Included in section 7 of this resolution (H.J. Res. 359) were the familiar words of the pledge and instructions for saluting the flag. The cold war prompted Congress to add the words "under God" to the pledge in 1954.

The customs and laws governing the public recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance were not without opposition. The most notable objection came from the Jehovah's Witnesses, who opposed the salute on the grounds that it conflicted with their religious beliefs, especially those concerning idolatry. On Flag Day in 1943, the Supreme Court ruled in *West Virginia* v. *Barnette* that the First Amendment prohibits the state from compelling the flag salute. In the decision the Court stated in part: "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. If there are any circumstances which permit an exception, they do not now occur to us."

This article features five documents. Document 1, a photograph of elementary school children saluting the flag in 1942, is found in the Records of the Office of Education, Record Group 12. Document 2, a photograph of high school students saluting the flag in 1950, is found in the Records of the U.S. Information Agency, Record Group 306. Document 3, the Presidential proclamation designating Columbus Day a national holiday, July 21, 1892, is found in the General Records of the U.S. Government, Record Group 11. Document 4, the mandate in *West Virginia* v. *Barnette*, June 14, 1943, is found in the Records of the Supreme Court of the United States, Record Group 267. Document 5, Public Law



In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 15th day of July in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and seventeenth.

[SEAL]

BENJ HARRISON

By the President:
JOHN W. FOSTER.
Secretary of State.

[No. 31.]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

July 21, 1892.

Preamble.
Ante, p. 397.

Whereas, by a Joint Resolution, approved June 29, 1892, it was resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, "That the President of the United States be authorized and directed to issue a proclamation recommending to the people the observance in all their localities of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, on the twenty-first of October, eighteen hundred and ninety-two, by public demonstrations and by suitable exercises in their schools and other places of assembly;"

October 21, 1892, the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, declared a public holiday.

Now, therefore, I, Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States of America, in pursuance of the aforesaid joint resolution do hereby appoint Friday, October 21, 1892, the four hundredth anniversary of the Discovery of America by Columbus, as a general holiday for the people of the United States. On that day let the people, so far as possible, cease from toil and devote themselves to such exercises as may best express honor to the Discoverer and their appreciation of the great achievements of the four completed centuries of American life.

Columbus stood in his age as the pioneer of progress and enlightenment. The system of universal education is in our age the most prominent and salutary feature of the spirit of enlightenment, and it is peculiarly appropriate that the schools be made by the people the center of the day's demonstration. Let the National Flag float over every school house in the country, and the exercises be such as shall impress upon our youth the patriotic duties of American citizenship.

In the churches and in the other places of assembly of the people, let there be expressions of gratitude to Divine Providence for the devout faith of the Discoverer, and for the Divine care and guidance which has directed our history and so abundantly blessed our people.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 21st day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and seventeenth.

[SEAL.]

BENJ HARRISON

By the President:
JOHN W. FOSTER.
Secretary of State.

United States of America, ss:

The President of the United States of America,

To the Honorable the Judges of the District
Court of the United States for the Southern
(SEAL) *District of* West Virginia,

GREETING:

Whereas, *lately in the* District *Court of the United States for the* Southern *District of* West Virginia, *before you, or some of you, in a cause between* Walter Barnette, Paul Stull and Lucy McClure, Plaintiffs, and The West Virginia State Board of Education, Composed of Hon. W. W. Trent, President, et al., Defendants, No. 242, wherein the decree of the said District Court, entered in said cause on the 6th day of October, A. D. 1942, is in the following words, viz:

"This cause coming on to be heard on motion for interlocutory injunction before the undersigned constituting a District Court of three judges convened according to statute; and being heard upon the bill of complaint, as amended, the motion to dismiss and the arguments of counsel; and being submitted for final decree; and the Court having made findings of fact and conclusions of law, which are filed herewith:

Now, therefore, for reasons set forth in the written opinion herewith filed, it is ordered, adjudged and decreed that the defendants, the West Virginia State Board of Education and the individual members thereof, and all boards, officials, teachers and other persons in any way subject to the jurisdiction of said West Virginia State Board of Education, be, and they are hereby, restrained and enjoined from requiring the children of the plaintiffs,

or any other children having religious scruples against such action, to salute the flag of the United States, or any other flag, or from expelling such children from school for failure to salute it; and that plaintiffs recover of defendants the costs of suit to be taxed by the clerk of the court."

as by the inspection of the transcript of the record, _____ _____ *of the said* **District** _____ *Court, which was brought into the SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES by virtue of* **an appeal,** _____

agreeably to the act of Congress, _____ _____ *in such case made and provided, fully and at large appears.*

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And whereas, *in the present term of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and* **forty-two** ——— *, the said cause came on to be heard before the said SUPREME COURT, on the said transcript of record, and was argued by counsel:*

On consideration whereof, *It is now here ordered,* ——— *adjudged,* **and decreed** ——— *by this Court that the* **decree** ——— *of the said* **District** ——— *Court, in this cause be, and the same is hereby,* **affirmed with costs.**

June 14, 1943.

You, therefore, are hereby commanded that such ~~execution and~~ ——— *proceedings be had in said cause,* ——— ——— *as according to right and justice, and the laws of the United States, ought to be had, the said* appeal ——— *notwithstanding.*

Witness, the Honorable HARLAN F. STONE, ~~CHARLES EVANS HUGHES~~, *Chief Justice of the United States, the* twenty-first — *day of* July ——— *, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-*three.

Costs of plaintiffs		
Clerk	$	Paid by
~~*Printing record*~~	$	
Attorney	$	defendants
	$	

Charles Elmore Cropley
Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States.

File No. .....

Supreme Court of the United States

No. 591 —, *October Term,* 194 2

The West Virginia State Board of Education, etc., et al.,

vs.

Walter Barnette, Paul Stull and Lucy McClure.

MANDATE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 254050

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[PUBLIC LAW 396]
[CHAPTER 297]

H. J. Res. 243

Eighty-third Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Wednesday, the sixth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-four

Joint Resolution

To amend the pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States of America.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 7 of the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution to codify and emphasize existing rules and customs pertaining to the display and use of the flag of the United States of America", approved June 22, 1942, as amended (36 U. S. C., sec. 172), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. The following is designated as the pledge of allegiance to the flag: 'I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all'. Such pledge should be rendered by standing with the right hand over the heart. However, civilians will always show full respect to the flag when the pledge is given by merely standing at attention, men removing the headdress. Persons in uniform shall render the military salute."

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

~~*Vice President of the United States and*~~
President of the Senate pro tempore

APPROVED
JUN 14 1954

Dwight D. Eisenhower

396, amending the pledge of allegiance, June 14, 1954, is also found in the General Records of the U.S. Government.

Teaching Activities

1. Instruct seven pairs of students to read and explain to the class the following parts of the original wording of the pledge:
   I pledge allegiance
   to my Flag and to the Republic for which it stands
   one Nation indivisible
   with Liberty and Justice for all.

2. Direct the rest of the class to research and explain the wording changes made to the original pledge.

3. Circulate the photographs of the students saluting the flag. Discuss with the class the various hand movements that have been used by different groups and at different time periods to salute the flag. Help students account for the differences.

4. Divide the class into three groups, and tell them to investigate the role each branch of the Federal Government has played in the school flag movement. Duplicate and distribute copies of document 3 for the executive branch group, document 4 for the legislative, and document 5 for the judicial. Ask each group to review the duties of their branch as described in the Constitution and to report to the class on Government activity related to the Pledge of Allegiance.

5. Divide the students into groups of five, and ask each group to investigate one of the following topics: the publication of the Pledge of Allegiance in *The Youth's Companion*, the National School Celebration for Columbus Day, the distribution of flags by organizations such as GAR and its auxiliary, congressional rules and regulations for displaying and saluting the flag, and Supreme Court decisions (particularly *Minersville* v. *Gobitis* and *West Virginia* v. *Barnette*) relating to compulsory flag saluting and recitation. Articles published in the October 1990 and January 1992 issues of *Social Education* have addressed these topics. Student groups should interpret their findings in sections of a mural or on a time line.

6. For further research, ask for volunteers to investigate and report to the class on one of the following current issues related to the public use, display, or salute of the flag:

   * *Sherman* v. *Community Consolidated School District 21*, 758 F. Supp. 1244 (N.D. Ill. 1991)

   * The flag as a Presidential campaign issue in the 1988 election

   * *Texas* v. *Johnson*, 88–155, June 21, 1989

   * The proposed constitutional amendment to give the flag special status.

Petition for a Fair Representation of African Americans at the World's Columbian Exposition

The study of an exposition or fair can provide a microcosmic glimpse of the culture and society of its day, giving teachers an opportunity to focus on social studies issues in a rich and unusual context. World's fairs, the generic term for such events, showcase the technological and cultural advancements of a society through the exhibition of the latest inventions, the finest examples of cultural achievement, and items that typify the society. Fairs usually include amusement rides and attractions that add to the festive atmosphere.

The modern world's fair movement began with the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition in London and extends through and beyond Expo '92 held in Seville, Spain, to commemorate the quincentenary of the first Columbian exploration of North America. The World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago more than 100 hundred years ago marked the quadricentennial of Columbus's first voyage to the continent. That exposition, belatedly held in 1893, clearly mirrored the racial climate of the United States in the late 19th century, and a study of it presents opportunities to discuss race relations then and now.

Twenty-one million people attended the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. They observed the noble achievements and technological and industrial progress made during the 400 years since Columbus's first voyage; they walked amid the splendid buildings and statuary of the ethereal White City, with its grandiose architecture electrically illuminated; and they rode the wondrous new Ferris wheel and enjoyed a breathtaking view of the fairgrounds and the city of Chicago. They also saw an array of exhibits that included a copy of the Declaration of Independence, the 16th-century map first bearing the annotation "America," a full-size and seaworthy replica of one of Columbus's vessels, the caravel *Santa María*, and a detailed model of the Brooklyn Bridge constructed of Ivory™ soap bars.

The World's Columbian Exposition included some 220 buildings and "interesting places" situated in Jackson Park, a 1.3-mile-long tract bordered on the east by Lake Michigan. The main fairgrounds included buildings representing 39 states and theme structures such as the children's, women's, transportation, U.S. Government, and electricity buildings. The fairgrounds also contained special areas for open-air activities, such as the mile-long Midway Plaisance, a narrow rectangular tract that adjoined the western edge of the main fairgrounds and contained many novel amusements, including the world's first Ferris wheel. Historian R. Reid Badger, in his study of the World's Columbian Exposition, *The Great American Fair*, noted that for many visitors the Midway experience was their most cherished fair memory. The term "midway," used today to refer to any area where sideshows and other amusements are offered, has its origins in this area of the World's Columbian Exposition.

Originally conceived as a "dignified and decorous" ethnological display, the Midway featured

outdoor ethnological exhibits that sought to portray the lifestyles and cultures of a variety of peoples. Small groups of Laplanders, Egyptians, Arabs, Sudanese, Chinese, Algerians, and Africans appeared on display in recreations of their habitats. Exhibits such as the Yucatan Ruins, Samoan Village, South Sea Islanders Village, and Native American exhibits featured artifacts taken from mounds in the Southwest and the Ohio Valley and presented a cultural diversity unfamiliar to most fair attenders.

As fairgoers walked about the grounds in Victorian garb, what they did *not* see were many exhibits depicting the progress made by 8 million African Americans in the 30 years since the Emancipation Proclamation. Well-educated African Americans initially viewed the fair as a potential showcase for African American achievement, but their enthusiasm dampened when the white fair officials required that application for special exhibits be made through all-white state boards, effectively eliminating the possibility African Americans had to independently present their own version of African American achievement.

Fair officials deflected efforts to mount more African American exhibits. They allegedly did not wish to become enmeshed in a disagreement within the African American intellectual community over whether an African American achievement exhibit should be housed in its own building or whether evidence of their progress should be integrated into existing exhibits throughout the fair. Ferdinand L. Barnett, a prominent African American lawyer, urged fair officials to make a special effort to encourage African American exhibits and to display them in appropriate departments throughout the fair.

Although white officials did not respond to Barnett's pleas, a few small African American displays were allowed. Deemed acceptable were vocational and industrial education displays such as the Hampton Institute exhibit submitted as part of the U.S. Department of Education display in the manufacturers and liberal arts building. Booths elsewhere on the grounds represented Wilberforce University, Tennessee Central College, and Atlanta University. Needlework and drawings from several African Americans from New York and Philadelphia were on display in the women's building. On the whole, however, the displayed evidence of the role of African Americans in U.S. history and contemporary society was not sufficient to garner much public attention at the fair, and the lack of broad representation of African American life probably reinforced conventional stereotypes regarding supposed intellectual limitations.

What did gain attention at the fair was the Dahomey Village, where 100 native Africans lived in an artificial community purportedly demonstrating their domestic, religious, and marital customs. According to the venerable Frederick Douglass, the weekly Dahomey "tribal dance" further reinforced racist notions that Africans were "primitive savages" and suggested that African Americans were equally "barbaric." Indeed, most fair exhibits proclaimed the achievements of a Eurocentric white America, thus reflecting a commonly held western European and U.S. conviction that as their societies prospered in a material, cultural, and technological sense, they stood higher on an evolutionary scale of nations and peoples.

As a concession to those protesting the lack of adequate representation, the fair directors designated August 25, 1893, "Colored People's Day." Having previously scheduled numerous similar celebrations for nationalities and groups such as the Germans, Swedes, and Irish, as well as for people from Brooklyn, the officials thought such an approach appropriate for African Americans. Antilynching firebrand Ida B. Wells viewed the notion of a Colored People's Day as patronizing mockery. Contrarily, Frederick Douglass, otherwise a Wells ally on major civil rights issues, argued that having this separate occasion afforded an opportunity to display African American culture and "the real position" of their race.

Douglass delivered the day's major address and proclaimed a belief that members of his race were "outside of the World's Fair [which was] consistent with the fact that we are excluded from every respectable calling." Wells's expressed antagonism

toward the special day proposal, combined with overwhelming support of her position in the African American press, apparently affected popular response—fewer than 5,000 African Americans attended. After Wells read newspaper reports of Douglass's speech, she conceded his effectiveness in articulating African Americans' pervasive sense of alienation from and disillusionment with the United States. He had made it clear that the fair not only symbolized the Nation's technological and material progress, but also had inadvertently spotlighted its moral failure to treat its largest racial minority equitably.

For foreign visitors, who might otherwise fail to realize the considerable role African Americans had played in U.S. history, particularly in the years since slavery was abolished, Ida B. Wells compiled and edited a collection of essays entitled *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Colombian Exposition*. As originally conceived, the free booklet was to be distributed in French, German, Spanish, and English. Because of a lack of funds, only the 20,000 English-language copies were printed. As one of its contributors, Frederick Douglass wrote, "The exhibit of the progress made by a race in 25 years of freedom as against 250 years of slavery, would have been the greatest tribute to the greatness and progressiveness of American institutions which could have been shown the world." He submitted that instead the exposition and its White City "to the colored people of America, morally speaking,... is a 'whited sepulcher.'"

When it became clear that fair authorities would not acquiesce to the call for wider and better balanced African American representation, African Americans, according to Ferdinand Barnett, "hoped that the Nation would take enough interest in its former slaves to spend a few thousand dollars making an exhibit which would tell to the world what they as freedmen had done." They believed their last, best hope for recognition at the fair lay with the U.S. Government and its enormous 1.25-million-dollar exhibit building. As the featured document illustrates, a nationwide petition drive urged Congress to fund and authorize "the Board of Management and Control of the United States Government Exhibit to collect, compile for publication, and publish certain facts and statistics, pertaining to the labor-products, the moral, industrial and intellectual development of the colored people of African descent residing in the United States, from January, 1863, to January 1893 . . . and to form a part of the published report of the United States Government Exhibit."

Congress did not respond to the petitions. Barnett, in *The Reason Why*, ended his essay by remarking that "The World's Columbian Exposition draws to a close and that which has been done is without remedy.... Our failure to be represented is not of our own working and we can only hope that the spirit of freedom and fair play of which some Americans so loudly boast, will so inspire the Nation that in another great National endeavor the Colored American shall not plead for a place in vain."

The featured document is a petition dated November 21, 1892, addressed to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives and signed by 59 citizens of New York. It is found in the Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46, Select Committee on the Quadro-Centennial World's Columbian Exposition, Petitions, Memorials, Resolutions of State Legislatures and Related Documents. Only page 1 of the petition is reproduced. Pages 2 and 3 contain the signatures of 55 additional residents of New York (mostly from Brooklyn). For copies of the two remaining pages, contact the National Archives education staff at 202-501-6172.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Distribute copies of the document to your students and ask them the following questions:
   a. What type of document is this?
   b. What is the date of the document?
   c. Who created the document?
   d. Who received the document?

Class Discussion

2. Review the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution with your students, emphasizing

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of
The United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the State of N. Y. very respectfully represent to your Honorable Body that we are native born citizens of the United States of America, and under the Constitution and Laws thereof are declared entitled to equal rights, privileges and opportunities as are granted to other American citizens; notwithstanding this National declaration of our rights we are (by the force of an unjust American prejudice directed against us, because of our descent and complexion) kept apart as a separate and distinct class of American citizens, and therefore are deprived of equal opportunities in making that progress in the pursuit of moral, educational and industrial advancement as are enjoyed by our white fellow-citizens.

We further respectfully represent that under the system and rules established by the Board of Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition for the display of Exhibits, your petitioners, because of this ENFORCED separation as a distinct class of American citizens, are entirely deprived from showing in any DISCERNIBLE MANNER their relation to, or participation in, our Country's wonderful progress in the development of its resources, and the advancement of its civilization; and therefore there will not be found in this grand International Exposition the slightest evidence of the value of, or any credit to, the American Negro's labor during the last 200 years in the development of his Country's resources, of his patriotic services in defending and maintaining the glory and perpetuity of his Country, or of his worth as a peaceful, law-abiding and industrious citizen.

We further respectfully represent that because of this conspicuous absence at this Exposition of the American Negro as an important factor in the production of our Country's material prosperity and intellectual grandeur, the millions of American and European visitors to this Exposition will naturally reach the conclusion, and render a verdict, that the 7,000,000 of American Negroes are unfit for freedom, and incapable of improvement by the influences of American civilization. From this unjust verdict against us and all other American citizens, your petitioners most earnestly protest, and appeal to your Honorable Body for partial redress from this great injustice.

We therefore very respectfully petition your Honorable Body to pass a Bill authorizing the Board of Management and Control of the United States Government Exhibit to collect, compile for publication, and publish certain facts and statistics, pertaining to the labor-products, the moral, industrial and intellectual development of the colored people of African descent residing in the United States, from January, 1863, to January, 1893, the same to illustrate the growth of liberty, morality and humanity of the United States, and to form a part of the published report of the United States Government Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition. And your petitioners will ever pray.

Very respectfully,

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Thos B McNeal	24 Butler St Bkln N.Y.
W. S. Salem	514 Broadway
Daniel Marland	680 Lexington Ave
Thos Jackson	680 " "

the right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

3. Divide the class into four groups, assigning each group to read and analyze one paragraph of the petition based on, for example, the following prompts:
   a. Paragraph 1: On what basis are the petitioners presenting their grievance to Congress? What grievances are expressed in this paragraph?
   b. Paragraph 2: What grievances are expressed in this paragraph? What topics are presented to demonstrate what could be highlighted in an exhibit about African Americans?
   c. Paragraph 3: What do the petitioners perceive to be the harm in not providing a representation of African Americans at the fair?
   d. Paragraph 4: What do the petitioners request that Congress do in response to their concern? Why use January 1863 through January 1893 as the time period for review?

Upon completion, a representative of each group should present the group's ideas to the class.

4. Discuss the concept of "separate but equal" embedded in the argument about an African American exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition. See "*Plessy* v. *Ferguson* Mandate, 1896" in volume 1 of *Teaching with Documents*.

5. Discuss the changes in acceptable terms used over time to refer to Americans of African descent, such as colored, Afro-American, negro, Negro, black, Black, black American, Black American, person of color, and African American.

Writing Activities

6. Identify a grievance about which your students feel strongly. You may wish to guide their thinking by focusing on an issue of local importance or by choosing a topic of national or global importance. Designate or elect a committee to draft a petition for consideration by the class to send to an appropriate individual or organization. Discuss with your students who or what groups should receive the petition.

Research Activities

7. Ask your students to research and present reports on topics reflected in the petition such as the following:
   a. In the context of equal rights, how did the U.S. Constitution treat slaves as originally stated in Article I, section 2, and as modified under the 14th Amendment?
   b. What provisions are made in U.S. society today to compensate for the deprivation of "equal opportunities in making . . . progress in the pursuit of moral, educational and industrial advancement." Consider programs such as affirmative action and educational loans for minority groups. How are these programs threatened today?
   c. What national "resources" were developed by slaves during their more than 200 years of labor?
   d. What "patriotic services" were rendered by African Americans in the Civil War, as alluded to in the petition, as well as during World Wars I and II and the Korean, Vietnam, and Persian Gulf Wars?
   e. There was a conspicuous absence of an African American presence at the World's Columbian Exposition, which commemorated the 400th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage to North America. How were African Americans represented at Expo '92 in Seville, Spain, which commemorated the 500th anniversary of the voyage?
   f. In 1895, two years after the World's Columbian Exposition, a separate exhibit devoted to African Americans was erected at the Cotton States and International Exposition held in Atlanta, GA. Ask your students to research that exhibit and present a report on how it represented African Americans. Include in the study Ida B. Wells's and Ferdinand Barnett's reactions to the exhibit.
   g. Review some of the components of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition with your students, and ask them to research buildings, exhibits, or attractions of interest and to present reports or prepare an exhibit commemorating the 1993 centennial of the fair.

References

Badger, R. Reid. *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979.

Harris, Trudier, comp. *Selected Works of Ida B. Wells*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Rudwick, Elliott M., and August Meier. "Black Man in the 'White City': Negroes and the Columbian Exposition, 1893." *Phylon* 26, no. 4 (1965): 361.

Sierra Club Petition to Congress Protesting the Proposed Diminution of Yosemite National Park

Citizens today increasingly strive to protect or revive the environment, often by forming advocacy groups to institute rehabilitative measures. One such group, the Sierra Club, has promoted public awareness of environmental issues for more than a century. The featured document is the first official conservation pronouncement of the then-nascent Sierra Club, a petition to Congress protesting the Caminetti bill (H.R. 5764), proposed in 1892 to protect mining, livestock, and timber interests by reducing the size of the newly established Yosemite National Park. The document demonstrates that from the beginning of the park's history, the Federal Government had to grapple with complex issues to balance the needs of divergent groups interested in using the park's resources. Today, Yosemite's ecological health is again in the national spotlight because of traffic and pollution problems caused by a surfeit of park visitors.

In 1864 Congress granted Federal land to form a small state park in California that included the Yosemite Valley. In 1868 naturalist John Muir began to visit the region regularly, and in the 1880s it became clear to him that the land surrounding the state park also needed protection. Muir and *Century* magazine editor Robert Underwood Johnson urged the Federal Government to create a national park such as Yellowstone, which had been established in 1872.

That first Yosemite campaign contained elements common to environmental conservation efforts since that time—striking a balance between conserving a portion of the natural world and allowing access to resources that sustain ranchers, miners, and timber workers. At odds were conservationists and members of the local community whose livelihood depended on consuming the natural resources of the region. Muir and Johnson argued that Yosemite Valley had suffered under the jurisdiction of a state government that placed local interests above the larger social interest in preserving the natural beauty of the valley.

In order to neutralize local political opposition, they appealed directly to national public opinion through *Century* magazine. They also lobbied influential local entrepreneurs and political leaders. By October 1, 1890, their efforts resulted in the passage of legislation that preserved 1,500 square miles of the Sierra Nevada surrounding the Yosemite Valley as a scenic wonderland to be enjoyed by Californians, other U.S. citizens, and visitors from around the world. Although the conservationists had carried the day, contention over Yosemite's resources would continue.

In the spring of 1892, John Muir and other local activists in the Yosemite Park drive established a park defense organization dedicated to safeguarding the scenic Sierras and to public education regarding conservation needs. The organization, with John

To the Chairman of the
Committee on Agriculture
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

Whereas at a meeting of the Sierra Club of Saturday, November 5th 1892, said club being a corporation formed for the purposes, to wit: "To explore, enjoy and render accessible the mountain regions of the Pacific Coast; to publish authentic information concerning them; to enlist the support and co-operation of the people and the government in preserving the forests and other natural features of the Sierra Nevada Mountains" a resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted directing the Board of Directors to prepare a memorial to Congress against Bill H.R 5764 introduced by Mr. Caminetti and to use every effort to defeat it,

Therefore The Board of Directors of the Sierra Club in accordance with the above resolution do respectfully and emphatically protest against the diminution of the Yosemite National Park situated in California as contemplated in Bill H.R. 5764 introduced by Mr. Caminetti and referred by the House of Representatives to your honorable Committee

As shown in the accompanying map all

the territory outside of the blue lines is to be taken out of the Yosemite National Park Reservation, which would

First: endanger in T.4S., R25E and R26E & T. 3S, R 25E the headwaters of the San Joaquin River, a river on whose water the irrigation of the whole San Joaquin Valley is dependent.

Secondly: in T1S, T2S. R19E & T1S, T2S. R20E it will denude the watersheds between the branches of the Tuolumne River and Merced River of the most valuable timber destroy forests which in their magnificent growth form an attraction to visitors not only from the State of California, but from all over the United States and from abroad and although provision is made in said bill to reserve a tract one mile square containing the Tuolumne Big Tree Grove and also a similar tract about the Merced Grove the destruction of the surrounding forest will necessarily cause a great danger through forest fires to these two groves of Sequoia gigantea, which ought to be and have heretofore been protected by the United States Government with singular interest

Thirdly: The taking out of the Reservation of T2N & T1N R19E will hand over to private ownership most valuable reservoir sites which ought to be zealously guarded for the benefit of the state at large

Fourthly: The exemption of T2N. R20E, of T2N R21E, T2N & ½ T1N R22E of T2N & ½ T1N. R23E of T2N & ¾ T1N R. 24E and of T1S R25E will endanger the watershed of the

tributaries of the Tuolumne River as it passes through the Grand Cañon of the Tuolumne River finally through Hetch-Hetchy Valley, a valley which in grandeur & uniqueness is in many respects the peer of Yosemite and will in future form one of the principal attractions of the Sierra Nevada of California

If the territory of the Yosemite National Park should be reduced in accordance with the bill H.R 5764, the dangers to guard against which the Park was originally set aside, would again arise, the herds of sheep which now for two seasons have successfully been kept out of the reservation would denude the watersheds of their vegetation, the forest fires following in the wake of the herds would destroy the magnificent forests and threaten the reservation itself and the timber of priceless value to the prosperity of the State would become the prey of the speculator.

The Directors of the Sierra Club respectfully point out that Senate Bill No 3235 proposed by Mr. Paddock will meet any objections in the interest of mining or farming industries, if there be any, to the continuance of the present limits of the Yosemite National Park Reservation.

John Muir
President Sierra Club

J. H. Senger,
Secretary Sierra Club

Warren Olney
First Vice-President Sierra Club.

San Francisco, Jan 2nd 1893

Muir as its first president, named itself the Sierra Club, and its strength was soon tested. That same spring, U.S. Representative Anthony Caminetti, a former member of the California Assembly, introduced a bill that would remove from the park large tracts of land north, west, and east of Yosemite.

Caminetti's bill addressed the interests of citizens from the counties surrounding Yosemite who had lost an important source of tax revenue and were denied access to the commercial resources of the upper Sierras. The Sierra Club's petition was intended to dissuade Congress from passing the measure. Although the Caminetti bill ultimately died in committee, between 1898 and 1904 nine other bills were introduced in Congress in an attempt to restore timberland from the park to the public domain. Little noticed was the 1901 Right of Way Act, which would eventually lead to the flooding of the picturesque Hetch Hetchy Valley to provide water and power for San Francisco.

In 1905 the park boundary was redrawn by Congress when the recommendations of the Chittenden Commission, an Interior Department park study group, were adopted. The Sierra Club and Muir acknowledged to the commission that the needs of a large number of landowners necessitated the removal of Townships 2, 3, and 4 South, Range 19 East on the southwest corner of the park, although the club had petitioned against removal of a portion of that region eight years earlier in paragraph 2 of the featured document (denoted as T-2-S, R-19E).

The Sierra Club petition and accompanying map dated January 2, 1893, addressed to the Committee on Agriculture, U.S. House of Representatives, is found at the National Archives in the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233, Committee on Agriculture, Petitions and Memorials. The "blue lines" in the map are black in this reproduction.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Distribute copies of the document to your students, and ask them the following questions:
   a. What type of document is this?
   b. What is the date of the document?
   c. Who created the document?
   d. Who received the document?

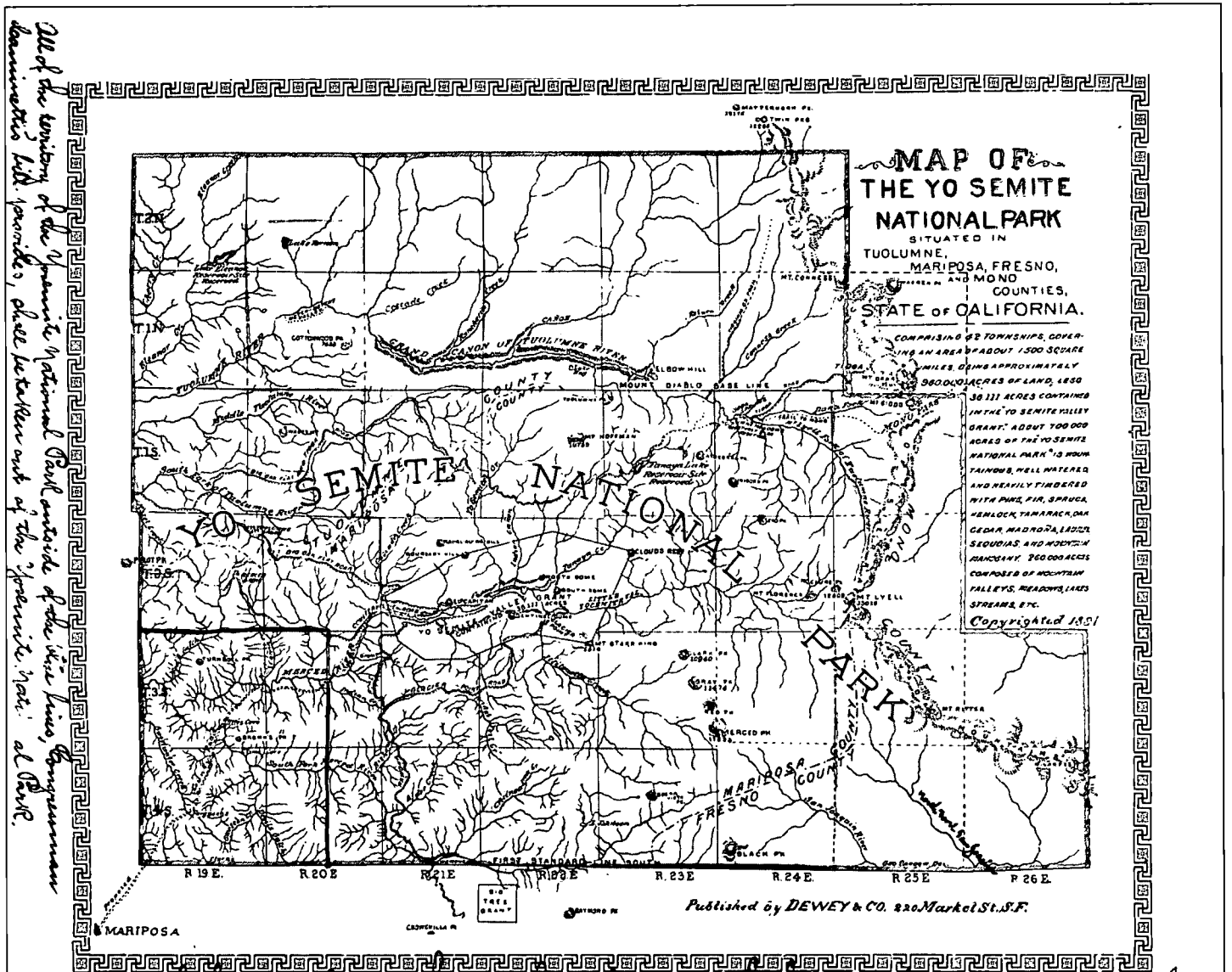
Class Discussion

2. Lead the class through an analysis of each paragraph of the petition based on the following sample questions.
   a. Paragraph 1: What is the Sierra Club? How does the mission statement compare with its mission today?
   b. Paragraph 2: What is the club protesting? Predict the consequences of the diminution of Yosemite.
   c. Paragraph 3: How much land was proposed for removal? Prepare transparencies of the document map and of a present-day map of Yosemite. Layer the second map over the first, and ask the class to describe the difference in boundaries.
   d. Paragraphs 4–7: Divide the class into four groups, and ask each group to identify the designated land areas on the map. Give each group a current Yosemite map for comparison. How is Yosemite different today? What happened to the Hetch Hetchy Valley, mentioned in paragraph 6?
   e. Paragraph 8: Compare and contrast the dangers outlined with present dangers facing the park.
   f. Paragraph 9: What solution was proposed by the club? What solutions to the present dangers have been suggested?

Activities

3. Ask your students to draw a cartoon to illustrate the Sierra Club's Yosemite campaign. The cartoon should represent the point of view of loggers, cattle ranchers, sheep ranchers, miners, or conservationists.

4. Ask your students to draw a cartoon to illustrate common issues within the environmental movement today. The cartoons should represent the point of view of business or corporate leaders, regulators, politicians, neighbors of endangered areas, or conservationists.



All of the territory of the Yosemite National Park outside of the white lines, Congressman Lamintie's bill provides, shall be taken out of the Yosemite National Park.

Townships 3 & 4 South Range 19 East and the West 1/2 of Townships 3 and 4 South Range 20 East are recommended by Secretary of the Interior Noble in his Annual Report for 1891 to be eliminated from the boundaries of the Yosemite National Park to accommodate farmers and miners located in that region

5. Ask a student to research and report to the class the history of the Sierra Club and its current role in the global environmental movement. Ask the class to compare and contrast the Sierra Club to other environmental groups.

6. Ask a student to research and report to the class the current ecological health of Yosemite and efforts to preserve the region. Ask the class to identify environmentally sensitive areas in your community and to describe the current conditions, assess the protection strategies, and devise and propose a conservation plan to local or state authorities, if one does not exist.

7. Ask a student to research and report to the class the Hetch Hetchy Valley reservoir controversy and its effect on the nation. After considering the merits of building the reservoir and maintaining the scenic beauty of the valley, ask students to choose a course of action as if they were a Member of Congress voting on the issue.

8. Ask a group of students to research Muir's writings on Yosemite and present a narrated slide or video presentation about Yosemite or another environmentally threatened national or state park. Give your students the opportunity to relate their own experiences in national or state parks so that they can evaluate the conditions of park areas they have seen and judge how effective the balance has been between environmental concerns and other uses for the park resources.

9. Select a student to play the role of John Muir in the present day. Ask the student to portray through a skit or interview how Muir would respond to the current dangers facing Yosemite. Ask the class and the John Muir role-player to judge how successful Yosemite conservation efforts have been to date.

Petition for the Rights of Hopi Women

Between 1842 and 1912, the United States acquired half a continent and absorbed it into the body politic. Trans-Mississippi lands differed, for the most part, from lands settled earlier: They were more mountainous, more arid, and subject to greater extremes of nature.

Government land policy was solidly based on the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which had provided formulae for partitioning the well-watered woodlands of the East into viable lots for farming. In 1878 John Wesley Powell, a leading Government explorer, geologist, and ethnographer of the Southwest, published his *Report on the Lands of the Arid Regions of the United States.* He criticized the disposal of Western lands along Eastern patterns and suggested remedies. Powell urged the Government to map and classify lands according to their resources: minerals, coal, pasturage, timber, and arable soil. He proposed settlement by irrigation districts composed of individual farms of 80 acres, followed by local establishment of irrigation cooperatives to develop the water supply. Pasture lands were to be allocated in 2,500-acre units. All water rights would inhere in the land to prevent private monopoly of water rights.

The report was not well received by special interest groups, nor did it sound like an equal distribution to the average citizen. Perhaps the people to whom it would have made the most sense were Native Americans of the Southwest. Powell was a student of the region, and he noted how the Indians adapted to the environment. Cooperative management of water and arable soil was one of the adaptations of the Hopi of Arizona.

As Hopi lands were lost and the Moqui tribe was confined to the reservation, it struggled to maintain the system it had evolved over centuries to survive on arid land. The economic viability as well as the social and spiritual organization of the Moqui were at stake. The tribe was concerned about the division of lands belonging to extended families into privately owned parcels, and it was also worried about the transfer of the means of production from females to males under the legal and economic system of the United States, which treated men preferentially. A matrilineal society would become patriarchal, property rights would be thrown into dispute, and women would be reduced to the kind of second-class status held by contemporary white women.

A petition written to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1894 and signed by representative men of the tribe articulates these concerns. The petition, dated March 27 and 28, 1894, can be found in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75. There is no record of a direct response to this petition, but the Hopi lands were not divided by the Federal Government.

John Wesley Powell's recommendations were finally adopted by the Reclamation Service, New Deal agencies combating the Dust Bowl, and the Bureau of Land Management. Powell's studies and the adaptation of Native Americans to arid regions are attracting attention today. The Southwest has been developed and populated to its environmental limit. Shrinkage of aquifers and recurring drought require new—or perhaps very old—solutions if the area is to avoid stagnation.

Teaching Activities

1. Ask students to review their textbook's explanation of the Land Ordinance of 1875, the Northwest Ordinance, and laws pertaining to buying or homesteading public lands. Ask the class to decide:
   a. How did the Federal Government acquire ownership of Western lands?
   b. Why did the Federal Government survey and divide public lands?
   c. What reasons did the Government have for selling land? What motivations were behind the changes in price and credit over time?
   d. Why might the model of 160-acre farms developed for the lands of the Old Northwest be inappropriate for Western lands? (Students may need to refer to a U.S. map that shows geographical features.)

2. Distribute copies of the document and a worksheet for each student. Direct students to read the document and to complete the worksheet as homework.

3. When students have completed the worksheet, discuss questions they may have. Ask the class to consider the document and to discuss the following questions:
   a. What Moqui ideas would have been most reasonable for the Government to incorporate in its own land policy?
   b. What Moqui ideas do you think were so alien to the European tradition that they were never even considered? Explain.
   c. Offer reasons why you think the Moqui requests were granted or not granted. (After the discussion, advise students of the historical outcome.)

4. Ask students to read copies of Chief Seattle's speech to Isaac Stevens in 1854, the interview of Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé in 1879 in the *North American Review*, Geronimo's surrender parley with General Crook in 1886, or other examples of Native American commentary on land ownership. *Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Noted Indian Chieftains* by W.C. Vanderwerth contains selections from Native American leaders all across the country. Ask them to summarize the attitudes of Native Americans toward land, ownership, and the spiritual.

5. Direct a group of students to learn what the property rights of white women were in their state or territory in 1894 and to compare and contrast them with the rights of Moqui women.

6. Select a volunteer to research the life and writings of John Wesley Powell and present the findings to the class in an oral report.

Moqui Villages 27 28
Arizona March 1894

To the Washington Chiefs:

During the last two years strangers have looked over our lands with spy-glasses and made marks upon it, and we know but little of what they means. As we believe that you have no wish to disturb our possessions, we want to tell you something about this Hopi land.

None of us were asked that it should be measured into separate lots and given to individuals for they would cause confusion.

The family, the dwelling house and the field are inseparable, because the woman is the heart of these, and they rest with her. Among us the family traces its kin from the mother, hence all its possessions are hers. The man builds the house but the woman is the owner, because she repairs and preserves it; the man cultivates the field, but he renders its harvests into the woman's keeping, because upon her it rests to prepare the food, and the surplus of stores for barter depends upon her thrift.

A man plants the fields of his wife, and the fields assigned to the children she bears, and informally he calls them his, although in fact they are not. Even of the field which he inherits from his mother, its harvests he may dispose of at will, but the field itself he may not. He may permit his son to occupy it and gather its produce, but at the father's death the son may

not own it, for them it passes to the father's sister's son, or nearest mother's kin, and thus our fields and houses always remain with our mother's family.

According to the number of children a woman has, fields for them are assigned to her, from some of the lands of her family group, and her husband takes care of them. Hence our fields are numerous but small, and several belonging to the same family may be close together, or they may be miles apart, because arable localities are not continuous. There are other reasons for the irregularity in size and situation of our family lands, as interrupted sequence of inheritance caused by extinction of families, but chiefly owing to the following condition, and to which we especially invite your attention.

In the Spring and early Summer there usually comes from the Southwest a succession of gales, oftentimes strong enough to blow away the sandy soil from the face of some of our fields, and to expose the underlying clay, which is hard, and sour, and barren; as the sand is the only fertile land, when it moves, the planters must follow it, and other fields must be provided in place of those which have been devastated. Sometimes generations pass away and these barren spots remain, while in other instances, after a few years, the winds have again restored the desirable sand upon them. In such event its fertility is disclosed by the nature of the grass and shrubs that grow upon it. If these are promising, a number of us unite to

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clear off the land and make it again fit for planting, when it may be given back to its former owner, or if a long time has elapsed, to other heirs, or it may be given to some person of the same family group, more in need of a planting place.

These limited changes in land holding are effected by mutual discussion and concession among the elders, and among all the thinking men and women of the family groups interested. In effect, the same system of holding, and the same method of planting, obtain among the Tewa and all the Hopi villages, and under them we provide ourselves with food in abundance.

The American is our elder brother, and in everything he can teach us, except in the method of growing corn in these waterless sandy valleys, and in that we are sure we can teach him.

We believe that you have no desire to change our system of small holdings, nor do we think that you wish to remove any of our ancient landmarks, and it seems to us that the conditions we have mentioned afford sufficient grounds for this requesting to be left undisturbed.

Further it has been told to us, as coming from Washington, that neither measuring nor individual papers are necessary for us to keep possession of our villages, our peach orchards and our springs. If this be so, we should like to ask what need there is to bring confusion into our accustomed system of holding corn fields.

We are aware that some ten years ago

a certain area around our lands, was proclaimed to be for our use, but the extent of this area is unknown to us, nor has any Agent, ever been able to point it out, for its boundaries have never been measured. We most earnestly desire to have one continuous boundary ring enclosing all the Pueblo and all the Hopi lands, and that it shall be large enough to afford sustenance for our increasing flocks and herds. If such a scope can be conformed to us by a paper from your hands, securing us forever against intrusion, all our people will be satisfied:

(1) Há-yi of A-la. (Walpi)

(2) Hó-ni of Tcüa (Walpi)

(3) Wü-nü-la of Pá-Kab (Walpi)

(4) Na-syüñ-wave of Ka-Kop. (Walpi)

(5) A-na-wi-ta of Pát-Ki (Sitcomovi)

(6) Intiwa of Ka-tci-na (Walpi)

(7) Tü-was-mi of Pá-Kab (Walpi)

(8) Há-ni of Pi-ba (Walpi)

(9) Syüñ-ó-i-ti-wa of Tcá-Kwai-na (Walpi)

(10) Supela of Pát-ki (Walpi)

(11) Kwá-tca-Kwa of Pát-Ki (Walpi)

(12) Tüni-ma of Ha-ná-ni (Sitcomovi)

(13) Po-la-Ka-Ka of Ku-lon-to-wa (Tewa)

Ma-sau-ük Hopi

(Masaü-ük)

(14) Kwá-la-Kwai of O-Kú-wa to-wa (Te-wa)

(15) Ka-nü of Pá-Kab-nyü-m (Walpi)

(16)

(17) Lo-ma-nak-cü of Tü-wa (Mü-con-in-ovi)

(18) Pa-lüñ-au-ük of Ká-la (Cipaulovi)

(19) Si-Kya-hoñ-ava of Katcina (Mü-con-in-ovi)

(20) Kwá-vi-n-ma of Kya-zro (Mü-con-in-ovi)

(21) Ta-las-yau-ma of Pá-tüña (Mü-con-in-ovi)

(22) of Kwá-hü (Mü-con-in-ovi)

The Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection

By 1898 Cuba and the Philippines were two of the few remaining overseas possessions of the Spanish Empire, but for nearly half a century, revolutionaries in both areas had sought independence. Americans were well aware of the Cuban struggle. Following the 10-year Cuban revolt against Spain (1868–78), American businessmen had purchased property in Cuba and paid close attention to events that affected their economic interests. Also, many Americans believed the Cuban struggle for independence was similar to the American colonies' struggle against the British 100 years earlier. Few were as familiar with General Emilio Aguinaldo and his Filipino rebels, who also sought freedom from Spain. In fact, many Americans, including President William McKinley, admitted that they were unable to even locate the Philippines on a map of the world.

Despite American interest, or lack thereof, Spanish officials responded to the revolts in both Cuba and the Philippines by continually promising reforms and failing to follow through with them. As a result, the rebellions had become more widespread, organized, and violent, and the Spanish reaction had become more brutal. As news of the violence in Cuba, just 90 miles away, regularly reached the United States, American sympathies went out to the rebels, and many Americans favored direct U.S. intervention.

The American press in its coverage of events contributed to this support. The *New York World* and the *New York Journal* were engaged in a circulation war and were eager to report on events occurring in Cuba. On February 9, 1898, under the headline "Worst Insult to the U.S. in its History," the *Journal* published the infamous de Lome letter. In it, Enrique Depuy de Lome, the Spanish Minister to the United States in Washington, described President McKinley as a weak man and "a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." Six days later, the U.S.S. *Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor, and immediately the "yellow" press and many Americans, including Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, concluded that Spain was responsible. By the end of the month, war between the United States and Spain appeared inevitable. Most Americans believed that such a war would secure freedom for Cuba; some imagined that it would place the United States in a position as an imperialistic world power with overseas protectorates; but few suspected that the war with Spain would result in a far bloodier conflict in the Philippines.

Theodore Roosevelt was among those who envisioned the United States as a world power. Having written his own book about naval history and having read Alfred Thayer Mahan's book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783*, Roosevelt agreed with Mahan that sea power was the basis of national greatness. Roosevelt wanted to strengthen the U.S. naval presence in the Pacific and knew that the Philippines would give the United States access to the Far East.

On February 25, 1898, while Secretary of the Navy John D. Long was out of the office, Assistant Secretary Roosevelt sent a telegram to Commodore George Dewey, commander of the U.S. Asiatic Naval Force in Hong Kong. The

telegram ordered Dewey to fill his ships with coal and directed, "in the event of a declaration of war [with] Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast." He further ordered Dewey to take up offensive operations in the Philippines. According to historian David Trask in *The War With Spain in 1898*, Roosevelt was acting well within U.S. Navy prewar planning when he sent these orders to Dewey.

Dewey's response, which is this month's featured document, was sent from Hong Kong on March 31. In it he indicated the readiness of his squadron, described the condition of the Spanish forces, confidently stated that Manila could be taken in one day, and reported that 5,000 armed rebels were encamped near Manila ready to help the United States. Less than two weeks later, President McKinley asked Congress for a declaration of war, which it granted at the end of April.

During the night of April 30, Dewey, accompanied by five cruisers and one gunboat, entered Manila Bay and at dawn the next day, his squadron opened fire on the Spanish fleet at 5,000 yards. The Americans made five passes, each time reducing the range. When the smoke finally cleared, all 10 of the Spanish ships had been destroyed, and the Spanish had suffered nearly 400 casualties. No Americans were killed in the battle. Headlines across the United States mirrored that of the *New York World*, boasting "Dewey Smashes Spain's Fleet."

The rest of the war with Spain, though fought primarily in the Caribbean, was similar in its brevity and light U.S. casualties in all branches of the service. By mid-August, the war that had claimed the lives of fewer than 400 Americans in combat (but more than 5,000 to yellow fever, typhoid, and other diseases) was over.

The peace conference convened in Paris on October 1. In the resulting treaty, Cuba gained its independence from Spain, and the United States acquired Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines for $20 million. The treaty was signed on December 10 and sent to the Senate for ratification during the winter of 1898–99.

The debates that occurred in the Senate were similar to those taking place throughout the rest of the country. Although the basic argument was whether or not to annex the Philippines, the larger issue involved the future of U.S. foreign policy. It concerned how active a role the United States would take in foreign affairs and to what extent national greatness might depend on holding overseas possessions. Those who favored annexation claimed the Filipinos were incapable of self rule and needed the leadership of the United States, a nation of order and progress. Additionally, they feared that if the United States did not annex the Philippines, Japan or Germany might.

Opponents of annexation organized anti-imperialist leagues, whose members included ex-Presidents Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland, labor leader Samuel Gompers, industrialist Andrew Carnegie, author William James, social worker Jane Addams, and writer Mark Twain. The leagues presented five major arguments against annexation. First, they stated that annexing a territory with no plans for statehood was unprecedented and unconstitutional. Second, they believed that to occupy and govern a foreign people without their consent violated the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. Third, they emphasized that social reforms at home demanded American energies. Fourth, they maintained that defending the Philippines would be expensive for the United States. Finally, they argued that fighting the Filipinos reflected American hypocrisy.

In addition to their five major arguments against annexation, some anti-imperialists were hostile to any "colored" people. As a result, they spoke out against annexation on racial lines and focused on issues related to immigration. They feared that if the Philippines were annexed, Filipinos would be exempt from the Asian Exclusion Laws.

The argument over U.S. hypocrisy emerged from circumstances that developed on February 4, 1899. With the peace treaty still under debate in the Senate, both U.S. troops and Filipino rebel forces were claiming a number of areas of the Philippines, particularly those within Manila's municipal limits. In one such area, a young

No. 128-D.

A-10

United States Naval Force on Asiatic Station.

FLAGSHIP OLYMPIA,

HONGKONG, MARCH 31, 1898.

Sir:

1. On the receipt of your telegram of February 26th, the OLYMPIA, RALEIGH and PETREL were at this port, and the BOSTON and CONCORD were at Chemulpo, Korea. The two latter vessels were ordered here at once and arrived five days later.

2. Since that time the vessels have been kept full of the best coal obtainable, provisioned and ready to move at twenty-four hours notice. From inspections made during the past month, I find the squadron in a high state of efficiency.

3. I have been in communication with reliable persons in Manila and am able to give you what I believe to be a true account of the defenses of that place, which are as follows:

(a) The cruiser "Reina Christina" of 3520 tons.
(b) The wooden cruiser "Castilla", of 3342 tons.
(c) The gun-boats "Don Juan de Austria" and "Isla de Luzon" of 1130 and 1030 tons respectively.
(d) About twelve armed tugs and launches for river service.
(e) A battery of five or possibly six VI-inch guns on Corregidor Island, at the entrance to Manila Bay, 27 miles from the city. These guns have only been mounted during the last month. There is a clear channel on each side of this island, one two and the other five miles in width.
(f) A small and weak battery at Kavite, the naval station, seven miles by water from the city.
(g) Batteries similar to the last along the water front of the city itself, and a small fort at the entrance to the Pasig River.
(h) About 15,000 soldiers of all arms in all the islands, of which half are in the vicinity of Manila. The islands are now in a state of insurrection, and my informants state that even the Spanish soldiers, which constitute only a small part of the whole, are disaffected. Both ships and forts are in need of ammunition.

4. I believe I am not over-confident in stating that with the squadron now under my command the vessels could be taken and the defenses of Manila reduced in one day.

5. There is every reason to believe that with Manila taken or even blockaded, the rest of the islands would fall either to the insurgents or ourselves, as they are only held now through the support of the Navy and are dependent upon Manila for supplies.

6. Information has just reached me that there are 5000 armed rebels encamped near Manila, who are willing to assist us.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Commodore, U.S.Navy,

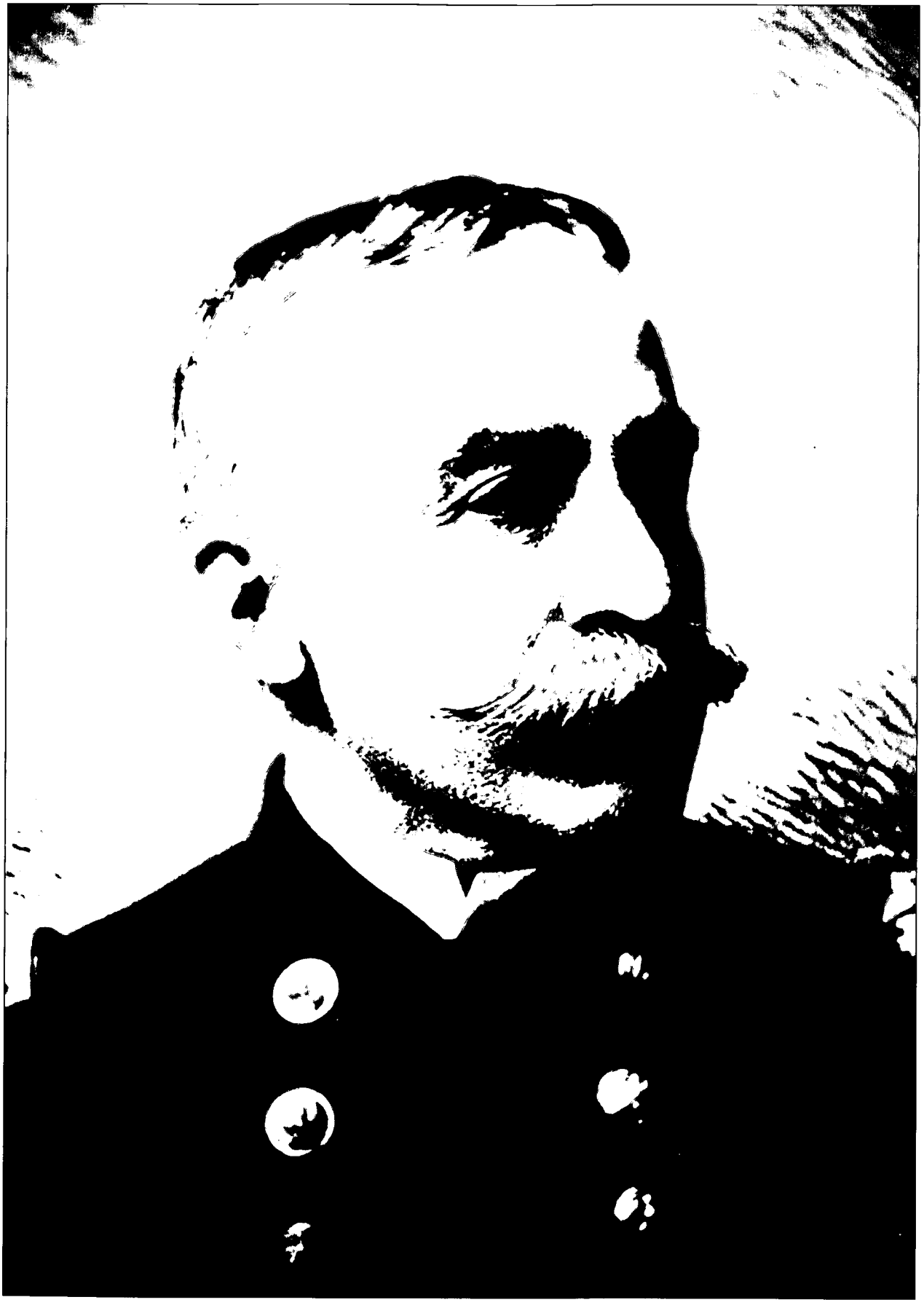
Commanding U.S.Naval Force on Asiatic Station.

The Secretary of the Navy,

Washington, D.C.

(Bureau of Navigation.)

THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY



American private fired on a group of Filipinos, they returned fire, and a new armed conflict began. Two days later the treaty was ratified and signed into law by President McKinley.

According to members of the Anti-Imperialist League, the fighting and annexation reflected a double standard. They questioned why the Cubans had acquired the independence they sought, but the Filipinos had not. They pointed out that Filipino troops had cooperated with the United States during the war and that the Filipinos controlled virtually all of the country (with the exception of the U.S. hold on Manila. Moreover, General Aguinaldo had proclaimed Philippine Independence and with other Filipino leaders formally announced the establishment of the first Philippine Republic. These actions, the Anti-Imperialists insisted, proved that the Filipinos had the ability to rule themselves.

Leading U.S. political and military figures, however, disputed the legitimacy of the proclaimed Philippine Republic on the basis that it was hardly representative of the Filipino people. The right to vote was restricted to a tiny fraction of the population, military leaders intimidated or influenced elections, and in many provinces there were no elections at all.

Many Americans, including soldiers, viewed the anti-imperialists as traitors and believed that their opposition to annexation prolonged the conflict and contributed to casualties on both sides. Although Aguinaldo was captured in the spring of 1901, the Philippine Insurrection did not officially end until the summer of 1902, and skirmishes and local rebellions continued well into the next decade. Between 1898 and 1902, more than 125,000 Americans served in the Philippines, and about 5,000 of them were killed—more than 10 times the U.S. casualties in the Spanish-American War. The total number of Filipinos killed during the war is debatable, but the estimates listed in the Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1902 suggested that they vastly exceeded American losses.

On July 4, 1946, the United States granted political independence to the Philippines. Sixteen years later, however, the Philippines declared June 12 its Independence Day, commemorating the day in 1898 when Aguinaldo declared independence from Spain.

The document featured in this article is contained in the Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library [ONRL], RG 45. The photographs, listed with identifying numbers below, are available from the Still Picture Branch.

111-SC-98358	Emilio Aguinaldo (seated)
111-RB-1169	Emilio Aguinaldo (standing)
208-LU-37E-2	The Battle of Manila Bay
111-SC-83601	Commodore George Dewey

Additional documents related to the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection are available online from the National Archives and Records Administration. Conducting a search in the NAIL database *<http://www.nara.gov/nara/nail.html>* will provide the telegram sent by Roosevelt to Dewey, Dewey's report of the battle of Manila, numerous photographs, and other documents and information.

Teaching Activities

1. Provide each student with a photocopy of both pages of the featured document, and make a transparency with the following questions: What type of document is it? What is the date of the document? Who wrote the document? What is the purpose of the document? What information in the documents helps you understand why it was written? What is the tone of the document? What information contained in the document explains this tone? Ask one student to read the document aloud as the others read silently. Lead the class in oral responses to the questions.
2. Ask students to write a paragraph explaining how they think the information contained in the document might have influenced the U.S. decision to go to war with Spain.
3. Digitized images of Commodore George Dewey's report on the Battle of Manila Bay (Mirs Bay), May 1, 1898, are available online

from the National Archives and Records Administration's NAIL database at <*http://www.nara.gov/nara/nail.html*>. Encourage students to read the report and write a paragraph comparing the details of the actual battle with the information contained in the featured document.

4. Share information from the note to the teacher about Emilio Aguinaldo and the Filipino insurrection against Spain and the United States. Ask students to assume the role of a Philippine rebel and write a journal entry for (1) the day the rebels learned that the United States had declared war on Spain and (2) the day that they learned the United States Senate had approved the annexation treaty.
5. Divide the class into two groups representing Imperialists and Anti-Imperialists. Ask each group to research and write their group's position on the annexation treaty. Ask representatives from each group to conduct a mock congressional debate on the treaty.
6. Divide students into five groups and assign each group one of the major arguments of the Anti-Imperialist League. Instruct them to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of their argument in regards to the Spanish American War and to compare it with the arguments presented by anti-war protesters during other wars in U.S. history (e.g. the Mexican War, the Vietnam War, the Persian Gulf War.) Ask them to report their findings to the class.

Immigration Patterns, Public Opinion, and Government Policy

Immigration to the United States increased at a phenomenal rate during the early years of the 20th century. Between 1900 and 1915 the number of new immigrants entering the United States exceeded one million. These new immigrants came mainly from the southern and eastern European countries of Italy, Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkans (see first featured document). For example, in 1914, one of the heaviest years of immigration, 73 percent of all immigrants came from southern and eastern European countries, while only 13.4 percent came from northern and western Europe.

Many native-born descendants of immigrant groups and many established ethic communities resented the languages, customs, and religious preferences of the new immigrants and feared competition from them in the workplace. As a result, many individuals and groups urged their Congressional representatives to support more stringent legislation on immigration and amend old immigration laws (see second featured document). Not all citizens, however, were implacable toward the immigrants. Government officials and industrialists were well aware of the substantial role immigrants played in the American economy. More enlightened individuals were aware of scientific, religious, and civic contributions of immigrants and believed continued immigration was essential to the nation's well-being (see the third featured document).

Nevertheless, in response to increasing numbers of immigrants and domestic resistance to unrestricted immigration, Congress enacted two major laws in the 1920s to limit the number of immigrants entering the United States. Each immigration bill established an annual ceiling for all nationalities and created a system for calculating the number of each nationality to be granted entry.

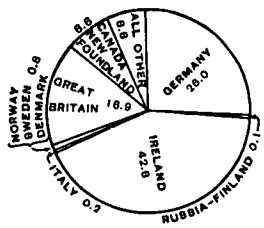
In 1920 Congress declared the 1910 census as the basis for determining how many immigrants from each country would be allowed to enter the United States. Congress also set a limit on the number of persons who might enter the United States from a given country at no more than three percent of the number of immigrants from that country already recorded by the census takers.

In 1924 Congress passed an even more restrictive act known as the Johnson Bill, named after Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington, chairman of the House Committee on Immigration. The Immigration Act of 1924 established the 1890 census as the new base for determining how many immigrants would be admitted to the United States. This effectively reduced the percentage admitted for each nationality to 2 percent. Since the foreign-born population of the United States was much smaller in 1890 than in 1910, immigration was more restricted than it would have been by a simple reduction of the base percentage. The 1924 act curtailed immigration from southern and eastern European countries since there had been fewer people from these countries living in the United States in 1890 than in 1910. By the end of the decade, Congress had further restricted those seeking entry into the United States.

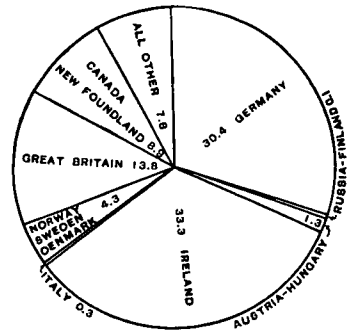
The pie charts in the first featured document show the distribution of foreign-born population

1. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH: 1850, 1870, 1890, AND 1910

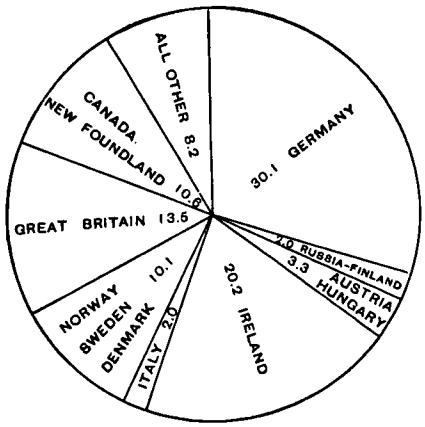
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN, 1850: 2,244,602



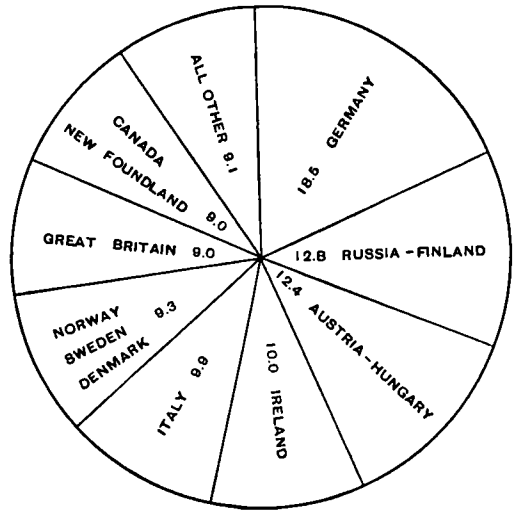
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN, 1870: 5,587,229



TOTAL FOREIGN BORN, 1890: 9,249,560

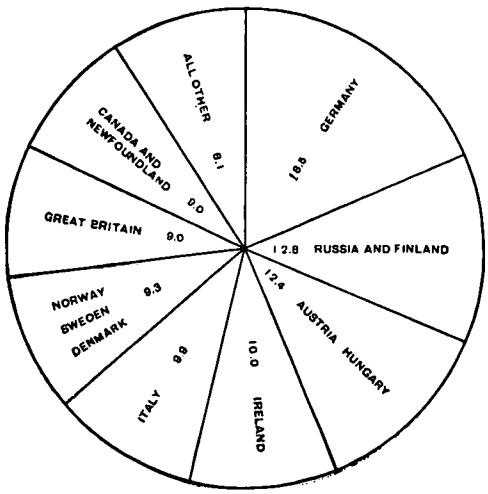


TOTAL FOREIGN BORN, 1910: 13,515,886

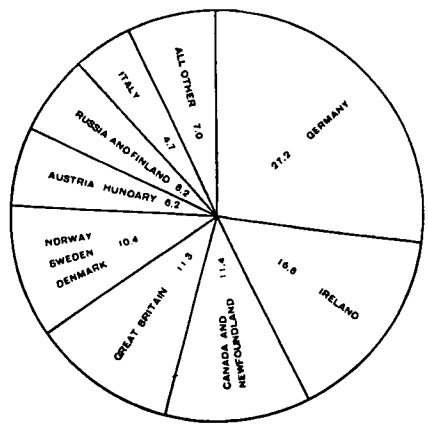


2. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH: 1910 AND 1900

TOTAL FOREIGN BORN, 1910: 13,515,888



TOTAL FOREIGN BORN, 1900: 10,341,276



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and are based on statistics gathered in the 1910 census, upon which the 1920 immigration quota was based. It is Plate 212 from *Statistical Atlas of the United States, 1910*, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. The second document, from letters to Congressman Allen F. Cooper, shows the degree of organization of anti-immigration lobbying on the eve of World War I. They are found in the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233. The third document is a newspaper report about Commissioner of Immigration Frederick A. Wallis's speech to the University Club in which he criticized the criteria for selecting immigrants. The article was clipped from the March 23, 1921, *Standard Union*, and collected by the Public Health Service. It is located in the Records of the Public Health Service, Record Group 90.

Teaching Activities

A. Making Graphs

1. Conduct a poll to determine the ethnic background of students in your class. Ask for a show of hands as you name different ethnic groups. Designate two students to record the name of each ethnic group and the number of students who claim ancestry from that group. One student should keep track on the chalkboard, the other on paper. When you have finished listing the ethnic groups, ask students if any groups were missed and record any additions.

2. Duplicate and distribute to each student the list with the data on the ethnic profile of the class. Ask each student to create a pie, line, or bar graph showing the numerical distribution of ethnic groups by country for the class.

3. Duplicate and distribute document one and the worksheet to each student. When the students have completed the assignment, review their answers in class. Ask the students to compare and contrast the ethnic makeup of America in 1850, 1870, 1890, and 1910 with that of their class.

B. Analyzing Documents

1. Divide the class into groups of three and provide each group with document two or three. Direct students to read the documents and record their answers to the following questions:
   a. From what areas of the world are immigrants coming?
   b. What adjectives are used to describe immigrants?
   c. What is the opinion in this document concerning immigration to the United States?
   d. What reasons are given in support of this opinion? Consider nationalistic, economic, and racially based arguments.

2. Review the questions for each document, calling on reporters from each group.

3. Discuss with the class the following questions:
   a. Which complaints are repeated?
   b. Are opinions in the documents supported with facts?
   c. What attitudes do they reflect toward the new immigrants themselves?
   d. Are there any similarities between the complaints against immigrants voiced in the early 20th century and those voiced today?

4. Ask the student groups to exchange documents and review them carefully as the groups consider how government policy is influenced by public opinion. Discuss the following questions:
   a. What evidence is there in this document of the methods used by individuals to influence government policy?
   b. What evidence is there in this document of an organized campaign to influence government policy?
   c. What disadvantages would immigrants have in trying to influence public officials?
   d. Did immigrants or the opponents of immigration prevail? Support your answer.

C. Follow-up Activities

1. Play Neil Diamond's song "Coming to America." Ask students to comment on Diamond's theme of America as a haven for newcomers. Ask the question: Is Diamond's dream of America a myth or a reality? Explain.

Fayette City, Pa., July 24 1909.

Mr. Allen F. Cooper, M. C.

DEAR SIR:-

This country has been called the land of the free and the asylum of the oppressed. So it has been, so it is now; but it is not and should not be allowed to continue to be the dumping ground for all paupers, illiterates, weak-minded, and criminals of all other lands. We talk of protection of home industries and home labor, yet home labor, either native born or naturalized, cannot be protected while the gates of our ports are open wide to the millions of Immigrants who are coming. Immigration should be regulated or we will soon be on a par with the wage scale and social and moral conditions of Southern Europe and the Oriental Countries. We ask you to do everything in your power to secure the enactment of a law to restrict Immigration. They have no family ties in this country. They do not respect christianity or moral life, or the public institutions of this country, but simply rob the native born Americans of a livlihood. and then go and spend their gain in their own native land.

I hope that God will help you to weigh this question in the balance is my prayer,

I REMAIN, YOURS TRULY,

Arthur Stimel

Fayette City, Pa., Aug 21 1909.

Mr. Allen F. Cooper M. C.

DEAR SIR:-

The strength of this country lies in the intelligence of its citizenship. The American people have for many years undertaken, at an annual expense of many millions of dollars, to see that every child in America receives some preparation in our public schools, for the duty of a citizen, and we insist that every person of foreign birth more than twelve years of age who desires to share the advantages of our country, ought to be required before he comes here, to make so much preparation for American citizenship as is involved in learning to read and write in his own language. The illiterates that are coming to this country will not elevate American citizenship but lower it, therefore we must stop them from coming. Think of the disregard for the Sabbath day in the cities by these aliens. Think of the crimes against women and children by men who cannot speak the English language, and the constantly increasing pollution of American customs. homes and morals by the throng of immigrants, and the many other alarming conditions, all brought about by unregulated immigration, which should arouse the people to action and Congress to protective and regulative legislation.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Hoping you are of the same opinion,

I REMAIN, YOURS TRULY,

J. A. Mathews,
Donora Pa.

Ellis Island

Misc

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"BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION"

ON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1921.

SAYS THE FOREIGNER IS NOT APPRECIATED

Immigration Not a Menace to Nation, Says Commissioner Wallis.

TALKS AT UNIVERSITY CLUB.

Thinks U. S. Agents Should Select Immigrants Abroad.

Commissioner of Immigration Frederick A. Wallis told the members and guests of the University Club, Lafayette avenue, last night that the solution of the immigration problem lay, not in such tests as the literary test, which he said was not worth a snap, but in the selection of the immigrant on the other side by American inspectors and the scientific distribution and sensible amalgamation of the new citizen on this side of the water.

"I have never thought of immigration as a national menace," the Commissioner said. "I believe the problem can best be met by scientific selection of the immigrant on the other side and the safe and sensible distribution here.

"We don't appreciate the foreigner—that's the trouble with us. We look upon him as a foreigner. Well, he is; we all are, no matter how far back we trace our blood, unless you happen to be an Indian.

"One thing the war has brought to us on Ellis Island is that we don't see much difference between the immigrant of to-day and the early immigrants whom we call Pilgrims. You look upon the incoming foreigner as a common mechanic, as a laborer, an artisan. Yet he has risen to the positions of preacher, doctor, officer, and even member of the Cabinet. The immigrant, if well selected, will bring to the country strong arms, a keen eye, balanced brain and an almost superhuman ability to work."

What the Immigrant Does.

The immigrant, according to the Commissioner, contributes 85 per cent. of all labor in the meat-packing industries; nine-tenths in the cotton mills, nine-twentieths in the clothing, one-half in the shoes, one-half in the collars, four-fifths in the leather, one-half in the gloves, nine-twentieths in the refining of sugar and one-half in the tobacco and cigarette industries. "And yet they call the immigrant the 'great American problem!'"

"I believe in a certain kind of immigration. The immigrant is indispensable to our industries. However, we do not care for the foreigner who thinks his first task here is to get up on a soapbox or up in a public school and preach the overthrow of the Government."

Speaking on the Americanization of the newcomer to this country, he thought Americanization could no longer be "shoved and crammed down the throats of the foreigner any more than a preacher can shove religion down anyone's throat."

The Way to Americanization.

"The way to Americanization is through patience, not pressure," he warned. "It must come by environment, by better home and living conditions. In this respect the first impression is an important one. Conditions at Ellis Island should be made as comfortable and pleasing as possible. For that reason we are trying to humanize the island; trying to put more sunlight there.

Commissioner Wallis surprised his audience when he informed them that there is a well-established stowaway system in operation from Greek and other Mediterranean ports to Liverpool, thence to America.

"I believe the medical examinations of to-day are farces," Commissioner Wallis continued. "The examination is superficial. Many pass through with governmental permission who are diseased inwardly with no ap-

3/26 To Com'r Genl Immigration RHC

2. Ask students to write a letter to Congressman Allen F. Cooper giving reasons why he should oppose the Johnson Bill and severe restriction of immigration.

3. Ask students to make a time line of federal laws pertaining to immigration from 1850 to the present.

IMMIGRATION PATTERNS, PUBLIC OPINION, AND GOVERNMENT POLICY WORKSHEET

Directions: Examine the pie charts on the first document to complete this worksheet.

1. What was the total number of foreign-born persons in:

   1850? _____ 1890? _____
   1870? _____ 1900? _____
   1910? _____

2. Record the percentage distribution of the foreign-born of the following countries:

	Great Britain	Italy	Russia-Finland
1850	_____	_____	_____
1870	_____	_____	_____
1890	_____	_____	_____
1910	_____	_____	_____

3. To answer the following questions, note that northern and western Europe includes Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany and that southern and eastern Europe includes Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia-Finland.

   a. Calculate the increase in the total number of foreign-born persons from 1890 to 1910.

   b. What is the total percentage of southern and eastern European immigrants in

      1890? _____
      1910? _____
      Calculate the increase.

   c. To restrict southern and eastern European immigration, should the government have set a quota based on 1890 or 1910? _____

      Why? _____

The First Amendment: The Finished Mystery Case and World War I

Our most personal liberties—freedom of religion, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, the right to peaceful assembly, and the right to petition the Government—are protected by the First Amendment. The First Amendment is the first ratified addition to the Constitution and the first of the amendments to be made binding upon the States by the due process clause of the 14th Amendment. It also enjoys a primacy belonging to no other amendment. Indeed, Justice Wiley Rutledge in *Thomas* v. *Collins*, 323 U.S. 516 (1945), conferred on the First Amendment a "preferred position" in the hierarchy of rights. Yet, as favored as the First Amendment is and as absolute as its language is, there are limits to the freedoms guaranteed therein. The rights of the individual are balanced against the common good.

Particularly in wartime, conflict has arisen between individual liberties and the general welfare. Usually when conflict occurs, national interest is accorded precedence over individual conscience. Neither free exercise of religion nor free expression has ever been perceived as absolute. Time after time, during periods of national emergency, the threshold for what constitutes seditious language has been lowered. See "*Abington* v. *Schempp*—The Establishment Clause, 1962" in volume 1 of *Teaching with Documents*.

During World War I, Federal espionage and sedition acts were adopted that resulted in nearly 1,000 convictions. The Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, accorded the Government broad powers to censor or confiscate materials that were considered unpatriotic, critical, or treasonous and provided for the imprisonment of persons distributing seditious materials. Many publications were scrutinized, including those published by religious groups.

Shortly before his death in 1916, Pastor Charles T. Russell, the founder of the Jehovah's Witnesses, requested posthumous publication of *The Finished Mystery*, the final volume in his religious textbook series called Studies in the Scriptures: Helping Hands to Bible Study. Its purpose, like that of the society's periodicals, *Kingdom News* and *The Watch Tower*, was "to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ by the oral message and by the printed page." The volume was published in mid-July 1917 and the society's International Bible Students Association (IBSA) sold 30,000 copies the first week it was available.

Later that year, according to contemporary reports in *Kingdom News*, the Censor Committee of the Intelligence Section of the War Department suggested the removal of six pages; the society complied with the request. The Government later denied that any such request had been made; however, in early spring 1918, *The Finished Mystery* was named a proscribed book on the grounds that it was antiwar propaganda in violation of section 3, title I, of the Espionage Act. John Lord O'Brian, special assistant to the Attorney General for war work, asserted that the book "treated participation in war as irreligious, un-Christian, a violation of the word of God and an adherence to the purposes and designs of Satan." On March 14, 1918, the Attorney General telegraphed Hooper Alexander, the U.S. Attorney for Atlanta, GA, to enforce the book

ban. The featured document is the reply Alexander made the next day. It is located in the General Records of the Department of Justice, Record Group 60, Central Files Classified, Subject Correspondence.

The April 15, 1918, edition of *Kingdom News* protested the Government's censorship, arguing, "The Society has never published anything with a view to hindering the progress of the war at all, for the reason that they recognize it as of Divine permission, and could not oppose its progress without opposing the very foundation of their belief." They suggested that rival Protestant clergy had labeled their publications as "Hun Propaganda" to unleash Government persecution.

O'Brian clarified his opposition to the piece in a May 15 letter to Alexander saying that there was no problem with distribution of the book to regular recognized members of the society and IBSA. Rather, it was distribution of the materials to outsiders that constituted "anti-war propaganda." Shortly after, J.F. Rutherford and seven other members of the IBSA were arrested for distributing the proscribed materials. They were convicted on the charges of conspiracy to cause insubordination and disloyalty in the military and naval forces of the United States and obstruction of recruitment and enlistment (for organizing exemption claims on religious grounds). They were confined in the Atlanta Penitentiary, and their convictions were sustained upon appeal. In spite of a letter-writing campaign and request by Representative Riley J. Wilson, they received no clemency.

Following the war, six cases came before the Supreme Court challenging the constitutionality of the wartime measures restraining free expression. In each instance the Supreme Court sustained the Federal acts. The first case to be decided, *Schenck* v. *United States* (1919), provided Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes the opportunity to enunciate the "clear and present danger" doctrine:

> The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic.... The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent.

These decisions are the standing precedent for the Supreme Court, since they have never been overruled.

Teaching Activities

1. Duplicate and distribute copies of the document to the students, then ask them the following questions:
   a. What type of document is this?
   b. Are there any unique physical qualities of the document such as letterhead, seals, or other markings?
   c. What is the date of the document?
   d. Who created the document? What was his or her title?
   e. For what audience was the document written?
   f. Why was this document written? What evidence in the document helped you to know why it was written?
   g. Write a question to Mr. Alexander that is left unanswered by the document.

2. Display the language of the First Amendment in the room on a bulletin board, chalkboard, or overhead projector: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."
   a. Ask students to identify synonyms for establishment, abridging, petition, redress, and grievances, then instruct them to paraphrase the First Amendment in their own words.
   b. Share with your students background information about *The Finished Mystery* incident. Then ask students to identify each section of the First Amendment that was engaged in the episode and to explain how. Students

U. S. COURTS.

ATLANTA:
First Monday in October and second Monday in March.
ATHENS:
Second Monday in April and first Monday in November.
COLUMBUS:
First Mondays in May and December.
GAINESVILLE:
Fourth Mondays in April and November.
ROME:
Third Mondays in May and November.

A-M

11-12

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

OFFICE OF UNITED STATES ATTORNEY,
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA.
ATLANTA.

March15, 1918.

190317

The Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your telegram of March 14th relative to book called "The Finished Mystery." The Bureau of Investigation has been requested to interview every book dealer and news-stand in Atlanta and find out if any copies of this book are in the city. Should any be found, warning will be given as advised by you.

Respectfully,

Hooper Alexander

United States Attorney.

MAR 21 1918

190317-11-12

MAR 23 1918

O'BRIAN

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are likely to identify interference with free press and will probably cite free speech and free exercise of religion. However, they may not observe that the Jehovah's Witnesses perceived the incident as motivated by Government preference for other religious sects (establishment), that the IBSA students were arrested while peaceably assembled, or that a number of people exercised their right to petition the Government on their behalf.

3. On the chalkboard or overhead projector, write the heading "National Security." Ask students to identify reasons why the Government might have perceived *The Finished Mystery* as a threat to the wartime effort. Then ask students to reread the First Amendment. Discuss as a class whether the Government's action in *The Finished Mystery* case was a threat to personal liberties.

4. James Madison was concerned that adding a bill of rights as amendments made the rights it guaranteed more vulnerable than they would have been if they were embedded in the Constitution. Time has proved that, indeed, amendments to the Constitution can be voided: the 21st Amendment, for example, repealed the 18th. Inclusion of the writ of habeas corpus in the Constitution, however, did not prevent its suspension during the Civil War. For more information about this, see "*Ex parte Milligan Letter*, 1865" in volume 1 of *Teaching with Documents*. Ask students to write a position paper with supporting reasons either approving or opposing Madison's idea to embed change in the Constitution.

The Protection of Working Children

Child labor, a leading issue in the Progressive movement of the early 1900s, was still in the forefront of the political scene in the United States during the 1920s. In 1924 the Federal Government championed the cause of working children with a proposed amendment to the Constitution—an amendment that would remove the regulation of child labor from each of the 48 states and place it in the hands of Congress. The change required an amendment because state governments held the power to regulate labor under the reserve powers of the 10th Amendment. Reformers believed that Federal regulation would end the exploitation of children.

Congress had previously attempted to gain control over child labor. In 1916 its Keating-Owen law forbade interstate commerce of products manufactured by companies employing children. In 1918, however, the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, declared this law unconstitutional because it interfered in a purely local matter to which, the Court reasoned, Federal authority did not extend. Similarly, in 1923 the Court declared unconstitutional the Revenue Act of 1919, which imposed a 10-percent tax on the net profits of any company employing children. Until they were declared unconstitutional, these two Federal laws extended protection to thousands of children not protected by state laws.

In June 1924 the U.S. Congress adopted the proposed child labor amendment by a two-thirds vote in both houses—the House of Representatives voting 297 to 69 and the Senate, 61 to 23. The text of that amendment reads as follows:

"Section 1: The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

Section 2: The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

Proponents of the proposed amendment included the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the Department of Commerce, and the National Child Labor Committee, which had hired Lewis Hine from 1908 to 1912 to photograph the conditions of child labor in the United States. (Three of Hine's photographs appear in "Children at Work Photographs, ca. 1908" in volume 1 of *Teaching with Documents.*

Only six of the required 36 states approved the amendment during the first two years after its adoption. In 1933 the National Recovery Administration pushed for its ratification because child labor reduced the number of jobs available for adults and tended to lower adult wage rates. During this same period, Labor Secretary Frances Perkins argued that "this is the time to make permanent, through the amendment, a beneficial change in the standards so as to keep boys and girls out of industry and give them the chance in life to which they are entitled."

Through the efforts of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the National Recovery Administration, the amendment received the support of nine more states by the end of 1933. Roosevelt continued to lobby the states in support of ratification of this amendment, albeit unsuccessfully, throughout the 1930s.

Finally, in 1938 the Supreme Court ruled as constitutional one Federal child labor law: the Walsh-Healy Act. This act, the first child labor

Report on Visit to office of County Superintendent of Schools
Athens, Georgia, December 4, 1922.

Capt. Dozier, County Superintendent of Schools in Clarke County, Ga., is 88 years old and has held this office for twenty-five years. He is quite feeble, and states he has wished to retire at various times but the County Board and the teachers would not permit it.

The Superintendent seemed irritated at first, but cooperated as best he could. Stated he had no school records for the rural schools, but modified this statement and said they were in such bad order nothing could be found among them. Inspector asked to examine them for the ages of several children, but he made no move to get the records or show her where to hunt for them. Stated that when he had received requests for records in the past he had not replied, as the person making the request would understand he did not have them when he did not answer.

Capt. Dozier kept a register of certificates and removals(transfers), as well as a copy of the certificates issued since the passage of the Georgia Child Labor Law. As various entries are incomplete the book is of very little actual value.

Prior to 1919 there had been 82 of the three kinds of certificates issued to children between 12 and 16 years of age.

In 1919 3 permits were issued to children 12 years old; 3 to children 13 years old, and 3 to children 14 years old.

In 1920 1 certificate was issued to a child 13 years old.

In 1921, 1 certificate was issued to a child 12 years old.

In 1922, 4 certificates were issued to children 12 years old, 4 to children 13 years old, and 2 to children 14 years old.

In many instances date of issue and name of issuing officer were absent; year of issue given as year of birth; i. e. "Ruby McEntire, date of birth Sept. 6, 1913, certificate issued Oct. 9, 1913; date entered and another date written over original; name of establishment blank. Certificate for Hubert Hayes, born August 27, 1912, date of issue Jan. 20, 1913. Two copies of a number of certificates were found on file, and when Capt. Dozier was questioned concerning this said he merely failed to send the required copy to the Commissioner at Atlanta.

Certificates were not filed in any order whatever. Capt. Dozier said he never bothered with them once they were filed, and it was not inconvenient to have no system of filing.

Several questions were asked about the Child Labor Law of Georgia, but Capt. Dozier knew very little about it. Said he had no copy in his office.

Of the 3 certificates on file in the office of City Supt. of Schools, Bond, one was incorrectly issued, giving 1914 as year of birth instead of 1908, as girl claimed to be 14 in 1922.

M. Shepherd
Inspector

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GEORGIA.

State Law.

Minimum, 14 years - mill, factory, laundry, manufacturing establishment, or place of amusement.

Exception, 12 years old - having a dependent widowed mother or dependent on self support.

Certificates: for children 12-14 years good for six months. Issued by (may be) issued on advice of a commission composed of County school superintendent, the ordinary and the head of the school. By Supt. of Schools.

Hours of labor, 10 hour day for all employees including minors under 16, or not to exceed 60 per week. Night work between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. prohibited under 14 years 6 months. No enforcement of age required by law.

Enforcement - Commissioner of Labor and his assistants and officials enforce law.

Compulsory school attendance - All children between 8 and 14 must attend school continuously for 4 months of each year beginning at first term.

Exemptions - Completion of 4th grade; services necessary for support of parent or other dependent relatives and poverty; unable to provide text books and clothing; mentally and physically unfit; reside 3 miles from school; those who present sufficient reason to Board of Education.

School Boards are authorized to take into consideration the season for agricultural labor and need for such labor. Teacher is required to report monthly to Board of Education and it is duty of local Board of Education to investigate attendance or non-attendance. No provision for attendance officers.

12

restriction placed upon the states upheld by the Court, prohibited employment of boys under 16 and girls under 18 by government contractors for work exceeding $10,000 in value. In that same year, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, also known as the Wages and Hours Law, a major provision of which prohibited child labor in all industries engaged in producing goods in interstate commerce and placed a limitation on the labor of boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 18 in hazardous occupations. It also withstood legal challenges.

Federal legislation passed by Congress, upheld by the Supreme Court, and enforced by the executive agencies gradually accomplished what the unratified amendment had proposed: the protection of our youngest citizens' rights in the area of employment and labor. As a result, the impetus to ratify the amendment evaporated.

Before the child labor amendment was proposed, the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor began to compile information that would aid in its promotion by sending investigators to check on local compliance with state child labor laws. A report of a visit to the office of the superintendent of schools of Clarke County, GA, and the typescript of Georgia's child labor law from the early 1920s are the documents featured in this article. These documents are part of the Records of the Children's Bureau, Record Group 102.

Teaching Activities

Discussion

Before the lesson, provide each student with copies of the two featured documents, the Constitution, and the text of the 10th Amendment. Discuss with students the amendment process as described in Article V of the Constitution. Introduce to the class the text of the proposed amendment.

1. Ask students to review Article I, section 8, of the Constitution to learn whether regulation of child labor is a power delegated to Congress and the Federal Government.

   Ask students to read the text of the 10th Amendment. Discuss with the class whether regulation of child labor is a power granted to the states under the 10th Amendment.

   Ask students why they believe the child labor amendment was proposed. Their list of reasons should reflect working conditions prior to the amendment's proposal in 1924.

Document Analysis

2. Ask students to review the Georgia child labor law and discuss the rules concerning the issuance of working certificates for young laborers. Next, ask students to read the 1922 report of the Children's Bureau investigator's visit to the Clarke County, GA, superintendent's office.

   After reviewing the contents of the report, divide the class into small groups, with each group generating a list of violations of state law committed by Captain Dozier's office. These groups should also theorize why the state law was ignored by the superintendent's office.

   The Clarke County report documented the rule rather than the exception in labor practices throughout the United States in the 1920s. Ask students to evaluate the need for the proposed amendment in 1924.

Research Activities

3. Choose one or more of the following activities for follow-up.
   a. Select students to research the proposed amendment and prepare for a point/counterpoint debate on its merits. Supporters should speak to labor's arguments, opponents to those of management. Ask students to write a summary essay, based on their research and debate, about why they believe the proposed amendment was never ratified.
   b. Obtain from your state Labor Department or the office of the superintendent of schools in your district, the current state laws and regulations on issuance of working certificates to minors. You may also want to

write to the Child Labor Branch, Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor, 200 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20210, or call 202-523-7640 for a guide to current Federal law on child labor. Ask one student to review the materials, compare and contrast the information with the 1920s Georgia law, and make a presentation to the class on the process of filing for working papers.

c. Survey working students in your classes to find out how to obtain work permits, how to get hired, the types of jobs available to students, work requirements, responsibilities, and other related information in your community. Ask each class to chart the results of the survey and prepare an analysis of the data.

d. Ask volunteers to research and prepare reports for the class on Mother Jones, Lewis Hine, John Spargo, the National Child Labor Committee, and other child labor reformers and their methods and approaches to improving the life of children during the Progressive Era. Lewis Hine's photographs of children at work during this period are found in most U.S. history textbooks and in volume 1 of *Teaching with Documents*.

e. Suggest further research topics for written or oral reports, such as failed amendments or current issues related to minors who work, minimum wage, or employment of underage workers.

Photographs of Ellis Island: The High Tide of Immigration

For generations of immigrants the "island of tears," or the Federal immigration station at Ellis Island, left an indelible first impression of life in the United States. In sight of the Statue of Liberty, excited voyagers anticipated their arrival in a new land. Fortunate passengers with first- or second-class tickets were processed by officers aboard ship and disembarked directly in New York. But the majority of incoming aliens traveled steerage and, therefore, were ferried to Ellis Island to undergo a series of immigration inspections. There they poured down gangplanks, trudging to the cast-iron canopy, lugging their most important possessions in bundles and suitcases. Most also carried a weighty anxiety. The imposing French Renaissance architecture of the buildings, the throngs of people, the cacophony of languages, and most of all, the remote but very real possibility of detainment or deportation must certainly have seemed threatening.

In 1907, the peak year for immigration at Ellis Island, more than a million aliens came to the United States. During the same year only 13,064 were refused entry. The horror stories of families torn apart, elderly and infirm persons deported for a 20-day return trip to their country of origin, and able-bodied young men refused entry because of contract labor violations grew out of the mere two percent of the "huddled masses" who were barred from entering. On the whole, considering the number of aliens sometimes exceeded 10,000 in a single day, the administration of the immigration station was successful and expeditious. The featured documents, photographs from the Records of the Public Health Service, 1912–1968, Record Group 90, detail the immigration experiences endured by almost 12 million aliens upon their arrival at Ellis Island. Today a full 40 percent of the population of the United States can trace at least one ancestor to the golden door of the Ellis Island Immigration Station.

Ellis Island

Prior to 1890 the Federal Government contracted with individual states' port authorities to administer an evolving immigration policy. Officially, the Treasury Department maintained control over immigration, including deportations, enforcement of contract labor laws, and regulation of steamship companies' treatment of passengers. Uneven enforcement and interpretation of existing regulations, exacerbated by increasing complaints regarding the treatment of immigrants, resulted in the establishment of a Federal Bureau of Immigration within the Treasury Department in 1891. The following year the Bureau opened Ellis Island Immigration Station in upper New York Bay. Over the next 30 years, Ellis Island would become the main gateway to American Society for millions of immigrants.

The initial wooden structure at Ellis Island burned to the ground only five years after it opened. The fire also destroyed ship manifests dating from 1855, taking with it a rich documentation of immigration history in the city of New York. The functions of the immigration station were temporarily relocated to a barge. Over the next several years, scandalous stories of immigration agents swindling new arrivals, proposition-

ing unaccompanied women, and extorting bribes from laborers reached Congress. When the majestic brick and limestone replacement building opened in 1900, reform was under way in the Bureau of Immigration. Treatment of immigrants greatly improved in the impressive new quarters now administered by immigration officials who had become civil servants.

The main building was designed to accommodate up to 5,000 people per day. Passengers disembarked from the ferries that took them from ships docked in Manhattan. They entered the turreted building under a cast-iron and glass canopy. On the ground floor, they entered a baggage room where they checked their precious belongings. They then ascended a long, steep stairwell. As the aliens climbed the stairs, immigration officials observed them. At the top of the stairs, they were directed either to detainment in a physical examination room or to the registry room for legal inspection. In the spacious registry room, throngs of people were channeled slowly toward inspectors. Aliens failing to answer questions properly were immediately sent to special inquiry rooms for further questioning, language interpretation, or tests of mental acuity. Most passengers spent an average of five hours at Ellis Island before they descended a staircase on the opposite end of the hall to retrieve baggage and purchase ferry and rail tickets to final destinations. Detainees, however, slept in cramped third-floor dormitories until their special cases were reviewed.

As the tide of immigrants rose, additional structures were built, including contagious disease wards, nurseries, and kitchens. With the passage of immigration restriction laws in the 1920s, the facilities were increasingly used to detain and deport "undesirables." In order to accommodate the necessary expansion of Ellis Island, architects enlarged the island with landfill from tunnels being dug to create New York's subway system. By 1934 the island had grown from its original 3.3 acres to 27.5 acres. A mere 20 years later, in 1954, the immigration station was abandoned. Its functions were assumed by New York's new port of entry for this nation of immigrants, Idlewild Airport, today called the John F. Kennedy International Airport.

Inspections

Most of the immigrants detained at Ellis Island were kept for medical reasons. Public Health Service doctors estimated that they spent fewer than 10 seconds on each individual at the top of the first stairwell in their search for manifestations of more than 60 diseases. They looked for rashes, pox, lameness, pregnancy, and mental disorders. With a buttonhook, they peeled back eyelids, searching for signs of the highly contagious disease trachoma. Anyone exhibiting signs of illness received a blue chalk mark on the lapel and was detained.

Those who passed the scrutiny of the Public Health Service faced another hurdle at the legal inspection station. With ship manifests in hand, inspectors questioned each potential entrant with the aid of translators. After "Name?" and "Place of Birth?," the inspectors' questions became more complex as they searched for responses that might give reason for exclusion. Inspectors asked aliens if they had criminal records or if they were anarchists. Unaccompanied women were denied entry if there was no father or husband to claim them; they were labeled "of questionable character." Men who answered that they had a job could be barred for violating the ban on contract labor. Ironically, if men claimed to have no job awaiting them, they could be denied entry as "likely to become a public charge."

Those individuals passing all inspections, immediately or after weeks of detainment, collected their baggage, exchanged their lire or kopeks, purchased their rail tickets, and carefully passed through the "golden door." For most people, the nerve-wracking inquisitions at Ellis Island were eclipsed by their reunions with loved ones and their potentially bright futures in the United States.

Closing the Door

At the turn of the century, nativist sentiments flared in reaction to the changing ethnicity of the "second wave" of immigration. Eastern Europeans escaping ethnic persecution and southern Europeans fleeing rural poverty arrived

in unprecedented numbers. The unfamiliar languages and differing religious practices of these new immigrants ignited latent fears in many American citizens. Increasing restrictions were placed on incoming aliens. By 1917 there were 33 categories for exclusion. All immigrants were required to pass a literacy test and undergo a complete physical exam. Unaccompanied children under the age of 16, potential workers in burgeoning coal mines and textile mills, were also excluded after 1917. Congress passed a quota act in 1921 limiting the number of aliens admitted in proportion to numbers of citizens from ethnic backgrounds detailed in the 1910 census. In 1924 a second act further restricted immigration by establishing percentages based on numbers taken from the 1890 census. In this way, preferential immigration status was reestablished for northern Europeans. Ellis Island was used increasingly to process and detain deportees.

The tide of immigration slowed during the Depression. The military used many of the facilities on Ellis Island during World War II. After the war, numbers of immigrants entering at Ellis Island continued to dwindle. The immigration station was closed in 1954 and abandoned to the elements. In 1965 Ellis Island became part of Liberty National Park, but the building itself was not refurbished and reopened to the public until 1991. Today, the main building houses a museum dedicated to the millions of Americans who entered the United States through that golden door.

Teaching Activities

1. Distribute a copy of each photograph to your students. Ask the students to study each photograph for 2 minutes. Then ask them to create a chart listing the people, objects, and actions in each photograph. Direct the following questions to your students:
   a. What can you infer about the kinds of immigrants from these photographs? In what country or region did they originate? What socioeconomic background do you think they represent? Support your answers with details from the photographs.
   b. What is your impression of the physical examination? How do you think the immigrants in line feel about the procedure?

2. Share the background information about Ellis Island with your students. Call their attention to what is known today about contagious disease and sterilization. In light of modern medical knowledge, ask the students to identify problems with the methods of screening and detainment used at Ellis Island. List contagious diseases prevalent today. How are these diseases combated in various communities?

3. Divide your students into groups to develop and perform 5-minute skits on different aspects of the Ellis Island experience. Possible subjects for skits include arrival by ship in New York Harbor, the point of physical examination, the point of legal inquiry, or a conversation among deportees. Require each member to play an active part in the skit.

4. As a writing assignment, ask students to imagine they are recent immigrants to this country at the beginning of the century. Each student should compose a detailed letter to relatives or friends in the home country explaining what they can expect to encounter upon arrival at Ellis Island and suggesting strategies for their speedy admission to the United States.

5. Assign students to read Emma Lazarus's poem "The New Colossus" and Adrienne Rich's poem "Prospective Immigrants Please Note." Lazarus published her poem commemorating the gift of the Statue of Liberty by France to the United States in 1884. In it, "tempest-tossed" immigrants will pass through the romanticized "golden door," a metaphor for ports of entry to the United States. Rich, who published her poem in 1962, uses immigration as a metaphor to explore not the literal change of nationality, but the spiritual and emotional passage from a known position to one that is uncertain and risky. Compare her cautionary tone with that evoked in Lazarus's poem. Ask students to write poems of their own using the metaphor of a door. Students might think about whether the door before them is open

or closed, an entrance, an exit, or an escape route? What kinds of experiences, ideal or difficult, might be waiting for them on the other side?

6. Invite a first generation American to visit your classroom to discuss contemporary immigration experiences with your students. Ask students to draft questions ahead of time regarding your guest's preparation for emigrating from his or her home country, learning a new language, procedures for obtaining a work permit, difficulties encountered in adjusting to a new society, and procedures followed for acquiring citizenship.

THE NEW COLOSSUS
Emma Lazarus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

This poem can be found, with an accompanying interpretation and teaching suggestions, in Sari Grossman and Joan Brodsky Schur, eds., *In A New Land: An Anthology of Immigrant Literature* (Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company, 1994).

PROSPECTIVE IMMIGRANTS PLEASE NOTE
Adrienne Rich

Either you will
go through this door
or you will not go through.

If you go through
there is always the risk
of remembering your name.

Things look at you doubly
and you must look back
and let them happen.

If you do not go through
it is possible
to live worthily

to maintain your attitudes
to hold your position
to die bravely

but much will blind you,
much will evade you,
at what cost who knows?

The door itself
makes no promises.
It is only a door.

The Inquiry Into the Education of Don Henry, and His Subsequent Death in the Spanish Civil War

The committee appointed by the Board of Regents to investigate the life and death of Don Henry concluded that the young college student had undergone a profound political change during his two years at the University of Kansas. While the committee did not attribute blame, it clearly saw Don Henry's transformation on campus as leading to his decision to enlist and his death on a foreign battlefield.

Don Henry's parents were little aware of the dramatic changes their son was undergoing during his freshman and sophomore years in college; but on the university campus, far from home, he had become a different person from the naive small-town boy they knew. On campus he was exposed to new ideas, became politically conscious and active, and was soon a leader in radical campus organizations and a communist. By September 1937, when his cohorts were beginning their junior year at the university, he had joined a foreign army and been killed on a battlefield in Spain.

Henry's death raised difficult questions about his experiences at the university and about the role of the university in general. Could the university be held responsible—as his father believed—for Don Henry's actions and decisions? Can a university provide for the free exchange of ideas and protect its students at the same time? What is the ultimate responsibility of a university to society?

The teaching activities that accompany this article are designed to encourage discussion of the impact that expanded intellectual horizons have on young men and women when they leave the security of home and high school. Not all high school graduates change as dramatically as Don Henry, but every young adult is influenced by the institutions, ideas, and individuals around him or her in developing a unique point of view in the world.

Don Henry's World

When Don Henry entered the university in September 1935, the hardships of the Great Depression had caused many Americans to look for alternatives to capitalism, which seemed to have failed. As people throughout the nation searched for answers, an assortment of radical political organizations sprang up to meet the challenge. The Depression years saw the high tide of communism in the United States, and universities and labor unions were major breeding grounds for new and radical ideas. The three great political ideologies—democracy, fascism, and communism—competed for dominance in nations across the globe in a competition that would culminate in World War II and the Cold War.

In early 1936 the world focused on Spain where the February elections had installed a left-wing

Popular Front government composed of communists, socialists, syndicalists, and other left-wing groups.[1] The forces of the left and the right had fought bitterly for electoral victory ever since the abdication of Alfonso XIII in 1931 made Spain a republic. The right-wing forces composed of the old elite—monarchists, military officers, the aristocracy, landowners, and the church—feared the revolutionary tendencies of the leftist government and sought to overthrow it by force. Led by General Francisco Franco, the conservative forces (Nationalists) attacked the popularly elected government and its supporters (Loyalists). Both sides sought support from foreign powers.

Hoping to prevent the civil war from escalating into a general conflict, Great Britain, France, and 25 other nations agreed to follow a policy of non-intervention. The fascist governments of Italy, Germany, and Portugal, however, provided increasing support to the forces led by Franco. Almost immediately the Soviet Union offered material support to the elected government, and the Communist International organized International Brigades recruited from France, Belgium, Britain, Canada, Hungary, Poland, the United States, and other countries. Although organized by communists, the brigades included fighters from an array of anti-fascist political backgrounds.

In the United States the official view was that since the fascist powers supported the Nationalists and the Soviet Union supported the Loyalists, a victory by either side would constitute a potential threat to democratic nations. The United States responded with a moral embargo exhorting Americans not to provide aid to either side. But many Americans saw the civil war as an illegal rebellion against the elected government and felt that the United States should support the Popular Front government. A battalion of Americans was recruited for the International Brigades and promptly chose the name Abraham Lincoln Brigade for their unit. Many of the volunteers accurately perceived the war in Spain as the first manifestation of the fascist threat and believed it necessary to begin to fight it there. Of approximately 2,800 Americans who joined the battalion, 900 died, and virtually every survivor was wounded at least once.

Don Henry's Life

Don Henry's parents were bewildered when they learned their son had gone to Spain to fight and crushed when they received the news that he had been killed on the battlefield. They had not been aware of the extent of his radical activities at the university and did not learn of his enlistment in the International Brigades until he wrote them from the training camp in Spain. Their son had been a lifelong member of the Methodist Church, a Sunday School attendant, a Boy Scout, a member of the local Hi-Y club, and a member of the high school debating team. He was an avid participant in patriotic activities, and he planned to work in the church after graduation from college. In vain, his parents struggled to understand why he had died.

When news of Don Henry's death reached the university, administrators discovered that he had left behind a steamer trunk containing some of his most prized possessions. They returned the trunk to his family, and as his father examined its contents, the mystery of Don Henry's short life slowly began to unfold.

The trunk contained important mementoes of Don Henry's youth: old cards and letters to his family and friends, his Boy Scout identification card, and newspaper clippings about his accomplishments on the high school debating team. But the documentation of his university years was greater, containing his personal calendars from his freshman and sophomore years, pamphlets from various organizations, newspaper clippings, meeting notices, tickets, speeches,

[1] During the early part of the century, left-wing political groups—including communists, socialists, anarchists, and other philosophies—in various nations fought among themselves; but during the 1930s these groups realized that in order to combat the right-wing threat of fascism, they would have to put away their old rivalries. Thus, the forces of the left combined to form "Popular Fronts" against fascism.

identification cards, magazines, and books. Most of the documents from his college years concerned the activities of radical organizations.

A careful examination of the papers in his trunk revealed Henry's incremental development from naive high school graduate to sophisticated political thinker and man of action. They show how the new ways of thinking he discovered at the university altered his understanding of international events and heightened his moral indignation and how these personal changes converged to affect his life.

Soon after he arrived on campus, Don Henry found a job at the YMCA, an organization that some alleged to be controlled by communists during those years. He became active in the Kansas University Peace Action Committee and was on the editorial board of a pacifist newsletter, *The Dove*. Don Henry founded and was president of the local chapter of the American Student Union (a merger of two left-wing student organizations). By the end of his freshman year, he had joined the Young Communist League, and in his letters home he had begun to rejoice in communist victories.

Don Henry's Conflict

Mr. Henry could understand his son's participation in peace rallies, the disarmament and war resistance movements, and even student strikes as an outgrowth of his moral and religious upbringing. But, why had his son gone off to fight in a war, and more baffling, why had he gone to fight for another country? The paradox of Don's transition from peace advocate to machine gunner haunted his father.

Some of the documents in his trunk reveal the conflicts with which Don Henry wrestled. A letter informing him that he had been selected to attend a Religious Officers Training Conference stressed his obligation to serve. His handwritten note on the program for the Reinterpretation of Religion Week, "God of love and justice calling on us for social action," was written by a highly moral young man.

For Henry, daily international events aroused moral dilemmas and made pacifism a problematic position to maintain. On the University of Kansas campus, the call to action was everywhere. During 1936, the *Daily Kansan* ran a series of six editorials on the Spanish civil war, extolling the cause of the Spanish Loyalists as a fight for democracy. The editorial position of *The Dove* was firmly against fascism and supported the Spanish Loyalists. Some of the most brilliant faculty members championed the cause of the Loyalists, their arguments much like those in communist pamphlets. There were no comparable voices supporting the fascist forces under General Franco.

The December 1936 issue of *The Student Advocate* magazine that was found in Don Henry's trunk contained a romantic and moralistic article titled "Journey in Spain: 1936." Its heroic portrayal of young Spanish warriors, such as Rosita in the paragraph below, may have helped set the atmosphere in which Don Henry chose to go to war.

> Inside the barracks we found young people making preparations for a session in the front lines scheduled to begin the next day. Many of them were high-school age; many of them were girls. Despite their youth and lack of training they were on their way to do their part in this struggle to preserve democracy. They represented the youth of Spain, universally convinced that if their country was to offer them a civilized and peaceful life, it must remain a democracy. Reversion to the dictatorship which once before had limited their freedom and opportunity was one thing they would fight to the death.
>
> Rosita was the busiest person in the barracks. She already had been to the front with the Regiment and, although only twenty-two, was the 'experienced' member of her new battalion, 'The Young Guard.' As such, she was elected the leader of a company. Her brother had been killed beside her on the Somosierra front in the first days of the uprising, but her courage had not been weakened. . . . She was typical of thousands of young people, many of them pacifists before July.

The article ended by prophetically observing that in Spain the first scenes of a world war were being enacted and that the future of world peace might depend upon the outcome of the conflict.

Don Henry's Final Decision

In April of 1937, the world was horrified to learn that the Nazis had brutally bombed the little Spanish town of Guernica, trapping and indiscriminately massacring its inhabitants. Flying very low, Nazi airplanes bombed and machine-gunned the houses, woods, and streets that were filled with old people, women, and children. The entire town was on fire, cries and moans could be heard everywhere, and terrorized people were down on their knees with their arms lifted to the sky. The Guernica massacre foreshadowed the unrestricted attacks on civilian populations in World War II. The terrible images were captured by Pablo Picasso in the famous painting "Guernica," which was displayed in the Spanish Pavilion of the Paris World's Fair in June 1937.

That year, final exams at the University of Kansas started on May 27 and ended a week later on June 3. Don Henry's letter to his mother on the last day of exams explained that he and Kenneth Graeber, a senior in the Journalism Department, were going on a student tour to the Paris Exposition and that they would earn their expenses by writing about their experiences for a vaguely described news service.[2]

Henry and Graeber sailed from New York on the *Aquitania* and landed in Paris where they were given tickets to the Spanish border and told that they would have to cross into Spain on foot. In a July 4, 1937, letter from Spain, Henry explained, "I have joined the International Brigade, Company Three of the MacKenzie Papineau Battalion." Although Don Henry intended to be part of a mission of mercy, working in first aid or for the Red Cross, he was placed first in an infantry company and then in machine gun service. His friend Graeber went into ambulance service, but Henry was sent to the front lines. He was killed in a drive against Belchito in Aragon on September 3, 1937. After a bullet entered his chest and pierced his lung, he died in a temporary hospital and was buried in an unmarked grave.

When his father learned the extent of his involvement in radical activities on campus, he took the evidence found in his son's trunk to the university chancellor and demanded an investigation into communist activities at the university. The chancellor wrote a preliminary report in which he described Don Henry as "glowing with a desire to right every social wrong . . . an earnest young idealist," and continued,

> It is doubtful if he would have failed to find some encouragement of his point of view in any large university in the country. Such institutions derive their merit partly because they do represent almost every element in the population. The give and take of these groups is of high educational value. Moreover, it is difficult to suppress freedom of interchange of opinion. To attempt to do so by mandate drives it underground. . . . freedom of discussion breeds not disease but health.

The chancellor then referred the documentation to a committee of the Board of Regents, which examined the facts, issued another preliminary report, and, citing lack of authority, time, and money to conduct a more thorough investigation, recommended that the documentation be referred to a higher and more powerful authority. The Board of Regents sent the documents to the Kansas State Legislature where a resolution to conduct an investigation of the material and other possibly subversive activities passed the Kansas House of Representatives, but failed in the Senate. Conflicts in the legislature arose among those who sought to investigate the case, others who feared that an investigation would threaten academic freedom, and still others who may have supported the same causes as Don Henry's.

[2] Like other American volunteers in Spain, Don Henry was compelled to lie about his destination since the official non-intervention policy of the U.S. Government made it illegal to join the International Brigades.

AMERICAN COALITION - - - Southern Building - - - WASHINGTON, D. C.

An Organization to Coordinate the Efforts of Patriotic, Civic and Fraternal Societies to Keep America American

DON HENRY

A Young Victim of Communist Propaganda

DON HENRY, OF DODGE CITY, KANSAS, A YOUNG AMERICAN BOY AND SOPHOMORE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, LIES DEAD AS A RESULT OF INJURIES RECEIVED ON A SPANISH BATTLEFIELD WHILE SERVING WITH THE SO-CALLED LOYALIST FORCES, COMPOSED OF COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS, ANARCHISTS, SYNDICALISTS AND LEFT-WING REPUBLICANS.

EXCERPTS FROM KANSAS NEWSPAPERS OF OCTOBER 6 AND 7, 1937, TELL THE STORY TO THEIR READERS.

The Dodge City Daily Globe of October 6 reports that: "Mr. Henry" (the father of the boy), "says evidence of communistic influences have piled up as the family proceeded with a minute examination of the boy's effects. Membership application blanks and stubs, giving names and addresses of students, indicate young Henry had been handling applications at K. U. for the Young Communist League, the American Student Union and the Y. M. C. A., in all three of which he was active."

ANOTHER NEWSPAPER REPORTS:

"Mute bits of evidence of the influences that sent Henry to his death in Spain piled up as his family and friends proceeded with a close examination of his effects. Clippings, literature, and propaganda of all shades from pale pink to deep red indicate by their dates how he was swept from mild liberalism to militant communism during his two years at the university.

"The tragic trail leads from his Boy Scout mementoes, patriotic clippings, and Sunday School papers he had collected as a wholesome youth in a sound home environment before he left Dodge City for Lawrence, to Marxist literature and finally a communist organizer's manual. Through association with members of various 'peace action' activities and publications he apparently was led by progressive steps from a normal love of peace to the 'peace policy of the Soviet Union.' * * *

"Evidence found in his trunk showed that the American Student Union, of which Don Henry was local president at K. U., was formed in January, 1936, by a merger of the communistic National Student League and the socialistic Student League for Industrial Democracy."

Advocating an investigation, still another Kansas publication says: "It is too late to save Mr. Henry's boy, but it is not too late to keep other sons and daughters of Kansas from exposing themselves to the malignant disease of Communism."

It is stated by one of the newspapers reporting this case that: "The merging convention took place in the Y. W. C. A. quarters at Columbus, Ohio, over the protests of the American Legion there, after Ohio State University officials had rescinded permission for use of its buildings by the radical assembly."

The Case of Don Henry Points a Moral to Every Parent in the United States!

WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO PROTECT YOUR BOYS AND GIRLS IN OUR SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND SOCIAL WELFARE INSTITUTIONS, FROM CONTAMINATION BY THE KIND OF PROPAGANDA WHICH SENT DON HENRY TO HIS DEATH?

JOHN B. TREVOR,
President
American Coalition.

November, 1937.

Additional copies at cost from the
AMERICAN COALITION
Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

I

Socorro Rojo ~~Embarkment Red Aid~~ D.E. Henry
No. 270
Plaza de Altazano
Albacete, SPAIN

Dr. E. R. Henry
2300 Sedgewick.
University Heights
New York, N.Y.

July 4, 1937

Dear Ed:

I am adressing this letter to you and expect it to be sent on to the folks at home for paper and postage is very scarce here in Spain.

I have joined the International Brigade, Company three of the MacKenzie Papineau Battillion. It is a Canadian Battillion but over half of the force is composed of U.S. Citizens. When training is over I expect to be moved - along with the other Americans - into the newly formed Patrick Henry Battillion or the George Washington or Abraham Winclow.

About the proposed trip to France and tour of all of Europe, I can only say it was a hoax for the delicate position of comrades headed for Spain made it necessary to conceal all information of our actual destination. Also for the same reason I cannot say how exactly we came to be here or where exactly we are in Spain but the skin game raver.

All of us here are perfectly aware of the dangers involved in this war yet we are positive that this method of fighting fascism is the correct method and we intend to give our lives, if necessary, to maintain the independence of Spain. Another fascist gain in the world would mean another invitation to world war and gangster government. The political situation here is not much different than the political situation of the U.S. in 1776 when the French people helped

IV

the U.S. throw off the tyranny of the British monarch because the masses believed in a democratic govt. Now U.S. citizens close their eyes to an assault on a democratic people and in doing that are actually aiding the spread of fascism. You may say that we are suffering from the same delusions that the world war veterans suffered in 1918 but the political line up is entirely different with a threat not to bourgeois government but to a genuine proletariat mass move-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Found among effects of
Donald E. Henry

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

STUDENT ACTIVITY BOOK

1935-36

IDENTIFICATION CARD OF

Mr. Donald E. Henry

1016 Louisiana St. 907
Lawrence Address Tel.

Donald E. Henry
Student's Signature

NOT TRANSFERABLE

2096

Void for Fall Semester unless this side of card bears Bursar's official "Paid" stamp.
Void for Spring Semester unless reverse side bears Bursar's official "Paid" stamp.

(over)

APRIL

S M T W T F S

SACRIFICE FOR SPAIN

27

MASS TO LIFT THE EMBARGO FROM SPAIN

FAST GIVE THE PRICE OF YOUR MEAL TO SPAIN

ACT NOW, TO GIVE SPAIN THE AID SHE NEEDS

With
John Ise
J. M. Osma

Give your Lunch money for SPAIN

During the turmoil of the 1930s, concerns over domestic subversion were felt throughout the nation, and in 1938 a Special Committee on Un-American Activities (also known as the Dies Committee) had been formed in the U.S. House of Representatives to investigate "the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda." Although the Kansas Legislature did not mount its own inquiry into the death of Don Henry, its members did agree on a motion to provide evidence to the Dies Committee. Unfortunately, the Special Committee had a very full agenda and did not pursue the case.

The Don Henry papers were filed away with other committee records and eventually retired to the National Archives. They remain with the records of the Dies Committee until the present day as part of the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233. An examination of the case still presents interesting and thoughtful questions.

Teaching Activities

1. Open a class discussion with a question about why students continue their education after high school. Ask them how their reasons reflect their basic beliefs or values. Make a list on the chalkboard of some of the most important values your students try to live by. Discuss with them what they think the sources of these beliefs are—parents and relatives, friends, community, religion, education, newspapers or television, books, or do they seem to have always been there and eternally true? Direct them to write a reflective paragraph or journal entry in answer to the following question: Are your basic beliefs established early in life, or are they continually influenced by the things you are exposed to in school and the people with whom you associate?

2. Using the background information in this article, tell your students the story of Don Henry. Give each student copies of the featured documents and ask them who or what they think was responsible for Henry's death.

3. Divide the class into four groups to research and report to the class on the following topics.
   A. Group one should research freedom of speech, especially in an academic setting, to determine what it is and what a university's responsibilities are to society and the students it serves. Give this group the quote below from one of the reports included in the Henry case file as a starting point for their research:
      > Insofar as the faculty is concerned, there should be a distinct line between discussion of these (political) subjects and the advocacy of any form of government contrary to the existing form of American government. . . . There is no right, however, to advocate such changes in the American form or system of government by means of force, violence, or any other criminal act or by means other than those provided by the constitution itself.
   B. Group two should research pacifism, define it, and discuss whether or not someone who believes in peace could ever find himself or herself in a situation that requires fighting in a war.
   C. Group three should research the Spanish Civil War and define the "so-called Loyalist forces, composed of Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, and Left-Wing Republicans" mentioned in the opening of the American Coalition document.
   D. Group four should research the work of the Special House Committee on Un-American Activities (the Dies Committee) in terms of its origin, purpose, and major activities, as well as the social and political atmosphere during the 1930s that produced organizations like the American Coalition. They should also determine when the Dies Committee became a standing committee or the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and how long HUAC continued in operation.

4. Read aloud the text of these two poems: "Dulce Et Decorum Est" by Wilfred Owen and "In Guernica" by Norman Rosten. Ask your students to compare the depictions of

DULCE ET DECORUM EST

Wilfred Owen [1893–1918]

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

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

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

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

war and death described in the two works. (Note 1: The Latin quotation from the Roman poet Horace means "It is sweet and becoming to die for one's country." Wilfred Owen himself died fighting for England in World War I, a week before the armistice. Note 2: The destruction of the civilian population of Guernica by fascist forces in April 1937 can be seen as a harbinger of the mass destruction in World War II. It occurred during the months that Don Henry made the decision to participate in the war.)

IN GUERNICA

Norman Rosten [1914–1995]

In Guernica the dead children
were laid out in order upon the sidewalk,
in their white starched dresses,
in their pitiful white dresses.

On their foreheads and breasts
are the little holes where death came in
as thunder, while they were playing
their important summer games.

Do not weep for them, madre.
They are gone forever, the little ones,
straight to heaven to the saints,
and God will fill the bullet holes with candy.

5. Culminating activity: Provide students with the following excerpt taken from a newspaper clipping of an editorial entitled, "Character and Education," found in Henry's trunk. Ask a student to read it aloud.

   > . . . a president of one of our great universities made a statement that at first glance seemed rather strange . . . He said that one's educational progress could not be judged by testing his intellectual development. If, said the prominent educator, we wish to know whether one is truly educated, we should inquire first about his character and second about his manners. Evidence of intellectual performance should come third. . . . The school is a servant of the community, and it is not doing its full part unless it seeks not only to make students competent, but to inspire them with purpose—purpose to contribute to the well-being of others.

Lead a follow-up discussion about the nature and responsibility of a university with questions such as the following: Is this statement true? What should students expect to get from going to school for 12 years? What should one expect from a college education? Why is it important to study subjects in the humanities, such as literature, world history, and philosophy? Then ask the students to reread the paragraphs they wrote for activity one and describe and account for any changes they

might want to make in their original statements. Note: Digitized images of Don Henry's letter from Spain, the documents featured with this article, and additional documents from Don Henry's trunk are available from The Digital Classroom on the National Archives' Web site at <*http://www.nara.gov/education*>. Teachers have recommended using these documents to help students understand the Tiennaman Square incident and the anti-war movement of the 1960s.

A 1939 Letter of Protest: Controversy Over Public Art During the New Deal

In the midst of the Great Depression, the Federal Government gave the visual arts unprecedented support. Artists, like millions of their fellow Americans in the 1930s, found themselves without work and without resources to pursue their vocation. Many were destitute. With the arrival of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in 1933, however, the Federal Government launched a number of programs aimed at promoting economic recovery, providing work relief, and conserving the skills of American workers. For artists, programs such as the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project and the Treasury Department's Section on Fine Arts provided needed employment as well as opportunities for creative work. In addition to giving work to artists, the New Deal administrators who ran these programs hoped they would spread original art across the country, allowing millions of Americans to see it for the first time. Between 1933 and 1943, the art projects employed more than 10,000 artists who produced 100,000 paintings, 18,000 sculptures, 13,000 prints, and more than 4,000 murals for public buildings.

Some of the most familiar and enduring legacies of these New Deal art projects are the hundreds of murals painted in local post offices across the United States. Most post office murals were commissioned by the Section on Fine Arts, which was part of the Treasury Department, and later the Federal Works Administration. Commissions were made on the basis of open competitions announced in the Section's *Bulletin*, with winners chosen by juries of expert judges who were themselves artists. In addition to works for post offices, the Section commissioned murals for courthouses, Federal buildings, customhouses, hospitals, and housing projects. It also commissioned some sculpture.

In June 1939 the Section announced its largest nationwide competition—the 48 States Competition. Its goal was to place a mural in the lobby of 48 newly built post office buildings—one for each state of the Union. These murals would all occupy the same standard space—along the lobby's end wall, above the postmaster's door. The Section left open possibilities for the murals, but suggested themes such as local history or industry, postal history, local color, landscapes, or recreational pursuits. Because the post offices to be decorated were small, the towns chosen for the contest tended to be rural hamlets. Greybull, WY; Los Banos, CA; Corning, IA; and Westerly, RI; were among the towns to be favored with Government art.

The mural design for one of the chosen towns, Kellogg, ID, briefly became the center of controversy in late 1939. The winning design, "Mine Rescue," by California artist Fletcher Martin, depicted an injured miner being carried from a mining accident on a stretcher by two fellow workers. Its stark use of light and shadow as well as its somber mood won Martin's design high praise from the 48 States jury. In the eyes of the artist and artist-judges, its subject matter seemed appropriate for a mining town. Edward B. Rowen, assistant chief of the Section, regarded it "as comparable to some of the great religious paintings of the past." Several members of the jury stated that Martin's design was the strongest of any submitted for the competition.

KELLOGG IDA. P. O. ETC.

KELLOGG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

MINING AND SMELTING CENTER OF THE COEUR D' ALENES

KELLOGG, IDAHO

Nov. 6, 1939

Federal Works Agency,

Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:- The Kellogg Chamber of Commerce desires to enter a protest against the recent award to Fletcher Martin, Los Angeles, for a mural to be placed in the postoffice lobby in this city.

The members of this organization deem the subject of Mr. Martin's painting entirely unfit for public display in this mining community. The picture of two miners carrying a third miner, dedd or injured, on a stretcher from a mine tunnel does not appe l to the minds of the people of this district as being symbolic of our leading industry or pleasant to look upon. In fact, we consider the picture a travesty on mining in general and emphatically protest its acceptance for our postoffice.

The Coeur d' Alene mining area prides itself on its non-accident record. [illegible] spent by the operators in safety first [illegible] will [illegible] subject. [illegible] submitted [illegible] by choo[illegible] r than [illegible] thy o[illegible] attempt [illegible] y will

KELLOGG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

MINING AND SMELTING CENTER OF THE COEUR D' ALENES

KELLOGG, IDAHO

mar the beauty of our postoffice and create bitter feelings that should not be allowed to exist.

Kellogg has always been proud of its new postoffice. It is well adapted to the needs of our community and is well constructed and arranged. We are dedicating trees on the lawn to the memory of our soldier dead. The lawns are well cared for. Why, then, destroy this pleasing effect by such a painting upon the walls of the building.

We ask that the contract be not granted and that the award by the judges be set aside. We would prefer the walls left bare than accept this subject.

Respectfully,

KELLOGG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

R. L. Brainard, President

W. A. Tuson, Secretary

Unfortunately, many citizens of Kellogg, ID, did not share that opinion. After the competition winners were announced, a number of angry individuals and organizations wrote to Edward B. Rowen in Washington, DC, protesting the award and the placement of "Mine Rescue" in their community. The writers included presidents of the Idaho Art Association, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining and Concentrating Company, and the Wardner Industrial Union. In addition, a U.S. Senator weighed in against the design. In fact, only one letter supporting the design can be found in the National Archives file on the Kellogg mural.

Among the protests was one from the Kellogg, ID, Chamber of Commerce, which is reproduced here. The letter makes two points. First, the subject of the mural was "unfit" for Kellogg. Depicting a mining disaster on the post office wall did not appeal to a population that was economically dependent on mining. Second, the "ghastly" subject depicted in the mural would offend those in the community who had lost loved ones in mining accidents. These family members should not have to confront a reminder of their loss every time they went into their local post office. Attempting to force this "monstrosity" [*sic*] upon the citizens of Kellogg would only result in "bitter feelings" toward the Government.

By November 1939 news of Kellogg's displeasure was already public knowledge. Early that month an Associated Press reporter contacted Fletcher Martin for a comment on the growing protest over the mural. Martin replied that if the townspeople objected to his design, he would be happy to change it. But the Section did not want to lose one of its most distinguished 48 States designs, and Rowen quickly wired Martin, "Do not undertake redesign." By early December, when *Life* magazine announced the 48 States Contest winners, the essay accompanying photographs of the winning designs noted that "local residents objected to the pessimistic atmosphere of Fletcher Martin's mining scene."

Rowen attempted to mollify his critics by finding funds for an additional, less controversial mural for the Kellogg Post Office. This way, Martin's mural could still be completed, and its critics would have a happier scene for balance. (Presumably, visitors to the Kellogg Post Office would look at the design that pleased them and avert their eyes from the "depressing" Martin mural.) But after a few weeks of searching, Rowen admitted that no new funds were available for such a compromise solution. Regretfully, he wrote to Martin asking him to contact his critics in Kellogg and to solicit their suggestions before undertaking a new design. He then wrote to those individuals in Kellogg who had protested the original award, assuring them that they had prevailed but reminding several that their taste in murals flew directly in the face of "a distinguished jury of artists."

Not surprisingly, Fletcher Martin's new subject, "Discovery," was benign. It pictured two excited pioneer miners and a burro at the moment of discovering what would become the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mine, one of the town's major employers (see figure 2). Uncontroversial, it was also undistinguished as art, devoid of the portrayal of human fortitude in the face of adversity displayed in the original submission. In fact, an animal, and not a human, occupies the center of Martin's second mural. The local postmaster reported, however, that the townspeople of Kellogg were much more positive about the new design. "The Mural has created considerable interest among the patrons of this office," he wrote to Edward Rowen, "and so far the public seems to be well pleased."

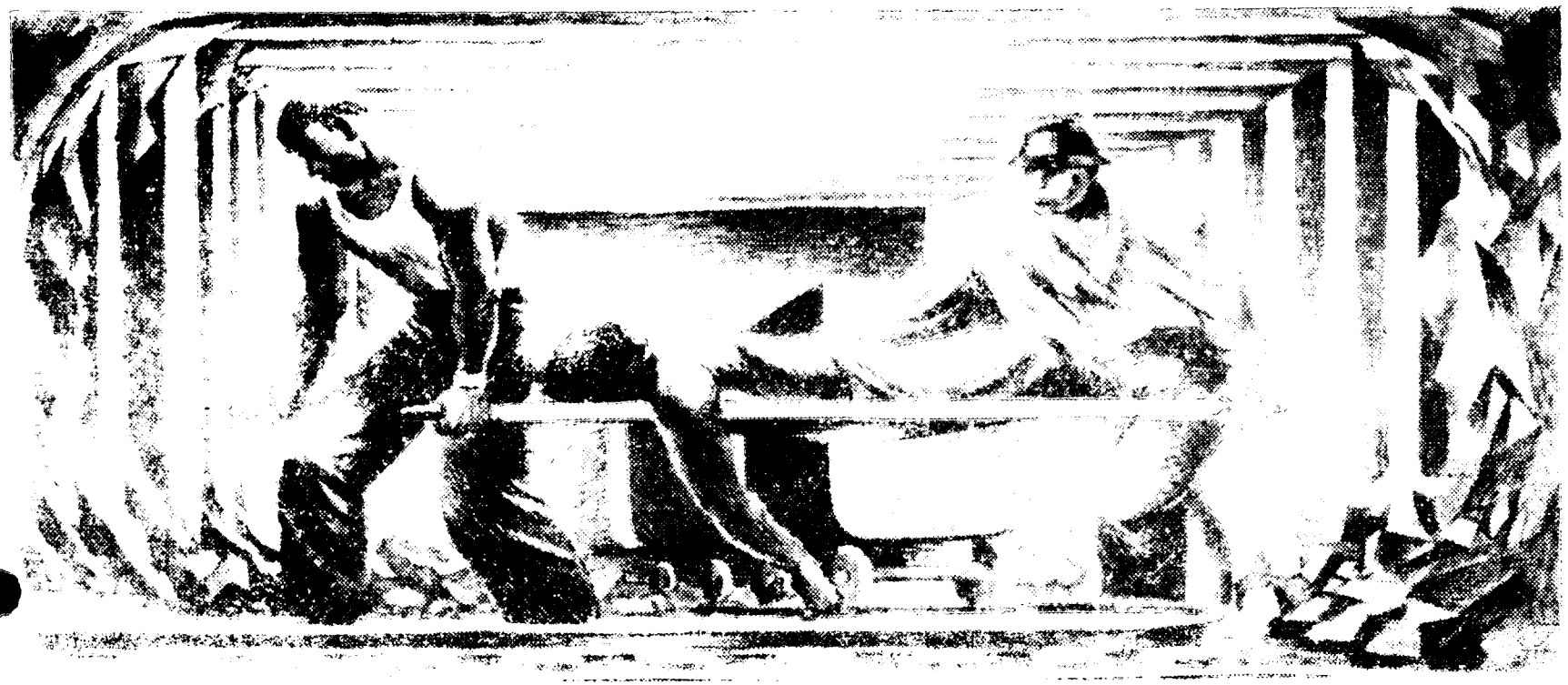
The case file concerning the Kellogg Post Office mural is one of several hundred found among the records of the Treasury Section on Fine Arts in the Records of the Public Buildings Service, Record Group 121. These case files allow the researcher to study the interaction among the Federal Government, artists, and the localities where the murals were to be located. They also stand as a testimony to the New Deal efforts to bring art to millions of American hometowns.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Share with your students the background information provided on New Deal programs.

Kellogg Citizens Dislike Mural Designed for Their New Federal Building



Kellogg citizens are favorable to a proposal to have a mural painted on a wall in the corridor of the new postoffice, but they don't want the mural pictured above, which was designed by Fletcher Martin, a California artist. Members of the chamber of commerce and the Industrial Workers' union are on record as opposed to a mural showing an injured workman as typical of the mining industry in the Coeur d'Alenes mining district. A protest has been sent to Washington, D. C.

Distribute copies of the document to your students, and ask them the following questions:

a. Who wrote this letter?
b. What type of letter is this?
c. Who received this letter?
d. What steps were taken to choose the design for the Kellogg Post Office?
e. What unforeseen difficulties were encountered?
f. Why were members of the Kellogg, ID, Chamber of Commerce upset with the original mural design by Fletcher Martin?
g. Why might this organization have an interest in preventing Martin's design from being completed?

2. Lead a class discussion about why the Federal Government commissioned works of art such as post office murals in the 1930s and early 1940s. Conclude with a discussion about ways the government supports the arts today.

3. Invite your school art teacher or a community artist to participate in an activity to compare and contrast Fletcher Martin's two designs for the Kellogg, ID, Post Office. Ask the artist to list the criteria that he or she uses in analyzing a work of art. With the guidance of the artist, help the students examine the two designs for artistic merit. Ask the students how they think the Chamber of Commerce reacted to Martin's new design.

Related Topics for Research and Reports

4. Direct your students to research and present a brief report on a mural, sculpture, monument, or frieze in your town or a nearby town. The report should address the following questions:
   a. When was the artwork created?
   b. What does the artwork depict?
   c. Who was the artist?
   d. Was there any controversy around the presentation of this artwork such as the controversy in Kellogg, ID?

If possible, students should include a photograph or videotape of the artwork.

5. Assign students to investigate the possibility of painting a mural in your school. Consider with them potential subjects. Ask them:
   a. Which members of the school community should be involved?
   b. Who would they choose to serve as judges in a design competition?
   c. Who will supply the paint and materials?
   d. What obstacles can be anticipated?

6. Ask your students to research a recent publicly funded art project, report on any controversies that arose over the project, and explain how the conflicts were resolved or averted. Students might wish to contact the National Endowment for the Arts to request information on their policies regarding project funding. The address is The National Endowment for the Arts, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20004.

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"A Date Which Will Live in Infamy": The First Typed Draft of Franklin D. Roosevelt's War Address

Early in the afternoon of December 7, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his chief foreign policy aide, Harry Hopkins, were interrupted by a telephone call from Secretary of War Henry Stimson and told that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. At about 5:00 p.m., following meetings with his military advisers, the President calmly and decisively dictated to his secretary, Grace Tully, a request to Congress for a declaration of war. He had composed the speech in his head after deciding on a brief, uncomplicated appeal to the people of the United States rather than a thorough recitation of Japanese perfidies, as Secretary of State Cordell Hull had urged.

President Roosevelt then revised the typed draft—marking it up, updating military information, and selecting alternative wordings that strengthened the tone of the speech. He made the most significant change in the critical first line, which originally read, "a date which will live in world history." Grace Tully then prepared the final reading copy, which Roosevelt subsequently altered in three more places.

On December 8, at 12:30 p.m., Roosevelt addressed a joint session of Congress and the Nation via radio. The Senate responded with a unanimous vote in support of war; only Montana pacifist Jeanette Rankin dissented in the House. At 4:00 p.m. that same afternoon, President Roosevelt signed the declaration of war.

The document featured in this article, the typewritten draft, is housed at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, NY. (The library is administered by the National Archives and Records Administration.) Roosevelt misplaced his reading copy immediately following the speech; it remained missing for 43 years. Instead of bringing the reading copy back to the White House for Grace Tully to file, the President evidently left it in the House chamber, where he had given the address. A Senate clerk took charge of it, endorsed it "Dec 8, 1941, Read in joint session," and filed it. In March 1984 an archivist located the reading copy among the Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46, located in the National Archives Building, where it remains today.

Teaching Activities

Written Document Analysis

1. Ask students to define each of the following vocabulary terms as used in this speech: *infamy*, *premeditated*, *implications*, *onslaught*, *uttermost*, *mincing*, and *dastardly*.

2. Place students in groups of two or three, and ask each group to find examples in Roosevelt's address of these techniques for enhancing the effect of a speech: repetition, alliteration, emotionally charged words, appeal to self-preservation, and assurance of moral superiority.

3. Lead a class discussion on these questions: To

whom was this speech addressed? What appeals are made to each group?

4. Help students compare the handwritten changes with the original typed draft. Ask each student to select three changes from this draft of the speech and explain whether the changes strengthened or weakened the address, considering the audiences they have identified.

Listening Skills

5. Bring in a recording of Roosevelt delivering this six-minute address. Duplicate and distribute copies of the Sound Recording Analysis Worksheet for students, provide them with the setting, and ask them to complete the worksheet.

For Further Investigation

6. Ask students to compare and contrast Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy" address with Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death" speech before the Virginia Convention. They should include the following suggestions:
   a. Describe the setting of each speech.
   b. Find examples in Henry's speech of allusion, hyperbole, onomatopoeia, rhetorical questioning, metaphor, repetition, and alliteration.
   c. Examine Roosevelt's speech for examples of these literary devices.
   d. Recognizing that both speeches are outstanding examples of war addresses, consider how they are different and how they are similar.
   e. Decide why each of these speeches was effective.
   f. Decide which speech you believe is most effective and explain why.

7. Ask students to interview a person who heard President Roosevelt deliver the "Day of Infamy" address and to write an article about the experience. Students should ask the following questions of the interviewee for their articles:
   a. How old were you and where were you at the time of the address?
   b. What do you recall about your feelings toward U.S. involvement in the war before Pearl Harbor?
   c. What were you doing when news of Pearl Harbor broke?
   d. What was your reaction to the news of Pearl Harbor, and what, if anything, did you do upon hearing the news?
   e. How did President Roosevelt sound making the speech?
   f. What were your reactions to the speech in feelings and deeds?

DRAFT No. 1 December 7, 1941.

PROPOSED MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at the moment at peace with that nation and was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. This reply stated that diplomatic negotiations contained no threat or hint of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on ~~Manila and on the Island of Guam~~ the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American [redacted] ships have been torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam. The Philippine Islands

Japan has, "therefore," undertaken a "surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications ~~of these attacks~~ to the future safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have ~~of course~~ directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Long will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

A No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I speak the will of the Congress and of the people ~~of this country~~ when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will see to it that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again. Hostilities exist. There is no minimizing the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

I, therefore, ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

****

Sound Recording Analysis Worksheet

Step 1. Pre-listening:

a. Whose voice will you hear on the recording? _____

b. What is the date of the recording? _____

c. Where was the recording made? _____

Step 2. Listening:

d. What special physical qualities of the recording exist, such as music, live broadcasting, narration, sound effects, or background sounds? _____

_____

e. What is the tone or mood of the recording? _____

_____

f. What can you tell about the speaker from his voice and delivery? _____

_____

g. Does this speech have a greater or lesser effect on you in its spoken form than in its written form? Analyze your reaction. _____

_____

Step 3. Post-listening (or repeated listening):

h. List at least three changes between the first draft and the spoken address.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

i. How did these changes add or detract from the effect of this speech on Congress and the people of the United States? _____

j. How did President Roosevelt use his voice to add to the effect of his words? Consider pitch, volume, pace, and pauses. _____

k. You are a member of Congress sitting in the Senate chamber. Before Roosevelt's speech, you were undecided whether to vote to continue U.S. isolation or to commit the country to war. On the back of this worksheet, write a letter to someone at home explaining how listening to this speech affected you.

Correspondence Concerning Women and the Army Air Forces in World War II

U.S. civilian women responded in many ways to the crisis of World War II. Especially notable were their well-heralded efforts in performing jobs vacated by men who entered the military. A lesser known war-related duty performed by female civilians was their service as pilots for the Army Air Forces. They ferried planes within the United States and conducted other tedious domestic flying duties. These tasks were sometimes dangerous, even fatal. While the role of women in the U.S. military and on the homefront during World War II has received increased attention in recent years, the service of civilian women pilots has not been adequately recognized.

The featured document attests to women's willingness to serve in the U.S. military, even if they were not U.S. citizens or of legal age. The correspondence between 14-year-old Priscilla Mathews and Capt. Joseph S. Edgerton, chief of the Press Relations Section of the Army Air Forces Public Relations Branch, exemplifies women's interest in service. It is found in the Records of the Army Air Forces, Record Group 18.

Priscilla, a British girl living in Pennsylvania "with an aunt and uncle for the duration" had a brother training with the Royal Air Force. She wrote a letter addressed to Lieutenant General Henry H. Arnold five weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, "wondering if you intend to form a Women's Auxiliary Air Force over here." She notes that "In the English Auxiliary Air Force, they [women] do practically everything, except fly the 'planes."

General Arnold's office referred Priscilla's letter to the Public Relations Branch for reply. Captain Edgerton noted that her interest was "truly appreciated," and he "hoped that by the time you are old enough to take an active part, there will be real work for you to do." Within one year of this correspondence, U.S. women found real work as pilots performing missions having a direct impact on the Allied effort to win the war.

The Women's Pilot Program

As early as 1930, the War Department had asked the Army Air Corps about the possible use of women pilots. The Office of the Chief of the Air Corps considered the proposal "utterly unfeasible" because women were "too high strung for wartime flying." A decade later, when U.S. entry into World War II seemed inevitable, an idea to use women as copilots in transport squadrons and to ferry single-engine aircraft was rejected by General Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, who had become Chief of the Air Corps in 1938. In August 1941 he again spurned the suggestion, stating that the Air Corps had adequate existing manpower.

In 1939 Jacqueline Cochran, heir to Amelia Earhart's title as most popular female pilot, made one of the many proposals from outside the air corps to allow women pilots to serve their country. Writing to Eleanor Roosevelt regarding the need to plan to use women pilots in a national emergency, Cochran envisioned a large demonstration project with an extensive training program, which would allow women to learn many types of noncombat flying duties and thereby free thousands of men for combat missions.

At the outbreak of World War II, aviator Nancy

Harkness Love proposed a different and more modest plan than Cochran's. While employed by the Air Corps Ferrying Command in a nonflying job, Love recognized the urgent need to find capable ferry pilots to shuttle aircraft from factories to bases and between bases. She recommen-ded that licensed women pilots, who would require little additional training, be used immediately to shoulder some of that burden.

By the fall of 1942, General Arnold, who had taken flying lessons from the Wright brothers in the first decade of the century and was then commanding general of the Army Air Forces (AAF), faced acute pilot shortages and ordered both plans implemented almost simultaneously. In September the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS) began operating at New Castle, DE, under Love's command; one month later, Cochran was made head of the Women's Flying Training Detachment established at Sweetwater, TX.

The use of women pilots was imperiled at the outset because of differences between the programs proposed by Cochran and Love. Love's plan called for a small but elite group of trained pilots, who could bolster the ferry pilot ranks almost immediately. Cochran wished to conduct a large-scale training program, resulting in numerous women pilots capable of performing a wide range of duties. General Arnold, declaring that he would not have two separate women's pilot organizations in the AAF, merged Loves ferrying squadron and Cochran's women pilot trainees into one organization, with Cochran's concept given priority. In August 1943 the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) was created with Cochran as Director of Women Pilots and Love named WASP executive with the Ferrying Division of the Air Transport Command.

The Wasps

Wasps, although experienced pilots, were initially limited to ferrying the PT-19, a pilot training aircraft manufactured in Hagerstown, MD. Once they proved themselves to the satisfaction of skeptical males, the AAF lifted restrictions on the types of aircraft they could fly. When the WASP program ended in December 1944, women pilots had ferried 77 types of aircraft, including the P-39, P-40, P-47, P-63, C-54, C-46, and B-24. They also flew the B-25, the medium bomber used by Doolittle's Raiders on their run to Tokyo.

Some Wasps were given particularly harrowing duty in the summer of 1943. They flew ex-Navy combat planes to tow targets for antiaircraft and aerial gunnery training. The planes were no longer combat-worthy and hence were difficult to fly, especially when filled with low octane fuel allotted for noncombat use. The women pilots trailed target sleeves only 20 to 30 yards behind the tail as recruits fired shells and 50mm rounds at them. Landing was nerve-wracking, too, because worn tires, pressed into extended service due to the rubber shortage, suffered frequent blowouts.

Men were frequently hostile to the women flyers. One Wasp recalled an airbase commanding officer telling her, "I don't like women in general and women pilots in particular. You are not needed here. You are not wanted here and I will personally see to it that you don't get into an airplane." The Wasp who recounted that incident noted that she was trained to respond to superiors with "Yes, sir" and "No, sir." In this instance, she answered with silence.

Because they were civilians, Wasps suffered an enduring injustice. Although they expected to be militarized, they were not during the war. When Wasps died in service, as 37 did, they had no military insurance, and there were no survivor's benefits. In fact, they had to collect money among themselves to provide transport for sending a colleague's body home for burial. Not until 1977 did Congress confer military veterans status upon them. In remarks at that time, Antonia Chayes, Under Secretary of the U.S. Air Force, said

> The efforts and sacrifices of a talented and courageous group of women have been recognized and the pilots accorded status as military veterans. All volunteers for hazardous and non-traditional duties, these

> 1,100 WASPs proved . . . that military women are more than able and willing to share the burden of National defense.

In mid-1941, 2,733 U.S. women held pilot's licenses, yet some 25,000 women applied for admission to the WASP training program. From that pool of applicants, 1,830 were admitted, and 1,074 completed training and received operational duty. Although Priscilla Mathews could not serve because of her country of origin and her age (among the service eligibility requirements were possession of U.S. citizenship and a minimum age of 18 years), the women who became Wasps served their country with valor and distinction. The official history of the Army Air Forces in World War II ends the section on the Wasps as follows:

> The WASPs had flown approximately 60 million miles on operational duties, with an average for each pilot of 33 hours a month. Through no fault of theirs, by the time the women pilots were ready to make their chief contribution to the war effort, their services were no longer vitally needed. As an experiment to determine the capabilities of women pilots, the program was impeded by the limited opportunities for adequate testing, since wartime pressures gave top priority to operational missions. . . . The results of the experiment, therefore, cannot be considered conclusive. But at least the program demonstrated that women are capable of carrying out a variety of flying and aviation administrative duties. It was also demonstrated that some American women were willing to risk their lives in wartime flying assignments even though they and their families were being discriminated against in the matter of compensation and benefits.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Distribute copies of the documents to your students, and ask them the following questions:
   a. What type of documents are these?
   b. Who are their creators?
   c. When were they written?
   d. To whom did Priscilla Mathews write?
   e. What is the tone of her letter?
   f. Why did she send the letter?
   g. Who replied to her letter?
   h. What is the tone of the response?

2. Ask your students to place themselves in Priscilla Mathews's situation and explain how they would feel to receive a reply like the one Priscilla received. Ask your students to speculate why Priscilla was in the United States and if they consider her desire to serve the U.S. Government more an expression of gratitude for being in the United States or a way to honor or emulate her older brother.

Class Discussion

3. After sharing the background information about the Wasps provided above, from your own research, or from the PBS documentary *Silver Wings and Santiago Blue*, discuss with your students the role of women pilots in World War II. Include questions such as the following:
   - What do you think the minimum qualifications were to be a woman pilot?
   - Why were women pilots frequently viewed with disdain by male service members?
   - Why did more than three decades elapse before the Wasps were granted veterans status? Why was that status granted in the 1970s?
   - Why were the Wasps restricted to noncombat duty?
   - How would you have reacted to the harsh and discriminatory climate if you were a Wasp during World War II?

4. Ask your students to speculate what the response might have been if a similar "tender of service" letter were written by a female U.S. citizen of legal age in late 1942, 1943, 1944, or 1945.

Writing Activities

5. Ask volunteers to investigate and prepare reports on one of the following topics: British children war refugees in America, the

c/o C. Napier.
P.O. Box 11,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.
January 16.

Dear Sir,

I am practically fifteen years old, and I came to this country, from England, a little over a year ago. I have an eighteen year old brother training with the R.A.F. Recently I became exceedingly interested in aviation, and I have been wondering if you intend to form a Women's Auxiliary Air Force over here. Already women are taking men's places in factories; let them do even more than that. In the English Auxiliary Air Force, they do practically everything, except fly the 'planes. Maybe they aren't needed over here just yet, but anyway it would be wonderful training for later on. You have probably received many suggestions about this matter, but I wanted to let you know that I am very interested. I'm sure that I for one would join as soon as I was able.

America is a wonderful country, and I am deeply grateful for everything that has been done for

me, since I came here. I am staying with an aunt and uncle for the duration,

Yours sincerely

Priscilla Mathews

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AAAF-PR
JSE

January 22, 1942.

Miss Priscilla Mathews,
c/o C. Napier,
P. O. Box 211,
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

Dear Miss Mathews:

Your very interesting letter of January 16, addressed to Lieutenant General Henry H. Arnold, has been referred to this office for reply.

The Army Air Forces have not yet undertaken the formation of a women's auxiliary Air Force or any similar unit as yet.

As in England, women are taking men's places in factories and it is understood that arrangements are being made by other branches of the Army to use women for Aircraft warning and spotting services.

Your interest in this matter is truly appreciated, and it is hoped that by the time you are old enough to take an active part, there will be real work for you to do.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH S. EDGERTON,
Captain, Air Corps,
Chief, Press Relations Section,
Public Relations Branch, AAF.

meh

PR

Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS), the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), General "Hap" Arnold's role in allowing women to serve, Jacqueline Cochran, Nancy Harkness Love, and the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF).

6. Ask your students to draft a group letter to the U.S. Air Force requesting information about service opportunities for women today.

Research Activities

7. Divide your students into research groups, and ask them to select a research topic from this list or others you may add:
   a. Research press coverage of the women pilots in late 1942, 1943, and/or 1944 by reading newspapers or viewing newsreels of the time. Write a report analyzing the way in which the women are portrayed, and suggest how they might be depicted had these events happened today.
   b. Research the congressional hearings that took place in 1977, and write a report that summarizes the effort to grant the Wasps veterans status. Include information about the context of the era in the mid-1970s.
   c. Research the Wasps by referring to sources such as those referenced below, and prepare an exhibit about the women pilots for your classroom, media center, or other exhibition space at your school. Include information from other sources about women aviators today.
   d. Attempt to locate a member of the WASP, and conduct an interview over the telephone or in person. Include questions such as: Why did you become a Wasp? How were you treated? How did you feel in 1977 when you were granted veterans status? Make certain that you provide ample opportunity for the interviewee to share anecdotal information. Present a report to the class about the interview, and/or arrange to have the interviewee speak to the class.
   e. Determine if there is an airbase used during World War II near your location. If so, investigate what role it played and if Wasps flew there. Ascertain if there are any commemorative memorials to their service. If so, arrange to visit and photograph it. If not, lead the class in an effort to place a commemorative plaque or exhibit at the site.

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La Farge, Oliver. *The Eagle in the Egg.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949. (A contemporary history written in a manner that reflects the attitudes toward women at that time.)

King, Katherine, and Nelson Adams. *Silver Wings and Santiago Blue.* PBS, 1980. Videotape. (A compelling one-hour documentary about the Wasps. To order, call PBS at 1-800-424-7963.)

Seeley, Charlotte Palmer, comp. *American Women and the U.S. Armed Forces: A Guide to the Records of Military Agencies in the National Archives Relating to American Women.* Revised by Virginia C. Purdy and Robert Gruber. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992. (A finding aid to records related to the title topic.)

Poulos, Paula Nassen, ed. *A Woman's War Too: U.S. Women in the Military in World War II.* Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1996. (A compilation of papers presented at a conference of the same title in March 1995.)

Rights in Times of Crisis: American Citizens and Internment

Real democracy is not hereditary. It is a way of living.

—Student government page, Memoirs, 1944 Hunt High School yearbook, Minidoka Relocation Center

As we were commemorating the bicentennial of the ratification of the Bill of Rights, we also celebrated 200 years of the most complete, thorough protections enjoyed by citizens anywhere in the world. But we cannot let our pride in this accomplishment obscure the many instances when Federal officials, sworn to uphold the Constitution, have restricted the rights guaranteed to the American people, citing national interest as their justification. One of the most disturbing patterns in American history is that of Government suspension of personal liberties during times of national crisis or war.

During the Presidency of John Adams, when war with France appeared imminent, the Federalists in Congress stifled dissent and passed the Alien and Sedition Acts, thereby curbing the rights of free speech and free press. Ten individuals were convicted under the provisions of the Sedition Act and sentenced to pay fines, serve prison sentences, or both. In the 1860s the dissolution of the Union and the outbreak of the Civil War resulted in the enactment of numerous measures that violated citizens' liberties. The press was censored, the writ of habeus corpus was suspended, and more than 13,000 persons were arrested and held without trial. Again, during the crisis of World War I, Espionage and Sedition Acts were adopted that resulted in the conviction of nearly 1,000 dissenters. Religious pacifists and critical journalists were among those punished. In considering six different cases, the Supreme Court upheld these Federal acts in decisions that have never been overturned.

The 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor not only thrust the United States into a conflict of unprecedented magnitude, but it also precipitated the suspension of U.S. citizens' rights on a larger scale than had ever occurred before in the Nation's history, this time based on race rather than dissent. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 authorizing military commanders to exclude civilians from military areas; the language of the order, however, did not specify any ethnic group. Nevertheless, based on this authority, Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt of the Western Defense Command announced curfews that were directed solely at Japanese Americans. Next, he encouraged voluntary evacuation by Japanese Americans from a limited number of areas; about seven percent of the total Japanese American population in these regions complied. On March 19, 1942, under the authority of the Executive order, DeWitt issued Public Proclamation No. 4, which began the controlled, involuntary evacuation and detention of west coast residents of Japanese descent on a 48-hour notice. On March 21, only a few days before the posting of DeWitt's proclamation, Congress had passed Public Law 503, which made violation of Executive Order 9066 a misdemeanor punishable by up to one year in prison and a $5,000 fine. From the end of March to August, approximately 112,000 persons left their homes for civil control stations, proceeded peaceably to assembly centers, and then were moved by the military to relocation centers across the interior of the

country. Nearly 70,000 of the evacuees—62.5 percent—were American citizens. No charges of disloyalty were ever filed against any of these citizens, and no means of appealing their loss of property and personal liberty were available to them. Only Americans of Japanese ancestry were interned; those of Italian and German descent were not.

The Government's actions were challenged in three major Supreme Court cases: *Hirabayashi* v. *United States* (1943), *Ex parte Endo* (1944), and *Korematsu* v. *United States* (1944). The *Korematsu* case challenged the constitutional validity of internment. Fred Korematsu was a nisei (an American-born individual of Japanese ancestry) who wished to join the Army and fight America's foes. He eluded internment by going into hiding, but he was caught, tried, and convicted under Public Law 503. He received five years probation and was sent to the Topaz, UT, relocation center. His lawyers, from the American Civil Liberties Union, took the case to the Supreme Court. They argued that his conviction should be overturned because internment violated the following parts of the Constitution:

> Article I, section 1—by delegating unlimited legislative powers to courts, juries, and military commanders;
>
> Article III, section 1—by delegating unlimited judicial power to military commanders;
>
> Amendment 5—by depriving Korematsu of liberty and property without recourse to due process of law;
>
> Article I, section 9—by creating, in effect, a bill of attainder;
>
> Amendment 8—by inflicting cruel and unusual punishment;
>
> Amendment 4—by sanctioning unreasonable search and seizure;
>
> Amendment 6—by interning him without a charge of crime; and
>
> Article III, section 3—by attaining Korematsu with treason on the basis of racial ancestry.

In spite of these arguments, the Court upheld the legality of internment.

After many years of struggle by Japanese-American groups, Congress enacted Public Law 100-383 on August 10, 1988, which recognized that "a grave injustice was done to both citizens and permanent resident aliens of Japanese ancestry by the evacuation, relocation and internment of civilians during World War II," and "for these fundamental violations of the basic civil liberties and constitutional rights of those individuals of Japanese ancestry, the Congress apologizes on behalf of the Nation." Nevertheless, *Korematsu*, along with the World War I sedition decisions, remains the standing legal precedent, sanctioning the right of the Government to curtail American citizens' liberties in times of crisis.

The featured document is a page from Minidoka Community Analysis Report No. 2, compiled at the relocation center at Hunt, ID. Data pertaining to age, sex, religion, geographical origin, and other topics was collected at all sites by the Government to compile community profiles. The document is located in the Records of the War Relocation Authority, Record Group 210, Community Analysis Reports and Community Analysis Trend Reports from the Minidoka Relocation Center, Hunt, ID. It is also available on roll 22 of National Archives Microfilm Publication M1342, *Community Analysis Reports and Community Analysis Trend Reports of the War Relocation Authority, 1942–1946.*

Teaching Activities

Interpreting a Graph

1. Prepare the following worksheet for each student to complete:
   Examine the Minidoka Project Community Analysis Section graph to answer the following questions:
   a. What time period does this graph cover?
   b. What aspect of the community at Minidoka

is analyzed in this graph?

c. In actual numbers, how many persons were at Minidoka on November 10, 1942? On September 8, 1943?
d. What percentage of persons at Minidoka were citizens on November 10, 1942? On September 8, 1943?
e. Were there more citizens or more noncitizens at Minidoka on November 10, 1942? On September 8, 1943?
f. In actual numbers, calculate the number of citizens at Minidoka on November 10, 1942, and on September 8, 1943.
g. What is the percentage decline in citizens at Minidoka between November 10, 1942, and September 8, 1943?
h. What is the decline in actual numbers of citizens at Minidoka between November 10, 1942, and September 8, 1943?
i. Suggest at least one reason to account for the decline in the actual numbers of citizens at Minidoka between November 10, 1942, and September 8, 1943. Suggest at least one reason for the decline in the actual numbers of noncitizens at Minidoka during this same time period.
j. Suggest at least one reason why the Community Analysis Section wanted to know the percentage of citizens and noncitizens at Minidoka.

Rights in Crisis

2. The 1988 congressional apology and act to compensate citizens was not the first instance of apology and restitution by the legislative branch. For example, in 1825 printer Thomas Cooper was granted restoration of the $400 fine he had incurred in 1800 for violating the Sedition Act, plus interest. Assign the students a paper expressing what value, if any, such acts of compensation have for the individuals involved and for a democratic society in general.

3. The Supreme Court has handled cases pertaining to the conflict of individual rights and national security in times of war on numerous instances. Ask students to analyze one of the following:

   Ex parte Milligan, 4 Wallace 2 (1866)
   Ex parte Merryman, Fed Case 9487 (1861)
   Schenck v. *United States*, 249 U.S. 47 (1919)
   Debs v. *United States*, 249 U.S. 211 (1919)
   Korematsu v. *United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944)
   Hirabayashi v. *United States*, 320 U.S. 81 (1943)
   Ex parte Endo, 323 U.S. 283 (1944)
   Tinker v. *Des Moines Independent Community School District*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969)

   Students should read about the case, arguments, and opinions and then analyze the case based on the following questions:

   a. What crime was the individual accused of committing?
   b. What constitutional rights issue does the Supreme Court have to decide?
   c. What arguments does the accused offer? What arguments does the Government offer?
   d. What is the Court's decision and upon what reasoning does the Court base that decision?
   e. What is the effect of the decision on the accused? On national security? On personal liberty? Does the decision stand?

For Further Research

4. The experiences of Japanese Americans in the wartime internment camps make for compelling reading. Ask students to do research in primary and secondary sources about one of the following topics and then to present their findings in the form of an oral report or short dramatic presentation:
   a. Living conditions and daily life in Minidoka or one of the other camps
   b. The debate over loyalty oaths in the internment camps
   c. Contribution of Japanese Americans in the U.S. Armed Forces and on the homefront in war production
   d. Internee's exercise of first amendment rights of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition
   e. Economic or educational effects (or both) of internment on opportunities for Japanese Americans during and after the war

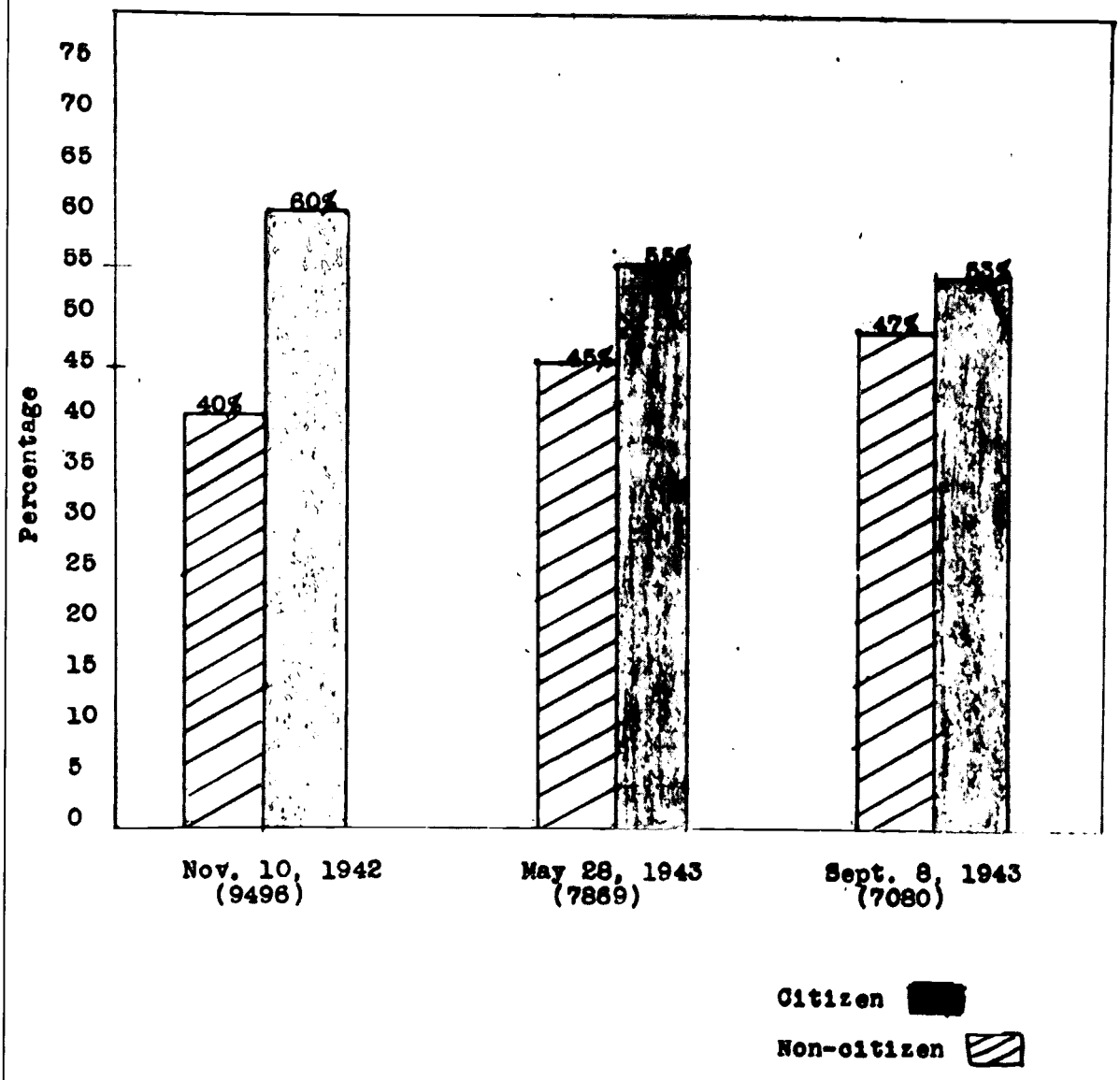
For Further Documents

Three related articles that touch on the topic of

Minidoka Project

Community Analysis Section

PERCENTAGE OF CITIZEN, NON-CITIZEN AT MINIDOKA PROJECT



rights in wartime appear in volume 1 of *Teaching with Documents*: "Interned Japanese-American Theme, 1943"; "Black Soldiers in World War I Poster, 1919"; and "*Ex parte Milligan* Letter, 1865." A fourth article, "The First Amendment: *The Finished Mystery* Case and World War I, 1918," originally appeared in the October 1990 issue of *Social Education* and is reprinted in this volume.

D-day Message from General Eisenhower to General Marshall

The historic events of June 6, 1944, D-day, are chronicled in innumerable documents in the National Archives of the United States, scrutinized and analyzed in thousands of books, and dramatized in several Hollywood motion pictures. The assault on the European continent that began that day during World War II was critically important to the Allied war effort and ultimately to the future security of all nations. Fifty years removed from the tensions of that time, one may dispassionately study the events of D-day. At the time, though, to those who crossed the English Channel and to the commanders responsible for setting the invasion plan into motion, the outcome was uncertain.

The featured document is a message drafted during the early hours of the D-day Normandy invasion by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Commander of the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), to his superior in Washington, DC, Gen. George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff. The document captures the immediacy and suspense of that day. Eisenhower's statement reflects his lack of information about how well the landings were going, even though they were well under way at that moment. His pride and confidence in the battle-tempered men he had met the preceding night—men he was about to send into combat—is also evident. A record from the holdings of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library in Abilene, KS, the message is found in Pre-Presidential Papers, 1916–52.

Preparing for the Invasion

Almost immediately after France fell to the Nazis in 1940, the Allies planned a cross-Channel assault on the German occupying forces. At the Quebec Conference in August 1943, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt reaffirmed the plan, which was code-named *Overlord.* Although Churchill acceded begrudgingly to the operation, historians note that the British still harbored persistent doubts about whether *Overlord* would succeed.

The decision to mount the invasion was cemented at the Teheran Conference held in November and December 1943. Joseph Stalin, on his first trip outside the Soviet Union since 1912, pressed Roosevelt and Churchill for details about the plan, particularly the identity of the Supreme Commander of *Overlord.* Churchill and Roosevelt told Stalin that the invasion "would be possible" by August 1, 1944, but that no decision had yet been made to name a Supreme Commander. To this latter point, Stalin pointedly rejoined, "Then nothing will come of these operations. Who carries the moral and technical responsibility for this operation?" Churchill and Roosevelt acknowledged the need to name the commander without further delay. Shortly after the conference ended, Roosevelt appointed Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower to that position.

By May 1944, 2,876,000 Allied troops were amassed in southern England. While awaiting deployment orders, they prepared for the assault

by practicing with live ammunition. The largest armada in history, made up of more than 4,000 American, British, and Canadian ships, lay in wait. More than 1,200 planes stood ready to deliver seasoned airborne troops behind enemy lines, to silence German ground resistance as best they could, and to dominate the skies over the impending battle theater. Against a tense backdrop of uncertain weather forecasts, disagreements in strategy, and related timing dilemmas predicated on the need for optimal tidal conditions, Eisenhower decided before dawn on June 5 to proceed with *Overlord.* Later that same afternoon, he scribbled a note intended for release, accepting responsibility for the decision to launch the invasion and full blame should the effort to create a beachhead on the Normandy coast fail.

Leaving headquarters at Portsmouth, Eisenhower first visited the British 50th Infantry Division and then the U.S. 101st Airborne at Newbury; the latter was predicted to suffer 80 percent casualties. After traveling 90 minutes through the ceaseless flow of troop carriers and trucks, his party arrived unannounced to avoid disrupting the embarkation in progress. The stars on the running board of his automobile had been covered, but the troops recognized "Ike," and word quickly spread of his presence. According to his grandson David, who wrote about the occasion in *Eisenhower: At War 1943–1945*, the general

> wandered through the formless groups of soldiers, stepping over packs and guns. The faces of the men had been blackened with charcoal and cocoa to protect against glare and to serve as camouflage. He stopped at intervals to talk to the thick clusters of soldiers gathering around him. He asked their names and homes. "Texas, sir!" one replied. "Don't worry, sir, the 101st is on the job and everything will be taken care of in fine shape." Laughter and applause. Another soldier invited Eisenhower down to his ranch after the war. "Where are you from, soldier?" "Missouri, sir." "And you, soldier?" "Texas, sir." Cheers, and the roll call of the states went on, "like a roll of battle honors," one observer wrote, as it unfolded, affirming an "awareness that the General and the men were associated in a great enterprise."

D-DAY

At half past midnight, as Eisenhower returned to his headquarters at Portsmouth, the first C-47s were arriving at their drop zones, commencing the start of "The Longest Day." The confusion and carnage of the landing efforts as troops in full kit (combat gear) waded through choppy, blood-stained water amid the deadly, deafening thunder of enemy fire must be deeply etched in the memory of those who took part in or witnessed the assault. During the invasion's initial hours, Eisenhower lacked adequate information about its progress. After the broadcast of his communiqué to the French people announcing their liberation, SHAEF switchboards were overwhelmed with messages from citizens and political officials. SHAEF communications personnel fell 12 hours behind in transcribing radio traffic. In addition, an Army decoding machine broke down.

According to his secretary-chauffeur Kay Summersby, as recounted in David Eisenhower's book, "Eisenhower spent most of the day in his trailer drinking endless cups of coffee, 'waiting for the reports to come.' Few did, and so Eisenhower gained only sketchy details for most of the day about the British beaches, UTAH and the crisis at OMAHA, where for several hours the fate of the invasion hung in the balance."

In the early morning message reproduced as this article's feature document, Eisenhower reported to his superior officer General Marshall that preliminary reports were all "satisfactory." At that time, he had received no official information that the "leading ground troops are actually ashore." The incomplete and unofficial reports, however, were encouraging.

His comments concerning the weather speak to the one crucial factor of the invasion over which he held no control. Meteorologists were chal-

lenged to accurately predict a highly unstable and severe weather pattern. As he indicated in the message to Marshall, "The weather yesterday which was [the] original date selected was impossible all along the target coast." Eisenhower therefore was forced to make his decision to proceed with a June 6 invasion in the predawn blackness of June 5, while horizontal sheets of rain and gale force winds shuddered through the tent camp. The forecast that the storm would abate proved accurate, as he noted in the document.

He closed his brief message on a confident note, describing the steely readiness of the men he sent to battle, recalling the resoluteness in their faces that he termed "the light of battle . . . in their eyes." This vivid and stirring memory doubtless heartened him throughout the day until conclusive word reached him that the massive campaign had indeed succeeded.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Distribute copies of the document to your students and ask them the following questions:
   a. Who created the document?
   b. What type of document is it?
   c. For what purpose was the document created?
   d. Who received the document?
   e. Whose copy of the document is this?
   f. What do the dates of the document reveal about the life of the document?

2. Ask your students to speculate on the meaning of the security classification designations "Top Secret" and "Eyes Only" evidenced in the document. Invite a local active or retired member of the military services into the classroom to assist the students in understanding what the designations mean and why this document needed to remain security-classified for 23 years.

Class Discussion

3. Ask students to interpret Eisenhower's description of the departing airborne troops. Then ask them if the descriptive words, "the light of battle was in their eyes," is a positive or a negative description. Next, ask students to identify and make a chart of additional cliches for those about to go into battle. Then, ask them to locate war poems written by World War I British poet Wilfred Owen or World War II American poet Randall Jarrell and speculate on how the poets might react to the language Eisenhower employed.

Related Topics for Research

4. For further study, students might research and present brief reports on the following topics:
   a. What did U.S. citizens learn about the early progress of the invasion from the newspapers in your area? Microfilmed copies of old issues of newspapers may be available at your local library or through interlibrary loan to your school library or media center.
   b. What was the weather like in the days immediately preceding the invasion and for several days afterward? Why were the tidal cycles and the moon phase important?
   c. How did Eisenhower arrive at the decision to proceed with the invasion on June 6?
   d. Trace and summarize the evolution of the decision to mount an invasion across the English Channel. Include in the report accounts of what transpired at key Allied meetings such as those held in Casablanca, Quebec, Cairo, and Teheran.
   e. Describe the elaborate deception effort of placing Gen. George Patton in charge of a phantom 1st U.S. Army Group (FUSAG) to keep the Nazis guessing about troop buildups and movements prior to D-day.

   f. Compare and contrast the communication capabilities of the U.S. military during World War II and at present.

5. If possible, arrange for a veteran of the D-day invasion to describe his or her participation for the class in person, through a letter, or by telephone or videotape.

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

SHAEF
STAFF MESSAGE CONTROL
INCOMING MESSAGE

EYES ONLY

SHAEF CP

Filed 0608002 June

SHAEF 63/06

TOR 0609302 June

U R G E N T

FROM : SHAEF COMMAND POST, PERSONAL FROM GENERAL EISENHOWER

TO : AGWAR-TO GENERAL MARSHALL FOR HIS EYES ONLY; SHAEF FOR INFORMATION

REF NO : 90016, 6 June 1944

Local time is now 8 in the morning.

I have as yet no information concerning the actual landings nor of our progress through beach obstacles. Communique will not be issued until we have word that leading ground troops are actually ashore.

All preliminary reports are satisfactory. Airborne formations apparently landed in good order with losses out of approximately 1250 airplanes participating about 30. Preliminary bombings by air went off as scheduled. Navy reports sweeping some mines, but so far as is known channels are clear and operation proceeding as planned. In early morning hours reaction from shore batteries was sufficiently light that some of the naval spotting planes have returned awaiting call.

The weather yesterday which was original date selected was impossible all along the target coast. Today conditions are vastly improved both by sea and air and we have the prospect of at least reasonably favorable weather for the next several days.

Yesterday, I visited British troops about to embark and last night saw a great portion of a United States airborne division just prior to its takeoff. The enthusiasm, toughness and obvious fitness of every single man were high and the light of battle was in their eyes.

I will keep you informed.

DISTRIBUTION:

1. SUPREME COMMANDER ✓
2. CHIEF OF STAFF
3. G3
4. Gen. Strong (G-2)
5. Gen. Bull (G-3)

DECLASSIFIED
DOD DIR. 5200.10, June 29, 1960
NE by WGL date 6-29-67

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466

TOP SECRET

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

6. Ask volunteers to research and role play the tense Teheran Conference. Ask the class to evaluate the positions the three leaders took.

7. After studying the decision to proceed with the D-day invasion, ask your students to consider whether or not they would have made the same decision Eisenhower made. They should justify their decisions in a brief written memorandum addressed to Marshall.

Note: A photograph of Eisenhower talking with members of the 101st Airborne is available from the National Archives. To order a copy, call 301-713-6660 and specify "War and Conflict negative number 1040."

If you are near Abilene, KS, you may wish to visit the Eisenhower Library to see the document featured in this article and many other documents and artifacts pertaining to Eisenhower, D-day, World War II, and other related topics. Please call the Public Affairs Office, at 785-263-4751 to arrange a visit.

References

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Fire Prevention Posters: The Story of Smokey Bear

"I want YOU for the U.S. Army." "Give a hoot! Don't pollute." "The toughest job you'll ever love." The U.S. Government has long used advertising to communicate with its people. Over time, the world of advertising has become increasingly sophisticated due to the mass communication capabilities of radio, television, and online services. Despite this evolution, posters remain a powerful cornerstone of many federal advertising campaigns. Through word and image, posters may convey vital information or persuade people to follow a particular course of action. Their content documents concerns and ideas behind historical events great and small.

One of the most successful advertising campaigns ever created began with a Government poster designed more than 50 years ago. Since his creation as the symbol of forest fire prevention awareness, Smokey Bear has become one of the most recognized symbols in the United States. At once firm and friendly, Smokey Bear reminds people that many forest fires are preventable if human beings are cautious in handling fire and smoking materials. Today, Smokey Bear is protected by Congress, has his own staff, and even his own zip code!

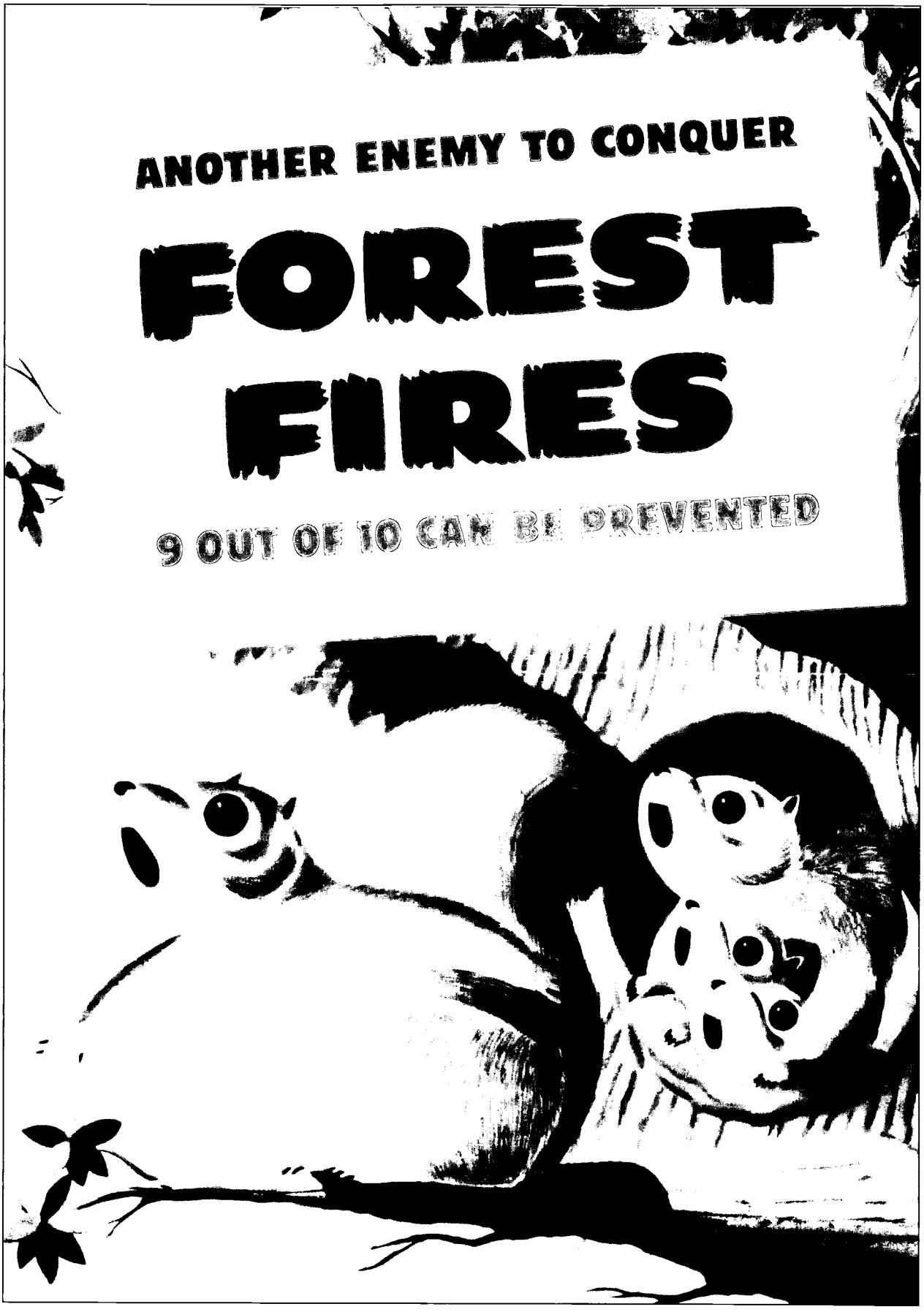
How did this bear attain such celebrity? How did Smokey evolve from a World War II homefront poster campaign into an ongoing spectacular advertising success? This article and the accompanying featured documents—two posters selected from the records of the U.S. Forest Service's 1944 fire prevention campaign—address these questions. The original posters, reproduced here reduced and in black and white, are located in the National Archives Still Picture Branch in the Records of the U.S. Forest Service, Record Group 95. Memorandums referenced in the article are also available at the National Archives.

Background

During World War II, the U.S. Forest Service worked to increase public awareness that America's forests were vital resources for the war effort. The 1942 forest fire prevention campaign featured grim war-related themes and closely tied fire prevention efforts to winning the war. Posters featuring grotesque caricatures of Tojo and Hitler in front of burning timber included tag lines such as "Careless Matches Aid the Axis" and "Carelessness Is THEIR Secret Weapon."

In 1943 the War Advertising Council used Walt Disney's Bambi in its fire prevention poster. Woodland animals in poster art proved very popular, but the Forest Service could not agree to the contract terms and royalty payments proposed by the Walt Disney Company for continued use of Bambi. Consequently, the U.S. Office of War Information and the U.S. Forest Service decided to develop an original animal symbol for the fire prevention campaign.

The War Advertising Council designers initially tried squirrels as symbols in the 1944 campaign, as shown in the first featured poster. But some members of the Forest Service believed it would be better to use a larger animal, especially one that "could stand upright and demonstrate forest safety practices." The director of the Forest Fire Prevention Program, Dick Hammatt, in an internal memorandum dated August 9, 1944, envisioned a "characterization . . . of a bear . . . in a green (unburned) pine forest setting" with specified features such as "Nose short (Panda type); color black or brown; expression appealing, knowledgeable, quizzical; perhaps wearing a campaign (or Boy Scout) hat that typifies the outdoors and the woods. A bear that walks on his hind legs; that can be shown putting out a warming fire with a bucket


ANOTHER ENEMY TO CONQUER
FOREST FIRES
9 OUT OF 10 CAN BE PREVENTED

of water." His idea was quickly approved, and the Forest Service commissioned renowned artist Albert Staehl, known best for his *Saturday Evening Post* work, to create the first bear artwork.

The second featured poster, also released in 1944, portrayed the first firefighting bear. This symbol seemed the favored choice, especially to one Forest Service official who confided in a U.S. Forest Service internal memorandum dated September 5, 1944: "I certainly hope they develop and use the bear character . . . instead of the squirrel . . . the squirrel is just a nuisance and a damn rodent to farmers and rural people in many localities." Indeed, those who worked on the campaign wanted to develop one singularly recognizable animal "personality" to represent the Forest Fire Prevention Program, and the bear was chosen. Forest Service officials named the bear Smokey after a famous New York City assistant fire chief, "Smokey Joe" Martin.

When Smokey became the sole official symbol of the annual campaigns, artists paid close attention to his appearance. Forest Service officials decided Smokey should always wear blue jeans. Following heated debate, they reached accord about his hat style. Although subsequent artists rendered a less awkward and more mature-looking bear in the postwar years, Smokey's hat and pants remained unchanged.

In 1946 the Ad Council was established as a peacetime extension of the War Advertising Council. Its mission was to assure that public advertising would keep pace with the quality and creativity of the private sector. The Ad Council continued to promote the Smokey Bear campaign such that in 1947 two significant events occurred in its evolution. First, someone suggested the slogan "Remember, only YOU can prevent forest fires." Initially, many members of the advertising campaign staff resisted this slogan as too mundane. However, they soon recognized its power as an example of a personalized message directly bearing on a national problem. The second development gave Smokey a voice when he came to radio. The deep voice of Jackson Weaver, a Washington, DC, radio personality added resonance when he recorded Smokey's words with his head placed in a barrel. That distinctive voice became instantly recognized as belonging to the benevolent forest protector.

By 1950 the Ad Council suggested that a live Smokey should be used in television and poster campaigns whenever possible. Later that year the Forest Service located a bear they thought might be right for the job. In the wake of a New Mexico forest fire, local rangers found a singed and frightened North American black bear cub yelping in distress. The cub was taken to Santa Fe where he stayed briefly in the home of the state game warden.

When the terrified bear bit the family cocker spaniel, the warden arranged to transfer the cub to a local zoo. After several weeks, little Smokey was placed aboard an airplane and sent to Washington, DC, where he lived at the National Zoo for 25 years as a living symbol of the forest fire prevention campaign.

The live bear and his poster counterpart received such tremendous publicity that they soon became fixtures in American popular culture, but some attempts to use his image elsewhere did not fare as well. Canadian firefighters secured permission to use Smokey's likeness on posters in their national fire prevention campaign. To their consternation, the Smokey posters in one area of Ontario were destroyed or his image torn out or defaced with black paint. It soon surfaced that, to the Sheshagwaning tribe of North American Indians living in the region, the Smokey image appeared to be that of an evil spirit who manifests itself as a "bearwalker-person." Posters for that region were reprinted with a beaver in place of Smokey.

Interest in Smokey Bear increased, and concern about misuse or illegal merchandising of his image led the State Foresters Association to appeal to Congress for help in protecting Smokey. Because the U.S. Government cannot secure a patent or copyright for itself, characters and symbols developed by Government artists are in the public domain. By unanimous vote in 1952, Congress enacted Public Law 359 protecting the famed forest spokesbear. The law regulates the

Care will prevent 9 out of 10 forest fires!

use of Smokey Bear and designates funds from merchandising to maintaining the U.S. Forest Service's forest fire prevention program.

Today, Smokey is still recognized as the pre-eminent symbol of the U.S. Forest Service fire prevention campaign. People in Smokey Bear costume throw out the ceremonial first ball at major league baseball games, schools use Smokey materials during fire prevention week, and print advertisements and posters continue to show that familiar furry face cautioning each individual to use care in the forest. Nonetheless, recent surveys indicate a decline in young children's recognition of Smokey Bear and his message. To counter this decline, the U.S. Forest Service fire prevention program has decided to return to the simple personalized message and to focus on Smokey once again. They hope that eventually every American will remember "Only YOU can prevent forest fires."

Note to the Teacher:

The Smithsonian Institution, in conjunction with the Forest Service, developed the education kit "Happy 50th Smokey Bear" for teachers of grades K-3. Early elementary teachers can write to the following address to receive this free material:

Smithsonian Institution Office of Elementary and Secondary Education Arts and Industry Building 1163 MRC 402
Washington, DC 20560

State forestry offices can also provide information to interested teachers. Look for local addresses in the government pages of your telephone book.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Project a transparency of the squirrel poster in front of the class. Using the following questions, help students analyze the poster:
   a. What symbols, if any, are used in the poster?
   b. Are the messages in the poster more visual or verbal?
   c. Is the message clear, memorable, and dramatic? How is this achieved?
   d. Who is the intended audience for this poster?
   e. Who might the "enemy" be?
   f. Is this an effective poster?

2. Ask students if they can recite a slogan and name a forest fire prevention symbol. Then distribute copies of the first Smokey Bear poster. Discuss with your students the origin and evolution of Smokey Bear. Apply the same analytical questions to the Smokey poster as to the squirrel poster. Ask your students if they agree with the Forest Service official's assessment of the squirrel symbol.

Learning Activities

3. Locate a recent picture of Smokey, and ask your students to identify the changes in Smokey's appearance from his first posters. Record responses on the chalkboard. Ask students why they think these changes were made. Can they identify other popular symbols or figures that have evolved (e.g., Mickey Mouse, the Campbell's Soup Kids, the torch-bearing Columbia Pictures woman, Uncle Sam, Morton's Salt girl)?

4. Assign a student to write a description of a famous team mascot or national symbol without explicitly naming it. Have one student read the description while another student draws a picture on the board. Members of the class should try to identify what famous symbol or character is being portrayed.

Research

5. Ask a student to research the origin of your school mascot, including how it was chosen, changes in its design, whether it is an appropriate and effective symbol, and by what process it could be changed. Ask the student to present the research to the class.

6. Assign students to research an issue of concern in your school, local community, state, nation, or world. Students should then design a poster to address their topics and present the rationale behind the poster to the class. By consensus, decide which posters are most effective.

7. Some athletic teams have come under criticism for having culturally insensitive names, mascots, and symbols. Assign students to research and then debate this topic.

Nazi Medical Experiment Report: Evidence from the Nuremberg Medical Trial

Confronting a deluge of irrefutable information on Germany's genocidal campaigns in Europe, the major Allied powers resolved on November 1, 1943, that once Germany was defeated, they would try accused Nazi war criminals before an international war crimes tribunal. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin signed the Declaration on German Atrocities, the stated purpose of which was to identify, judge, and punish those Germans who were responsible for the reported outrages. Originally, the Allied powers hoped to return each of the defendants to the country where the specific war crimes he or she was accused of had been committed. However, such a large-scale international shuffle of alleged criminals eventually proved logistically impossible. In 1945 the Allied powers, which then included liberated France, decided instead to convene what was called the International Military Tribunal in the German city of Nuremberg.

Nuremberg provided an appropriate trial venue for several reasons. American prosecutors persuaded their Allied colleagues that the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg, one of the few structures still intact amid the rubble and devastation of Germany's bombed-out cities, would be large enough to accommodate such proceedings. It was also conveniently located in the American zone of occupation. Furthermore, Nuremberg was historically symbolic: dating back to medieval times, the city had been the site of numerous Nazi propaganda rallies during the rise of the Third Reich and the place where, in 1935, the infamous Nuremberg Laws had been enacted to strip German Jews of their citizenship and legal, political, and economic rights.

No legal precedent existed for an international trial of such a broad scope. In their development of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, which was signed in December 1945, Soviet, British, French, and American officials attempted to establish the legal authority to conduct such trials. Balancing the legal and constitutional precedents of the four nations required much diplomacy. This international legal community thus assembled in Nuremberg was able to define four areas of criminality under which the Nazi leaders would be charged. Specifically, individuals were charged with crimes against peace (waging a war of aggression that violated international agreements); war crimes (acts that violated the rules of war); crimes against humanity (inhuman treatment of civilians, acts of racial persecution, and genocide); and membership in an organization declared criminal in nature by the International Military Tribunal.

The first Nazi defendants to be tried in 1945 and 1946 included the infamous Hermann Göring as well as Rudolf Hess, Wilhelm Keitel, Albert Speer, and 19 others. Employing unparalleled accumulations of documentary evidence seized by the Allies during the siege and occupation of Germany, the international prosecutors exposed the degree of human carnage that had resulted from the application of Nazi racist ideology. Incriminated by their own extensive records, the defendants did not try to challenge documents they had signed but instead attempted to justify their actions by claiming that they were only following orders from superiors. Under the legal leadership of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, who served as Chief Counsel for War

Crimes Prosecution, this line of defense was discredited so that individuals were to be held strictly responsible for the crimes they personally committed or authorized. The tribunal sentenced 12 well-known Nazis to death, sentenced 8 others to prison terms, and acquitted the remaining 3. Göring committed suicide on the eve of his execution.

Afterward, U.S. military authorities held an additional series of 12 trials in Nuremberg. Lesser known defendants—including industrialists, judges, lower-ranking party officials, and members of the medical profession—were tried before these American military tribunals. Citing the legal authority established by the International Military Tribunal charter, Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor, who replaced Justice Jackson, tried individual Germans for crimes against the international law articulated by the victors. Prior to the development in the charter in 1945, however, "crimes against humanity" had never been defined by the international community. Critics of the Nuremberg proceedings, including some French and Russian legal scholars present at the initial trial, have questioned the propriety of what might be considered *ex post facto* introduction of previously uncodified crimes into international law. Because of this question and for economic reasons, only the Americans prosecuted an additional series of trials.

The Medical Case

The first of the proceedings to follow the major Nuremberg trial was *United States* v. *Karl Brandt, et al.* Commonly known as the "medical case," this trial included 23 defendants; 20 were medical doctors who became part of Hitler's bureaucratic machinery working toward the annihilation of the many people considered subhuman by the Nazis. These Nazi doctors were directly responsible for thousands of phenol injections, which they euphemistically referred to as "mercy killings." In the late 1930s, before the creation of the death camps, German citizens who were deemed "inferior," either physically or mentally, were killed in an attempt to purge the so-called "Aryan race" of all perceived biological weakness. On the other end of Nazi racial ranking, Jews, Gypsies, and other "subhumans" were also killed by injection in various circumstances.

As Hitler implemented his genocidal "final solution to the Jewish question," German medical professionals began performing the "selections" in concentration camps, standing by as the cattle trains of Eastern European Jews arrived—condemning some people to gas chambers and relegating others to slave labor camps. Documentary evidence against these men tried at Nuremberg related principally to their facilitating or performing inhuman medical experiments on unwilling subjects. Nazi medical doctors had no scruples about using people considered racially inferior for any kind of experiment.

American prosecutors proved that many of the defendants orchestrated and performed experiments on concentration camp victims incarcerated in such camps as Dachau, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Ravensbrück, among others. Experiments included infecting already weakened people with diseases like jaundice, malaria, and typhus. Other victims were subjected to torture at high altitudes or freezing temperatures or were forced to ingest sea water. In the high-altitude experiments, Russians, Poles, Jews of various nationalities, and even Germans were used.

In one series of horrifying experiments, doctors surgically sterilized many men and women using radical, unsafe, and unhygienic techniques. The doctors sought to develop an inexpensive and quick method of sterilizing those seen as inferior, yet useful to keep alive. At Auschwitz, doctors sterilized thousands of women with uterine injections; at Ravensbrück, young Polish women were sterilized with surgery, X rays, and chemotherapy. Himmler considered sterilization a means to eventual extermination of Poles, Russians, and Jews. If the experiments proved "successful," the technique would have been used on a wide scale to gradually depopulate conquered areas earmarked for Nazi colonization.

The prosecution presented more than 570 documents, often with annotations and supplementary photographs, detailing the gruesome nature of

Reichsarzt-SS und Polizei
Der Oberste Hygieniker
Tgb.Nr.: Geh. [illegible] /44 Dr.Mru./Eb.

Berlin-Zehlendorf 6, den 12.9.1944
Spanische Allee 10 - 12

Geheime Kommandosache.

Betrifft: Versuche mit Akonitinnitrat-Geschossen.

An das
Kriminaltechnische Institut
z.Hd. von Herrn Dr. W i d m a n n
B e r l i n

Im Beisein von SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Ding, Herrn Dr. Widmann und dem Unterzeichneten wurden am 11.9.44 an fünf zum Tode Verurteilten Versuche mit Akonitinnitrat-Geschossen durchgeführt. Es handelte sich um Geschosse von Kaliber 7,65 mm, welche mit dem Gift in kristalliner Form gefüllt waren.
Die Versuchspersonen erhielten im Liegen je einen Schuss in den linken Oberschenkel. Bei 2 Personen wurde der Oberschenkel glatt durchschossen. Es war auch später keine Giftwirkung zu erkennen. Diese beiden Versuchspersonen schieden daher aus.
Der Einschuss zeigte keine Besonderheiten. Bei einer Versuchsperson war offenbar die Arteria femoralis verletzt. Ein heller Blutstrom entsprang der Einschussöffnung. Jedoch stand die Blutung nach kurzer Zeit. Der Blutverlust hat schätzungsweise höchstens 3/4 Liter betragen, war also auf keinen Fall tödlich.
Die drei Verurteilten wiesen in ihren Erscheinungen eine überraschende Übereinstimmung auf. Zunächst zeigten sich keine Besonderheiten. Nach 20 bis 25 Minuten traten motorische Unruhe und ein leichter Speichelfluss auf. Beides ging darauf wieder zurück. Nach 40 bis 44 Minuten setzte starker Speichelfluss ein. Die Vergifteten schlucken häufig, später ist der Speichelfluss so stark, dass er durch Hinunterschlucken nicht mehr bewältigt werden kann. Schaumiger Speichel entfliesst dem Mund. Dann setzen Würgreiz und Erbrechen ein.
Der Puls war bei zwei Personen nach 58 Minuten nicht mehr zu tasten. Der dritte hatte 76 Pulsschläge. Sein Blutdruck betrug nach 65 Minuten 90/60 mm.Hg. Die Töne waren ausser-

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L-105

ordentlich leise. Es bestand also eine deutliche Herabsetzung des Blutdruckes.
In der ersten Stunde des Versuches zeigten die Pupillen keine Veränderungen. Nach 78 Minuten zeigten sie bei allen drei Personen eine mittlere Erweiterung mit einer Trägheit in der Lichtreaktion. Gleichzeitig bestand maximale Atmung mit tiefer ziehender Inspiration. Sie liess nach wenigen Minuten nach.
Die Pupillen wurden wieder enger und reagierten besser.
Nach 65 Minuten fehlten bei den 3 Vergifteten die Kniesehnen- und Achillessehnen-Reflexe. Bei zweien fehlten auch die Bauchdecken-Reflexe. Bei dem dritten waren die oberen Bauchdecken-Reflexe noch erhalten, die unteren nicht mehr auslösbar.
Nach ungefähr 90 Minuten setzte bei einer Versuchsperson wieder eine tiefe Atmung ein, begleitet von einer zunehmenden motorischen Unruhe. Die Atmung ging dann in eine oberflächliche jagende über. Gleichzeitig bestand ein starker Brechreiz. Der eine Vergiftete versuchte vergebens zu erbrechen. Um dies zu erreichen, steckte er 4 Finger der Hand bis zu den Grundgelenken tief in den Mund. Trotzdem setzte kein Erbrechen ein. Das Gesicht war dabei gerötet.
Die anderen beiden Versuchspersonen zeigten schon früh ein blasses Gesicht. Die übrigen Erscheinungen waren dieselben. Die motorische Unruhe wuchs später so stark, dass sich die Personen aufbäumten, wieder hinwarfen, die Augen verdrehten, sinnlose Bewegungen mit den Händen und Armen ausführten. Schliesslich liess die Unruhe nach, die Pupillen erweiterten sich maximal, die Verurteilten lagen still da. Bei einem von ihnen wurden Masseter-Krampf und Urinabgang beobachtet. Der Tod trat 121, 123 und 129 Minuten nach Erhalten des Schusses ein.

Zusammenfassung: Die mit ungefähr 38 mg. Akonitinnitrat in Substanz gefüllten Geschosse hatten trotz unbedeutender Verletzung nach etwa 2 Stunden eine tödliche Wirkung. Die Vergiftung zeigt sich 20 bis 25 Minuten nach der Verletzung. Im Vordergrund der Erscheinungen standen Speichelfluss, Veränderungen der Pupillen, Verschwinden der Sehnen-Reflexe, motorische Unruhe und starker Brechreiz.

(Doz. Dr. Mrugowsky)
SS-Oberführer u.
Amtschef.

L/105

Reich-Surgeon of the SS and Police
The Supreme Hygienist
Diary No.: Secret 364/44 Dr. Mru./Eb

Berlin-Zehlendorf 12 Sept 1944
Spanische Allee 10-12

Top - Secret

Subject: Experiments with Akonitinnitrate-bullets.

To the
Institute of
Technical Criminology
for the attention of Dr. Widmann
Berlin

Stamp: Institute of
Technical Criminology
Chemistry dept.
received: 13 Sept. 1944
Diary No. G 53/44
Expert: --------

On 11 September 1944, in the presence of SS-Sturmbannfuehrer Dr. Ding, Dr. Widmann and the undersigned, experiments with Akonotinnitrate bullets were carried out on five persons who had been sentenced to death. The calibre of the bullets used was 7.65 cm and they were filled with the poison in crystal form. Each subject of the experiments received one shot in the upper part of the left thigh, while in a horizontal position. In the case of 2 persons, the bullets passed clean through the upper part of the thigh. Even later no effect from the poison could be seen. These two subjects were therefore rejected. The bullet entrance showed no peculiarities. The Arteria Femoralis of one subject was apparently damaged. A light coloured flow of blood issued from the entrance hole. The bleeding however stopped after a short time. It was estimated that the amount of blood lost was at most 3/4 of a litre, so it was by no means fatal.

The symptoms shown by the three condemned persons were suprisingly the same. At first, nothing special was noticeable. After 20 to 25 minutes, a disturbance of the motor nerves and a light flow of saliva began, but both stopped again. After 40 to 44 minutes a strong flow of saliva appeared. The poisoned persons swallowed frequently, later the flow of saliva is so strong that it can no longer be controlled by swallowing. Foamy saliva flows from the mouth. Then, a sensation of choking and vomiting start.

After 58 minutes, the pulse of two of the persons could no longer be felt. The pulse of the third had 76 beats. After 65 minutes, his blood-pressure was 90/60 min. Hg. The sounds were exceedingly low.

There was therefore a noticeable lowering of the blood-pressure.

During the first hours of the experiment, the pupils showed no change. After 78 minutes those of all three persons enlarged to a medium extent and were slow in reacting to light. At the same time the breathing was maximum with deep intaking respiration. It subsided after a few minutes. The pupils narrowed again and reacted better. After 65 minutes, the reflexes of the knee and Achilles tendons in the three poisoned persons, no longer functioned. In two of them, the reflexes of the abdominal wall had also failed. The third person still maintained the reflexes of the upper abdominal wall the lower ones no longer reacted. After about 90 minutes one person began again to breathe already; this was accompanied by an increasing disturbance of the motor nerves. The breathing then became superficial and rapid.

At the same time there was pronounced nausea. One of the poisoned persons tried in vain to vomit. In order to succeed, he put 4 fingers of his hand, up to the main joint, right into his mouth. In spite of this, no vomitting occurred. His face became quite red.

The faces of the other two subjects were already pale at an early stage. Other symptoms were the same. Later one the distrubance of the motor nerves increased so much that the persons threw themselves up and down rolled their eyes and made aimless movements with their hands and arms. At last, the disturbance subsided, the pupils were enlarged to the maximum, the condemned lay still. Massetercramp and loss of urine was observed in one of them. Death occurred 121, 123, and 129 minutes after they were shot.

Conclusion: In spite of an insignificant injury, the bullets, filled with about 38 mg. Akonitinnitrate in solid form caused death after about 2 hours. The effect of the poison begins to show 20 to 25 minutes after the wound is received. The main symptoms were a flow of saliva, alteration in the size of the pupils, failure to function of the tendon reflexes, disturbance of the motor nerves and pronounced nausea. -

signed: Doz. Dr. Mrugowsky
SS-Oberfuehrer and Department Head

Enclosures showing: Snapshot of Russian pistol cartridge cal. 7.65 with poison bullet (stamp on bottom of casing: Geco)

Criminal Technical Institute of the Security Police
Department: Chemistry.

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CERTIFICATE OF TRANSLATION
OF DOCUMENT NO. L-103

11 November 1945.

I, CLARE BOULTER, P/O, W.R.N.S., 59549, hereby certify that I am thoroughly conversant with the English and German languages, and that the above is a true and correct translation of Document No. L-103.

CLARE BOULTER
P/O, W.R.N.S.
59549.

these experiments. The documents featured here, part of the National Archives Collection of World War II War Crimes Records, Record Group 238, relate the effects of a medical experiment involving intended poisoning, which was authorized and witnessed by one of the highest ranking Nazi doctors, Joachim Mrugowsky, the designated Reich-Surgeon of the SS and Police and "Supreme Hygienist." Mrugowsky was responsible for ordering the use of Zyklon B—not to fumigate lice, as was its stated purpose, but to intentionally kill large numbers of human beings. He was also instrumental in facilitating the transfer of people interned in concentration camps to serve as subjects for Nazi experiments. As the documents that follow indicate, he also personally participated in many such experiments, carefully and methodically recording the effects.

Acting as his own defense, Dr. Mrugowsky claimed that experimentation on human beings was perceived as necessary to combat the real threat of chemical warfare being used by the Russians on the front. There was evidence, he stated, that Russian troops were using bullets filled with a similar poison. He argued that knowing the probable results of such a poison on the body was of direct and immediate benefit to the German people during wartime. When asked whether he had seen the required document authorizing the death sentences of the subjects by a valid German judicial body, Mrugowsky responded that verifying the legality of an execution was not part of his job. As a doctor, he claimed, he was simply asked to be present at an execution to record and verify the exact time of death. The documents suggest a more substantial involvement, however. Mrugowsky volunteered the information that the two individuals whose wounds excluded them from taking further part in the experiment (because bullets shot into them during the initial phase of the test had severed central arteries, and they would die in minutes) were "immediately and humanely" shot through the heart.

In his closing statement, Mrugowsky concluded: "My life, my actions, my aims were clean. That is why now, at the end of this trial, I declare myself free of personal guilt." The tribunal did not share this opinion. On August 20, 1947, Dr. Joachim Mrugowsky and nine of his colleagues in the medical trial were sentenced to death by hanging.

Note to Teachers

There is a wealth of evidence in the National Archives documenting atrocities committed by Nazis. The Nazis were excellent record-keepers, creating and maintaining them so carefully and profusely that the captured documents were used to convict many of them. With so much evidence available, teachers must carefully choose appropriate materials. Too much clinical information may result in dehumanizing the victims and disconnecting students from the reality of the horror. In the study of Nazi Germany, it is difficult to avoid overexposing students to the degradation and sensationalism of that era, but such study must be done. It is also difficult to hold back from inundating students with too many audiovisual and written accounts of the Holocaust. However, throwing too much information at students without adequate time for reflection and processing of complex and multifaceted issues may lead to an oversimplified understanding (e.g., concluding that all Germans were Nazis, all Germans knew about and approved of Jewish genocide, and Nazi genocidal policies were applied only against Jews).

Teaching Activities

1. On the chalkboard, with the help of students, compile a list of professions generally respected by society. Next, identify and list qualities that set those professions apart. Finally, ask students to freewrite for five minutes about why Americans hold professionals such as doctors and lawyers in such high esteem.

2. Review the untranslated German document with students. Ask them to identify dates, signatures, and physical qualities that make the document unique. Ask students to make logical inferences about the nature of the

document. Ask them to cite specific words that give them clues to possible meanings. Students might postulate why this document is in the National Archives of the United States.

3. Share with students background information on the Nuremberg trials. Explain that the document they are reviewing was submitted as evidence in Dr. Mrugowsky's trial. Then hand out the English translation for them to read. Before discussing students' reactions, ask students to freewrite for an additional five to ten minutes relating their previous thoughts to the new material.

4. Scientific experimentation on human subjects was not unique to Nazi Germany. The U.S. Government is currently disclosing a history of experiments regarding the effects of radioactivity on U.S. citizens. Discuss with students the safeguards, both moral and legal, that protect the rights of citizens from unsafe scientific practices. Ask some students to contact the Food and Drug Administration, the American Medical Association, or a local medical research institution for information about laws regarding experimental procedures involving human beings. Ask students to report their findings to the class.

5. Assign a few students to study and report on research performed by Yale psychologist Stanley Milgram. In his startling book *Obedience to Authority*, Milgram maintains that individuals in a controlled scientific environment will inflict pain on others if instructed to do so by someone they perceive to be an authority figure.

6. Assign several other students to conduct research on the controversy surrounding the use of data obtained during Nazi medical research. Students should use the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and the resources of a local research library to investigate this ongoing ethical debate. Students should orally report their findings to the class or participate in a videotaped panel discussion on the topic. Medical ethicists from a local university or other medical personnel might be invited as additional members of the panel.

7. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum holds a yearly art and writing competition for middle and secondary school students. Interested teachers can write to the following address for information on the contest: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Education Department, National Art and Writing Contest, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW, Washington, DC 20024-2150.

Additional Resources

Markusen, Eric. "Professions, Professionals, and Genocide." In *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*, vol. 2, edited by Israel Charny, 264–298. New York: Facts on File, 1991. [Note: This essay includes a lengthy and useful annotated bibliography that lists numerous works germane to the focus of the article.]

Persico, Joseph E. *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial.* New York: Viking, 1994.

Taylor, Telford. *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials: A Personal Memoir.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

Trial of Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal. 42 vols. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Correspondence Urging Bombing of Auschwitz during World War II

When students confront the horrors of the Holocaust, they often question the Allies' failure to bomb the notorious concentration and death camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau during World War II. These camps were part of a system of hundreds of slave labor camps and six main death camps established by the Nazis as part of their policies for "inferior" races. By the end of the war, Nazi racism led to the death of approximately six million Jewish men, women, and children (about two-thirds of all European Jews), a large number of whom died at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

In 1944 John W. Pehle, Executive Director of the U.S. War Refugee Board, sent a forceful appeal to Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy urging the bombing of railroads and buildings in the Auschwitz-Birkenau complex. McCloy's response presented the arguments for the War Department's decision not to bomb the camps. That correspondence is featured in this article.

Discussion about potential Allied military strikes against the Auschwitz-Birkenau camps and others must be predicated on what was known about the camps, when it was known, and by whom. Accounts of the Holocaust filtered out of Nazi-occupied Europe from eyewitnesses who served in the German military or had escaped from the camps. In his 1979 Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture entitled "The First News of the Holocaust," Professor Walter Laqueur documented through selected sources that evidence of the Holocaust was known in Europe in 1941 and worldwide in 1942. British newspapers published the first reports of systematic massacres in the London *Daily Telegraph* on June 25 and 30, 1942, indicating that between 700,000 and one million Jews had already been killed, many by poison gas. The *Daily Telegraph* articles were the basis of the first U.S. reports published in the *New York Times* on June 30 and July 2, 1942.

As the ghastly news spread, it was difficult to convince people that the reports were true. Such cruelty was almost impossible to comprehend. After the war ended, when the "Wannsee Protocol" that outlined the "final solution" became known, the Nazi plot to eradicate the Jewish population in Europe was clear to see. Their plan to exterminate millions of Gypsies, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, and others seen as racially inferior also became known, but not before millions were killed.

Why were the reports not fully believed? Why were rescue attempts not made? Professor Laqueur argued that the initial isolated reports did not create an "overall picture" that could be understood. He reasoned that people may have thought that

> perhaps the atrocities were, after all, only sporadic? Perhaps they would be limited to the area occupied after June 21, 1941? Perhaps the Nazis would stop; perhaps they wanted to use able-bodied Jews for the war effort? By mid-1942 it should have been clear that this was not the case. But there still was widespread reluctance to accept the stark truth, simply because murder on such a scale was unprecedented. . . . It cannot be repeated too often that the fact that a message had been conveyed and was published does not mean that it had registered.

When Pehle wrote McCloy in 1944, the U.S. Government had been aware of the existence of the camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau since at least the fall of 1942, but it did not view their immediate destruction or disruption as a higher priority than the ruination of Germany's industry and ability to wage war. There is much debate today about what could have, or should have, been done to destroy the camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau. In the featured document, McCloy states the official position as presented in 1944—that victory over Germany would be the surest and swiftest means to end the deaths in the camps. When U.S. troops liberated various concentration camps in Germany and Austria, they were horrified to find those places of atrocity and the skeletal survivors of those dark days.

The Pehle-McCloy correspondence dated November 8, 1944, and November 18, 1944, is found at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, NY, a Presidential library administered by the National Archives and Records Administration.

Holocaust Education Resources

The personal account of a liberator describing his initial view of a camp provides the first glimpse of the Holocaust for visitors at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Teachers interested in educational materials or tours of the museum should write or call Education Department, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW, Washington, DC 20024; 202-314-7810.

In addition to the records related to Holocaust topics available for research at the National Archives facilities, a 17-poster set entitled "Holocaust: The Documentary Evidence, a related booklet with the same title, and a 123-page hardcover guide entitled *The Holocaust, Israel, and the Jews: Motion Pictures in the National Archives* are available for purchase. For ordering information, call Product Sales at 1-800-234-8861.

Teaching Activities

1. Distribute copies of the documents to your students, and begin a class discussion with the following questions:
   a. What type of documents are these?
   b. What are the dates of the documents?
   c. Who created the documents?
   d. Who received the documents?

2. Ask your students to explain why Pehle felt it was an appropriate time to "urge the destruction" of the camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

3. Ask your students to compare and contrast the limitations of conventional weaponry during World War II as described in McCloy's letter with the "high-tech" ordnance of the present day. Discuss what military response to the camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau may have occurred if today's armaments had been available to the Allies at the beginning of World War II.

4. Ask your class to propose a plan to address the existence of the concentration and extermination camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau in response to Pehle's letter.

5. Ask several students to research the issue of what the Allies knew about concentration camps and extermination camps and when they knew it. Then lead the class in a discussion to evaluate the action (or inaction) taken by the Allies in response to the camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

6. Select students to prepare an exhibit for your classroom or the school library on the Holocaust. Students should contact the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum for assistance.

7. Holocaust survivors are sometimes willing to discuss their experience with students so that firsthand knowledge of the atrocities will be passed on to future generations. Arrange for a school assembly or classroom presentation by a Holocaust survivor.

Dear Mr. McCloy:

I send you herewith copies of two eye-witness descriptions of the notorious German concentration and extermination camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau in Upper Silesia, which have just been received from the Board's Special Representative in Bern, Switzerland, Roswell McClelland whom we have borrowed from the American Friends Service Committee. No report of Nazi atrocities received by the Board has quite caught the gruesome brutality of what is taking place in these camps of horror as have these sober, factual accounts of conditions in Auschwitz and Birkenau. I earnestly hope that you will read these reports.

The destruction of large numbers of people apparently is not a simple process. The Germans have been forced to devote considerable technological ingenuity and administrative know-how in order to carry out murder on a mass production basis, as the attached reports will testify. If the elaborate murder installations at Birkenau were destroyed, it seems clear that the Germans could not reconstruct them for some time.

Until now, despite pressure from many sources, I have been hesitant to urge the destruction of these camps by direct, military action. But I am convinced that the point has now been reached where such action is justifiable if it is deemed feasible by competent military authorities. I strongly recommend that the War Department give serious consideration to the possibility of destroying the execution chambers and crematories in Birkenau through direct bombing action. It may be observed that there would be other advantages of a military nature to such an attack. The Krupp and Siemens factories, where among other things cases for handgrenades are made, and a Buna plant, all within Auschwitz, would be destroyed. The destruction of the German barracks and guard-houses and the killing of German soldiers in the area would also be accomplished. The morale of underground groups might be considerably strengthened by such a dramatic exhibition of Allied air support and a number of the people confined in Auschwitz and Birkenau might be liberated in the confusion resulting from the bombing. That the effecting of a prison break by such methods is not without precedent is indicated by the description in the enclosed copy of a recent New York Times article of the liberation from Amiens prison of 100 French patriots by the RAF.

Obviously, the War Refugee Board is in no position to determine whether the foregoing proposal is feasible from a military standpoint. Nevertheless in view of the urgency of the situation, we feel justified in making the suggestion. I would appreciate having the views of the War Department as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Honorable John J. McCloy,

Assistant Secretary of War.

Enclosures.

[redacted]

WAR DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

18 November 1944

Mr. John W. Pehle, Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Treasury Department Building, Rm. 3414
Washington 25, D. C.

10-12-65
CLB.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I refer to your letter of November 8th, in which you forwarded the report of two eye-witnesses on the notorious German concentration and extermination camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau in Upper Silesia.

The Operations Staff of the War Department has given careful consideration to your suggestion that the bombing of these camps be undertaken. In consideration of this proposal the following points were brought out:

a. Positive destruction of these camps would necessitate precision bombing, employing heavy or medium bombardment, or attack by low flying or dive bombing aircraft, preferably the latter.

b. The target is beyond the maximum range of medium bombardment, dive bombers and fighter bombers located in United Kingdom, France, or Italy.

c. Use of heavy bombardment from United Kingdom bases would necessitate a hazardous round trip flight unescorted of approximately 2000 miles over enemy territory.

d. At the present critical stage of the war in Europe, our strategic air forces are engaged in the destruction of industrial target systems vital to the dwindling war potential of the enemy, from which they should not be diverted. The positive solution to this problem is the earliest possible victory over Germany, to which end we should exert our entire means.

e. This case does not at all parallel the Amiens mission because of the location of the concentration and extermination camps and the resulting difficulties encountered in attempting to carry out the proposed bombing.

[redacted]

[redacted]

John W. Pehle

18 November 1944

Based on the above, as well as the most uncertain, if not dangerous effect such a bombing would have on the object to be attained, the War Department has felt that it should not, at least for the present, undertake these operations.

I know that you have been reluctant to press this activity on the War Department. We have been pressed strongly from other quarters, however, and have taken the best military opinion on its feasibility, and we believe the above conclusion is a sound one.

Sincerely,

JOHN J. McCLOY
Assistant Secretary of War

Inc.
Report of two eye-witnesses.

10-12-65
CRS

[redacted]

Decision at Yalta: Anna Roosevelt's Diary

In the decades since the Yalta Conference, humanity has passed from war to postwar, through cold war (and sometimes hot spots), to the post-cold war world. The decisions made, deferred, or ignored by a handful of leaders in a quiet Russian resort town in 1945 have had an impact on millions of people worldwide. The profound importance of the Conference and its results often obscure the reality that the decision makers were, after all, people like ourselves. True, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin, the Big Three, were leaders revered as powerful and insightful, but they were also, like other mortals, prone to error, illness, and even eccentricity. The Allied war leaders also shared another humanizing characteristic: All three were fathers of daughters. Franklin Roosevelt's daughter, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, accompanied him to the Yalta Conference. Her diary offers many fascinating details about the Conference and the man who to the world was President of the United States of America but to her was father.

The size of each delegation to Yalta, including Roosevelt's, was limited because the Russian hosts had difficulty providing housing and sustenance for the Conference participants due to the devastation of the nation by Nazi Germany. Anna Roosevelt reports, "The first hour and a half of our auto drive took us over Steppes, which I'm told is normally flat, wheat country. The airport itself, and all the surrounding countryside have, however, been badly bombed by the Germans, and so apparently wheat production has not been resumed on any large scale. We saw a few rebuilt homes, and what was left of small farming villages, but only once in a great while did I see any children. A few women were in evidence, but not many."

The complexity of travel to Yalta also persuaded Roosevelt to restrict the size of the Presidential party. The party departed on the evening of January 22, 1945, by private train from Washington, DC, to Norfolk, VA. From there, they sailed on the Navy cruiser U.S.S. *Quincy* for 11 days to Malta, flew on a C-54 airplane to the Russian landing strip at Saki, then rode for six hours by automobile to Yalta to arrive in late afternoon on February 3.

Since every person in the delegation had to perform a number of tasks, what was Anna Roosevelt's role? In part, she coordinated state dinners and served as the President's hostess. She recounts one amusing scene where she spent nearly half an hour trying to placate a member of the delegation who had been offended and had decided not to attend a dinner. "I did not want to bother FDR with this sort of detail—and if Jimmy did not go, there would be 13 at the dinner table, which I knew would give superstitious FDR ten fits! I gave Jimmy a long song and dance about having to go to FDR and Uncle Joe with this little problem [*sic*] but finally won my argument on the stupid basis of superstition—Jimmy saying that was the only ground on which he would give in."

Anna Roosevelt had a far more important reason for accompanying her father than merely supervising dining arrangements. Quietly, without fanfare, she helped conserve her father's failing energy. Even though the press went out of its way not to show the President as a disabled person, Franklin Roosevelt's struggles with polio were public knowledge. It was not common knowledge, however, that by 1945 President Roosevelt's heart was also failing him. As his stamina waned, he found it even more difficult to compensate for his lower body paralysis, and his overall health, weight, and appearance declined. A scant two months after the Conference, he died of a cerebral hemorrhage in Warm Springs, GA.

Throughout her diary, Anna describes how she tried to help her father conserve his energy. On February 3, the day the party arrived at Yalta, she reported, "I got good cooperation from all including FDR in my suggestion that I ride alone with FDR, so that he could sleep as much as he wanted and would not have to 'make' conversation. And I was much pleased that evening in Yalta when Ross and Bruenn told me that FDR showed no signs of fatigue—a great difference from last evening." Anna's vigilance brought her into conflict with her father's advisers from time to time, including Harry Hopkins on February 4, the first day of meetings. "It's quite obvious that he thinks I'm trying to save FDR too much, so I'm augmenting my 'buttering' process in this direction and Harry seems to be responding nicely! He said he didn't think a long meeting was necessary with Churchill. FDR was fine when I saw him." Winston Churchill, a night owl, unwittingly complicated Anna's problem: "I told everyone including Sarah [Winston Churchill's daughter] and Eden and Stetinius [*sic*] that they should stay in my cabin until then as I wanted Father to have a little restful time to himself—explaining that the P.M. had a 1½ hr nap and FDR had been going strong since 9:30 without a break."

The Yalta Conference

During the Yalta Conference, the Big Three agreed to hold free elections in Poland and Eastern Europe as soon as possible, to divide defeated Nazi Germany into zones of occupation, and to schedule a conference to draft a charter for an international organization that became the United Nations. In a secret agreement, the Soviet Union promised to enter the war against Japan a few months after the surrender of Germany in return for concessions in the Far East.

The agreements were immediately controversial and grew more controversial with each passing month as details of the accords were revealed. Since Roosevelt's death on April 12, historians have debated whether declining health clouded his judgment at Yalta. Most often the debates have centered on whether Roosevelt should have sided with Great Britain and demanded an interim government in Poland and whether he should have conceded territory in the Pacific to the Soviet Union when he knew scientists in the United States were developing the atomic bomb. Some, such as David Eisenhower, Gen. Dwight Eisenhower's grandson, contend that the agreements made at Yalta were the best that could be expected given the Soviet Army's rapid progress toward Berlin at the same time that the Anglo-American armies were stalled in the west. Although the atomic bomb was being developed at the time of the Conference, scientists could provide no assurances that the bomb would be powerful enough or that it would even work. To many, Roosevelt's compromises appear consistent with his political instincts and Stalin's military leverage. While Roosevelt may have been wrong to trust Stalin, the military situation was the overriding factor in the descent of the "Iron Curtain" over Eastern Europe.

In Churchill's eulogy of Roosevelt before Parliament, he observed, "At Yalta I noticed that the President was ailing. His captivating smile, his gay and charming manner, had not deserted him, but his face had a transparency, an air of purification, and often there was a faraway look in his eyes." A fellow member of the British delegation, Lord Moran, more critically noted that the President, who left details to his staff, compensated with shrewdness, but at Yalta the shrewdness had left him, and so there was "nothing left."

Regardless of whether his ailments had an impact on decision making at Yalta, it is clear that Roosevelt was physically drained by the Conference. When he reported on the Yalta accords to Congress on March 1, he made an unprecedented reference to his paralysis. "I hope that you will pardon me for this unusual posture of sitting down but it makes it a lot easier for me not to have to carry about 10 pounds of steel around at the bottom of my legs."

The featured document is an entry from Anna Eleanor Roosevelt's diary, which is held by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park,

4.

The Capt. says we could not make this speed if we were headed into the sea; and that, even now, the destroyers signal from time to time of damage done and request temporary slowing up. As we zig-zag, one "zig" takes us almost abeam of the sea, and then she really rolls! I love it!

This afternoon I went on atour. Went up into a 8" gun turret, main galley, ward room galley, ward room, radar room, pilot house and bridge, main gunnery control room - and will see more when the wind has died down a bit and the decks are not so slippery. I also went aft to see the two planes, catapult machinery, etc.

We are getting close to Bermuda. When we get south of it we will turn due east.

Have learned that Ed Flynn expects to go back to Moscow with Stalin. There he is expected to discuss the Roman Catholic difficulties as they effect Russia and all countries she will have anything to do with after the war, as well as the importance of Russia's attitude toward religion as a whole, as it effects good feeling toward Russia in the USA. From there Ed goes to Rome to talk it all over with the Pope and to try to get better cooperation from him as regards Russia.

Air coverage today - at least for that part of the day when there was any ceiling so that they could see possible sub periscopes. But, the sea is running too high for a sub to keep up with us, on the surface. Our average speed is between 20 and 21 knots. Two subs have been reported in area we expect to be in - 4 or 5 days hence. We change destroyer escorts near Bermuda as destroyers do not have enough fuel, traveling at this speed, to make whole crossing.

Jan. 25th: Without explanation we were told the first pouch would not leave until this afternoon about 5 o'clock - 24 hours later than previously planned. This is probably due to rough weather which has been tough on the destroyers. I find that mail goes off at 5 and we meet out new escort at 5 tomorrow morning. The air is balmy but the seas are running really high. I told Com. Tyree I was curious to see how mail could be transfered in such weather. Then told FDR I was going to watch, and he said he'd like to watch too. So, the Com and I scrambled around to find the best spot for FDR. We decided to wheel all the way to the stern. "Old lady" (Adm) Brown said no, he

didn't think the Boss would like to be watched by all the gun crews, etc. But, by ignoring this and only telling FDR there would be only gun crews where we were taking him, we got him to agree. Once we all got to the stern I began to be scared because we had slowed up to a point where we were only keeping steerage way and were rolling very heavily. FDR's chair has no arms so he had to clutch the wire railing for dear life. Then the fun started. The mail was encased in a torpedo shaped can, attached to a long rope, and dropped over the stern. The destroyer assigned to pick it up turned slowly around, plowed and wallowed west, then turned again and came up astern of us. Sometimes the waves hid all but her mainmast from our view. As she came up to the mail can, sailors on the bow ~~then~~ threw ropes, with hooks on the ends, over the side, aiming at the can. Six ropes missed, the next two contacted. I was watching thru very powerful glasses and could see every move of the sailors on the destroyer. I wish I could have told JB how his mail got started to him in the middle of the south Atlantic! Tomorrow morning this destroyer and the two others with us will start back to Bermuda. There, the mail will be mailed to the USA in the usual way. I gather that the next pouch will go by plane, special, and not thru the mails, but don't know when as yet.

Have been studying maps & my history book today, having found out approx where we are going!

Jan. 26th

Wonderful sunshine but still big seas. 3 new destroyers escorting us & a baby carrier about ½ to 3 hundred miles ahead of us provides air coverage. She had to have this big head start becos her speed is less than ours.

There is some new discussion as to where Conf. will be held. It appears that Harriman, his daughter,

NY, a Presidential library administered by the National Archives and Records Administration. In it, Anna describes an incident on the U.S.S. *Quincy* involving her father and his wheelchair. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was born in 1906, the eldest of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt's six children and the only girl. She was in her midtwenties when her father was first elected to the Presidency. At the time of the Yalta Conference, she was nearly 40. Anna Roosevelt died in 1975.

Teaching Activities

Geographical Knowledge

1. Ask students to locate the following locations on a world map: Washington, DC; Norfolk, VA; Malta; Saki (closest large city is Simferopol), and Yalta, Crimea. Referring to the map's scale, ask students to compute the round trip mileage President Roosevelt traveled. Ask them to estimate how long it would take to make the trip today and compare the estimate with the length of travel time needed by Roosevelt's delegation.

Presidential Health

2. Duplicate and distribute the document for each student to read. Afterward, ask or assign students to take the roles of Anna, President Roosevelt, Admiral Brown, Commander Tyree, a sailor on the bow of the ship, and a sailor in the gun crew and to act out the episode.

   Lead a class discussion with the following questions:
   a. How would you feel if this scene were taking place today, with the sitting President, instead of during World War II?
   b. Have American attitudes toward people with disabilities changed?
   c. Has the press and media coverage of Presidents changed?
   d. How important are the factors of health and age in selecting a President?

3. Ask students to research the health of previous Presidents. Washington's dental problems, Jackson's gunshot wounds, the theory that Lincoln had Marfan's syndrome, Cleveland's cancer, Eisenhower's heart attack, and Kennedy's back ailments are all possibilities for research.

Role of the Presidential Child

4. Anna Roosevelt is just one of many Presidential children. Ask each student to select a President and find out if he had children and then to report to the class any information found on the age of the child during the father's Presidency, whether the child lived in the White House during the President's term, and stories about the child's life at the White House. Afterward, discuss with the class the aspects of being a Presidential child that would be fun and those that might be awful.

5. As a culminating activity, direct each student to write a letter as if he or she were one of the Presidential children researched, describing life in the White House and feelings about living there. Post a selection of the letters on the bulletin board along with any available photographs of Presidential children. Photographs, documents, and other information related to modern Presidents may be obtained from the Presidential library dedicated to preserving that President's records. A list of names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the libraries is located at the end of this volume.

Decision-Making Model

6. Divide the class into four groups to study the decisions made at Yalta. The first group should examine the decision makers—their background, beliefs, training, personalities, health, and idiosyncrasies. The second group should focus on factors shaping the decisions, including the information used, military and scientific events, expectations of voters and supporters, national goals, and ideology. The third group should study the process of making the decisions, including the steps, guiding rules, formal procedures, and informal meetings. The last group should look at the decisions themselves—what was decided, whether

the decisions were implemented, and the results of the decisions. After each group has reported its findings, ask students to write an essay in response to this question: Did President Roosevelt fail the United States at Yalta or did he get the best agreement possible given the circumstances?

Winston Churchill's account of the Yalta Conference in *Triumph and Tragedy* is the most readily available firsthand account by a participant at the Yalta Conference, and it contains valuable information for members of all four groups.

Letter Proposing Candidates for the First U.N. Assembly

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt dedicated her public life to serving others, championing the rights not only of citizens of her own country but also those throughout the world. As First Lady during Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, Eleanor Roosevelt maintained a political and social identity apart from her husband's and occupied a unique position as spokesperson for numerous causes, including community service, civil rights, and international cooperation. In her expressed compassion for the underdog and her ability to win the support of her husband, an enormously popular President, Eleanor Roosevelt was able to influence official policy for her causes.

In addition to performing traditional duties as White House hostess-in-residence, she published, lectured, and traveled in support of New Deal social welfare legislation for the benefit of the politically disenfranchised and the economically disadvantaged. During World War II, she exerted herself in defense of U.S. policy. Throughout her public life, Eleanor Roosevelt served as a highly visible and effective role model for women, displaying such qualities as industry, self-sufficiency, and free thinking at a time when more and more women were working outside the home for the first time. Always candid, she was continually in the forefront of the major issues of the day and shattered the myth of the politically unsophisticated woman. Therefore, when her husband died, many citizens clamored for her to carry out his vision of establishing a viable international peacekeeping force by participating in the upcoming San Francisco conference.

As early as 1942, leaders of the Allied countries had agreed to act as a united front against the aggression of the Axis powers. Later, at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in August 1944, President Franklin D. Roosevelt coined the term "united nations," which eventually became the name of the international organization envisioned by the "Big Three" Allied leaders to keep world peace. When Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt met at Yalta in February 1945, they agreed to meet with other friendly nations in San Francisco at the end of April to draft a charter for the new organization. Unfortunately, Roosevelt died less than two months after initial agreements were made for the San Francisco conference and a mere two weeks before the conference convened. Vice President Harry Truman, largely inexperienced in international diplomacy, assumed the Presidency held so long by his predecessor and led the Nation through the diplomatic and political uncertainties that followed the end of World War II.

The transition from Roosevelt to Truman proved difficult for everyone. Roosevelt had occupied the Oval Office for more than 12 years—from the depths of the Great Depression through the perils of war. He had recently been reelected to an unprecedented fourth term as President. A relative unknown to most Americans, Harry Truman assumed the President's role at a most crucial period in the global war. In the anxious days following Roosevelt's death, much of the nation naturally looked to his widow, Eleanor Roosevelt, for direction. For four days, Eleanor Roosevelt ceased publication of her widely read newspaper column, "My Day," interrupting for the first time her frank and intimate commentary on current events to the American public.

In her bereavement, Eleanor Roosevelt possessed no political aspirations or designs. She said as much in "My Day" on April 19, 1945, quelling rampant Washington rumors that she intended to run for elected office. Arriving in New York City after her final night at the White House,

Eleanor Roosevelt told expectant reporters, "The story's over." She reiterated that she had no plans to participate in the drafting of the U.N. Charter in San Francisco.

As the featured document illustrates, however, the story was far from over. Many people—men and women alike—thought she would be an outstanding representative to the first meeting of the United Nations Assembly to be held in London in January 1946. Women, especially those who had assumed increasingly more demanding roles both at home and in the military, were particularly insistent that female candidates be seriously considered as delegates to the new United Nations. Many contended that women were predisposed by nature to seek peaceful means of resolving conflict. The featured document, selected from many similar documents in the Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, identifies Eleanor Roosevelt as one of several women proposed to represent the United States in this international forum.

Eleanor Roosevelt as U.N. Delegate

Learning lessons from the failure of the League of Nations, President Truman realized the importance of bipartisan representation among delegates to the United Nations. He was very concerned, however, about his strength and image within the Democratic Party. Less than a year into his Presidency, Truman advised Secretary of State James Byrnes to invite, indeed to implore, Eleanor Roosevelt to serve as delegate to the first assembly of the United Nations. Her influence among women and black voters, Truman argued, would ensure him much-needed support at home. She was the living legacy of the powerful and enduring Roosevelt Presidency. Byrnes placed her name at the top of the list of proposed delegates. On December 29, 1945, *The Nation*, an influential, liberal-leaning magazine, applauded the nomination, proclaiming, "To millions of Americans she is a friend who can be relied upon to voice their deepest aspirations for a better world, . . . To millions in other lands she is the symbol of the most generous aspects of our nation."

Initially, Eleanor Roosevelt was reluctant to accept the appointment because she felt she had little diplomatic experience. She eventually recognized that she would bring compensating strengths to the position: a sincere desire to understand world problems, a long-standing record of expressed international good will, and an unrivaled ability to build a sense of trust and friendship. Her personal affairs now in order and her celebrated energy recharged, Eleanor Roosevelt ultimately agreed to represent the country. Others chosen as U.S. delegates included Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, former Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Democratic Senator Tom Connally, and staunch Republican Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg—all men with considerable experience in foreign affairs. On the voyage to London, the party spent long hours in tedious preparation for the upcoming assembly.

In London, Eleanor Roosevelt was dismayed to find so few women representatives, a mere 18 delegates, alternates, or advisers. She met with them and in "My Day" reported their recommendations for increased participation of women in the international assembly. Her frustrations mounted when, without consultation, the other U.S. delegates assigned her to Committee Three, which dealt with humanitarian, educational, and cultural questions. In her autobiography, *On My Own*, she noted her suspicions that "the gentlemen of the delegation" had assigned her to what they assumed would be a noncontroversial committee where they believed she could do little harm. Increasingly, Eleanor Roosevelt began to construe her appointment to the American delegation as political tokenism.

Despite her qualms, Eleanor Roosevelt was able to prove her diplomatic competence in her position on Committee Three. When the incendiary issue of refugee relocation was debated in this committee, Eleanor Roosevelt convincingly persuaded the other committee members to vote against a Russian proposal to repatriate refugees to the Soviet sphere. She later extemporaneously, but eloquently, debated the Russian delegate Andrei Vishinsky, who, frustrated by his defeat in committee, introduced the topic in the General

Assembly meeting. She began humbly, prefacing her statement with apologies for being "just a woman," but she conveyed a dignified and unquestionable concern for oppressed peoples everywhere. When her impassioned remarks were concluded, Republican Senator Vandenberg quipped to fellow delegates, "There goes a great lady, and I take back everything I said against her, which was plenty." The entire international body was similarly impressed by this unpretentious yet masterful display of understanding and moral leadership.

Eleanor Roosevelt carried this image throughout her tenure as a U.N. delegate, which ended in 1952. Chosen as chair of the important Commission on Human Rights in 1947, her vision and spirit guided the Commission's creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. After lengthy debate and months of drafting and revisions, relieved Commission members believed they had written a great document. Ever the realist, Eleanor Roosevelt reminded members that their work was not done until they had each written a second document for the common people of their respective nations. As she had demonstrated time and time again, she never lost sight of the needs of individual human beings in the political jumble of international diplomacy.

Eleanor Roosevelt's astonishing accomplishments for worldwide human rights earned for her the title "First Lady of the World," bestowed by President Truman. At the end of her illustrious diplomatic career, no title seemed more appropriate.

Teaching Activities

1. Give a copy of the first document to each student to read. Ask students the following questions:
   a. What date was this document written?
   b. When was it received?
   c. To whom was this document addressed?
   d. According to the author, why should a woman delegate represent the United States at the first United Nations Assembly?
   e. Why might the author have proposed numerous candidates?
   f. Why do you suppose some candidates are presented in greater detail than others?
   g. Which of these individuals would you choose, and why?

2. Share the background information with your students; then distribute the second document. Ask students to speculate on Truman's reasons for selecting each delegate named in the document. Lead a discussion comparing Truman's selection with recent Presidential appointments. On the chalkboard, list the criteria Presidents use in making political appointments.

3. Divide the students into five groups, and assign each group to research one of the other prominent women presented in the first document. Ask students to present the information they gather in a flyer or poster promoting the selection of their candidate.

4. Ask students to develop a chart listing Eleanor Roosevelt's accomplishments as First Lady and her accomplishments after she left the White House. Assign students to research achievements of other First Ladies. Discuss with your students the changing role of the First Lady through time.

5. Ask students to read the preambles of the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations Organization. Draw students' attention to attempts to include gender-neutral vocabulary in the latter document. Assign students to compare and contrast these two preambles in a short essay.

6. For further research, ask students to find additional information on one of the following topics and write a report for a class booklet on the origins of the United Nations: isolationism and the League of Nations, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the decisions at Yalta, the San Francisco Conference, the United Nations Charter, U.S. delegates to the first United Nations Assembly meeting, and accomplishments and problems of the new United Nations.

68 West 58th Street,
New York (19), Oct.19,1945

DIVISION OF PUBLIC LIAISON
OCT 25 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Hon. James F. Byrnes,
Secretary of State,
Washington

Dear Mr. Secretary:

As a member of the Executive Committee of the Committee on the Participation of Women in Post-War Planning, may I urge the appointment of a woman to the American delegation to the first meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations Organization, expected to take place perhaps in December.

I feel that the presence of a woman on this Assembly is indispensable, and that this is the most important test case of the principle that women are to be given a voice in determining the kind of world they and their children will have to live in. Women had no voice in determining the world that was to follow 1919, but they had to live in it and support its consequences.

I take pleasure in suggesting the following list of names of distinguished and highly qualified women, to choose from for the post in question:

DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES
NOV 1 8 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

2. Gladys Tillett (Mrs. Charles W.). Mrs. Tillett has been Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, member of the National Conference on the Cause & Cure of War, President of the North Carolina League of Women Voters, and is now State Chairman of the North Carolina Women's Action Committee for a Lasting Peace. (Is a graduate of the Univ. of N. C., has 3 children.)

3. Dorothy Smith McAllister (Mrs. Thomas F.). Graduate of Bryn Mawr, lives in Grand Rapids, Mich., with her husband and two children. Has been a member of the Michigan Constitutional Convention of 1933, of the State Liquor Control Commission, of the Social Security Commission, and of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. From 1937 to 1941 Mrs. McAllister was the Director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee. Is a Director of the American Free World Association

4. Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde, our former Ambassador to Denmark.

5. Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor in President Roosevelt's Cabinet.

6. Rep. Frances Payne Bolton (Mrs. Chester W.), Congresswoman from Ohio. Has been a member of the Republican State Committee of Ohio. Is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, and is at present on an official trip as member of the Sub-Committee on Eastern Europe and the Near East.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,
Ruth Shepard Phelps Morand.
(Mrs. Paul Phelps Morand)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

H. M. Gladwyn Jebb, Esquire,

Executive Secretary,

Preparatory Commission of
the United Nations,

Church House, Deans Yard,

London, England.

Dear Sir:

This is to identify to you in your capacity as Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, pending the appointment of the Secretary General, that the Representatives and Alternate Representatives, respectively, of the United States of America to the first part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations are as follows:

<u>Representatives</u>

The Secretary of State
The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
The Honorable Tom Connally
The Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg
Mrs. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt

<u>Alternate Representatives</u>

The Honorable Sol Bloom
The Honorable Charles A. Eaton
The Honorable Frank C. Walker
The Honorable John Foster Dulles
The Honorable John G. Townsend, Jr.

Yours very truly,

DOR OP-C Unit
Anal. .....
Rev. .....
Cat. .....
Dist. .....

Acting Secretary

Department of State,

Washington, D. C., December 28, 1945

A true copy of the signed original

501.BB/12-2845 CS/LE

Note to the teacher: Additional educational materials on the United Nations, updated yearly, are available from the United Nations Association of the United States of America, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104.

President Harry S. Truman's Diary

At 7:09 p.m. on April 12, 1945, 2½ hours after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman was sworn in as President of the United States. Elected President four times, Roosevelt had dominated the American political landscape for 13 crucial years, guiding the nation through the national traumas of the Great Depression and World War II. To an entire generation of Americans, Roosevelt was the only President they had ever known, and his larger-than-life, charismatic personality defined the Presidency. As the Nation grieved over his loss, his Vice President of just three months, Harry S. Truman, stepped up to the helm of Presidential power.

Many Americans underestimated Truman. He was plain-spoken, forthright, and unaffected in his manner. His bluntness, Missouri twang, and lack of pretense led many Americans to believe that he was a "simple" and "ordinary" man. But this public persona belied his keen analytical mind, extraordinary intellect, command of history, and courageous decisiveness. He became President in the final days of World War II—at the precise moment when the United States emerged from the bloodiest conflict in history as the greatest power on earth. During the course of his administration, he ordered the world's first atomic bomb attack and presided over the end of World War II, the conversion of the U.S. economy from wartime to peacetime, the beginning of the Cold War, and the emergence of McCarthyism and the Red Scare. He formally recognized the State of Israel and ordered the desegregation of the U.S. military. As President from 1945 to 1953, Harry Truman made decisions that drove American domestic and foreign policy for the next half-century. Ordinary he was not.

Harry Truman kept a diary during his years as President. He is one of the few modern American Presidents to do so. Tending to the overwhelming demands of the office, he did not write in his diary every day. However, the diaries record many of the momentous events of his Presidency, filtered through his own unique perspective: the end of World War II, the 1948 Presidential campaign, and the formulation of major foreign policy decisions. All are documented in the diaries, along with his uncensored impressions of national and international figures. His accounts add another dimension to what we know of milestone events. But the diaries also record the smaller, everyday occurrences of President Truman's life—events that, but for the diary, would otherwise have gone unrecorded. The document featured here, for example, gives a complete account of an evening when Harry Truman, President of the United States of America, dined alone.

On November 1, 1949, President Truman's wife and daughter were both away from Washington—Mrs. Truman (Bess) was in their home town of Independence, MO, caring for her mother, while their daughter Margaret, a professional singer, was in New York. Since the White House was undergoing a major renovation, the official residence of the First Family at the time was Blair House, located directly across the street from the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue. Following a prickly passage that reveals the President's frustration with the Congress, the diary entry for that day describes the solitary meal: how he was formally summoned to the dining room and seated; how two servants named Barnett and John, dressed in formal attire, brought him a series of courses, including fruit salad, meat and vegetables, and dessert and coffee; and how they brushed imaginary bread crumbs off the immaculate white linen between courses. The detailed, deadpan description of the

pomp and ceremony of the service and the precise inventory of the food served provide a rare, behind-the-scenes view into the everyday life of the President. Truman's vivid descriptions do all but put us there at the table with him.

As much as this diary tells us about the Presidency, it tells us even more about the man who occupied the office. Here is a man who revered the office of the President but didn't personally care for its trappings. The product of a rural Missouri upbringing, Harry S. Truman saw the absurdity of the white-tie-and-tails formality of his dinner service. At the same time, he had sufficient respect for the Office of the President to accept it graciously. He was well aware that the ceremonial aspects of the Office were for the institution of the Presidency, not for himself. In preparing a profile of President Truman, writer John Hersey spent a few days with him and made the following observations: "President Truman seemed to think of himself sometimes in the first person and sometimes in the third—the latter when he had in mind a personage he still seemed to regard, after nearly four years in office, as an astonishing tenant in his own body: the President of the United States. Toward himself, first-personally, he was at times mischievous and disrespectful, but he revered this other man, his tenant, as a noble, history-defined figure." (Quoted in *Harry S. Truman—A Life*, by Robert H. Ferrell, pp. 179–180). Separating himself from his office, he remained unseduced by its trappings.

The President often wrote of his loneliness when his family was away, and this entry reflects at least a hint of that feeling. "I have to eat alone and in silence in candle lit room," he wrote. Truman was first and foremost a family man. The love of his life was Bess Wallace Truman whom he met at the age of 6 and married 29 years later. He said the greatest joy of his life "was when my sweetheart from 6 years old on consented to become Mrs. Truman. . . . When my daughter came that topped it." (Letter to Edward F. McFaddin, September 29, 1958, *Off the Record*, p. 369).

His marriage was at the center of his life, and he endured the separations demanded by his job with difficulty. There is melancholy behind the words of the November 1, 1949, diary entry. Beneath all the pomp and splendor of the setting, beneath the elegance of the service is the simple unescapable fact of Truman's humanity. He ate his dinner in solitude, and he was lonely for the people he loved.

At the same time, he maintained his sense of humor. He described the swirl of activity around him with detached amusement: "John in tails and white tie brings me a fruit cup. Barnett takes away the empty cup. John brings me a plate, Barnett brings me a tenderloin, John brings me asparagus, Barnett brings me carrots and beats [*sic*]." This treatment was totally appropriate for the "President of the Greatest Most Powerful Nation on Earth," as Truman once described the job, but totally ridiculous for Harry S. Truman, farm boy from rural Missouri. He never seemed to lose sight of the fact that the silver, the butler, and the constant deference shown to him were nothing but the accouterments of the Office, just as the cup of demitasse served to him at the end of the meal was nothing but "a little cup of coffee—about 2 good gulps." This clarity of vision, this clear sense of himself allowed him to take the job of the Presidency in his stride—to accept the trappings of the office and to perform the job with both humor and grace.

The diary of President Harry S. Truman is located in the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

Note to the teacher: The teaching suggestions that follow are designed to coordinate social studies with language arts, particularly reading, writing, and research skills.

Teaching Activities

1. Ask students to read descriptions of Truman from at least three sources and make a list of his character traits. Divide students into groups of three to five, and ask them to compile their lists of traits. Using the composite list, each group should write a character sketch of Truman. Ask several volunteers to read their descriptions aloud in class.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1949

304th Day — Hallowe'en—Reformation Day — 61 Days to come

from opposite page.

Irving-Barnett takes the plate and butter plates. John comes in with a napkin and silver crumb tray—there are no crumbs but John has to brush them off the table anyway. Barnett brings me a plate with a finger bowl and doily on it—I remove finger bowl and doily and John puts a glass saucer and a little bowl on the plate. Barnett brings me some chocolate custard. John brings me a demitasse (at least a little cup of coffee—about two good gulps) and my dinner is over. I take a hard bath, in the finger bowl and go back to work.

What a life!

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1949

305th Day — All Saints' Day — 60 Days to come

I have another hell of a day. Look at my appointment list. It is only a sample of the whole year. Trying to make the 81st Congress perform is and has been worse than cussing the 80th. A President never loses prestige fighting Congress. And I don't fight my own Congress. There are some terrible chairmen in the 81st. But so far things have come out fairly well. The kissed and petted more conscienced S.O.B. so-called Democrats and left wing Republicans than all the Presidents put together. I have very few people fighting my battles in Congress as I fought F.D.R.'s

Had dinner by myself tonight. Worked in the Lee House office until dinner time. A butler came in very formally and said "The President dinner is served." I walk into the dining room in the Blair House. Barnett in tails and white tie pulls out my chair, pushes me up to the table. John in tails and white tie brings me a fruit cup. Barnett takes away the empty cup. John brings me a plate, Barnett brings me a Hendelbirn, John brings me asparagus, Barnett brings me carrots and beets. I have to eat alone and in silence in candle lit room—

opposite page.

2. Distribute copies of the featured document, and ask students to read it carefully to locate evidence of Truman's character. Ask them to suggest words that describe his mood while recording this diary entry.

3. Define and give examples of a paradox. Ask students to read the document again to identify the paradoxical elements in it. Discuss with the students the contradiction between Truman the "simple" and "ordinary" man and Truman the analytical and decisive leader.

4. Ask students to write a diary entry describing a meal, a trip to school, an event in class, or any mundane daily event. Pair students to read and analyze each other's work in order to explain any message they can that is written "between the lines." Tell the students that many famous and not so famous individuals keep a diary or journal, and the Constitution requires the Congress to keep a journal of its proceedings. Lead a class discussion on the advantages of keeping a personal or official journal. Ask students why they think Truman kept a journal. Direct students who do not already do so to keep a personal or class journal for a month and report any new insights they have into the advantages of keeping such a record.

5. Ask several students to dramatize, draw, or rewrite as a poem the event described by Truman in the document. Schedule a time for these students to share their work with the class.

6. Assign students to research and write a report describing the events, the issues, and the decision-making process related to one of Truman's most significant decisions. Topics might include the following: ordering the world's first atomic bomb attack, requesting aid to Greece and Turkey to prevent the spread of communism, transferring the Atomic Energy Commission from the Department of War to a civilian agency, vetoing the Taft-Hartley Act, unifying the armed forces, firing Gen. Douglas MacArthur, requesting extensive aid for European postwar recovery, issuing the Loyalty Order in 1947, limiting U.S. military participation in Korea, recognizing the State of Israel, and desegregating the U.S. military. For online resources, direct students to visit Project WhistleStop, developed by the Harry S. Truman Library, at <*http://www.whistlestop.org*>.

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"Out of Fear and into Peace": President Eisenhower's Address to the United Nations

According to one of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's biographers, Stephen E. Ambrose, President Eisenhower's proposal of "Atoms for Peace," made to the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953, was "the most generous and most serious offer on controlling the arms race ever made by an American President." The immediate response in the U.N. audience to Eisenhower's surprising proposal in the U.N. assembly was complete silence, followed by rousing cheers. The long-range response was not as encouraging.

In the proposal, Eisenhower cited a U.N. resolution of November 18, 1953, "that the Disarmament Commission study the desirability of establishing a subcommittee consisting of representatives of the powers principally involved, which should seek in private an acceptable solution . . . and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than 1 September 1954." He then proposed that the governments principally involved (the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and the Soviet Union) stockpile normal uranium and fissionable materials and that an International Atomic Energy Agency be set up under the aegis of the United Nations. The International Atomic Energy Agency would impound, store, and protect the materials and devise methods for allocating them for such peaceful pursuits as agriculture, medicine, and electrical energy.

The featured document is the first seven pages of Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" address as printed by the Department of State. It is part of the Publications of the United States Government, Record Group 287, (S 1.71:85) and the holdings of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.

Eisenhower begins the speech with praise for the United Nations and introduces a theme of hope, which he uses throughout the address. In a "new language"—"the language of atomic warfare"—he outlines pertinent data about atomic development and military buildup, and he candidly discusses the danger and fear in the world resulting from such a buildup of atomic power. Unwilling to accept a vision of the world doomed to annihilation and destruction, Eisenhower appeals to "mankind's neverending quest for peace, and mankind's God-given capacity to build."

Affirming the willingness of the United States to meet at the conference table, Eisenhower expresses the hope that such meetings will "eventually bring about a free intermingling of the peoples of the East and of the West." The President refers to the record of "deeds of peace" by nations of the West, then declares U.S. willingness to explore a new avenue of peace.

Eisenhower then makes his dramatic proposal for joint atomic contributions for peaceful pursuits, listing the advantages of such a plan as

encouraging worldwide investigation into peacetime uses of fissionable material, diminishing the destructive stockpiles, focusing attention of all peoples on human aspirations rather than on military buildup, and opening a new channel for peaceful discussion.

He concludes the speech with a pledge that the United States will "devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life."

In the days following the speech, there was no substantive reaction from the Soviet Union. In fact, the International Atomic Energy Agency was not even created until 1957. Ambrose echoed a widely held opinion, "A great opportunity was lost!"

As a second effort, during the Geneva summit meeting of July 18–23, 1955, Eisenhower presented another Atoms for Peace plan, along with proposals for cultural exchanges and an "Open Skies" plan for mutual aerial inspection to guarantee against surprise attacks. Although a spirit of cooperation was evident, no agreement was reached. Finally, on March 2, 1956, Eisenhower made a formal proposal to Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin. Stating that, "My ultimate hope is that all production of fissionable materials anywhere in the world will be devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes," Eisenhower repeated his proposal for an Open Skies inspection system with onsite inspection teams to observe military establishments and for the abandonment of fissionable materials used to make bombs. Bulganin refused the proposal.

Eisenhower's bold efforts to halt nuclear buildup and redirect the momentum toward peaceful pursuits were disappointingly unsuccessful. Note: The remaining pages of this document are available from the education staff of the National Archives and Records Administration, telephone 202-501-6172.

Teaching Activities

1. Introduce the document using the background information given. Provide students with a copy of the speech excerpt and ask them to read it and underline the key words and phrases. Compile this list on the chalkboard and discuss with your students the meanings, the connotations, and the intellectual and emotional effects of these key words and phrases.

2. Ask the students to explain the reaction of the U.N. audience and the response of the Soviets. Then ask them to find out how Eisenhower's U.N. proposal and response compares to Gorbachev's 1986 Reykjavik proposal and response in a reverse situation.

3. Direct students to compile data on the nuclear buildup in the United States today and compare it with the data given by Eisenhower in the speech. Ask them to bring up to date Eisenhower's 1953 list of governments with nuclear capability. Ask them what proposals they would like the current President to make to the United Nations or to the Russians and other principal powers.

4. Ask students to collect recent news stories on the effects of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Discuss with them the advantages and disadvantages of such uses of nuclear power. They might translate their responses into cartoons, editorials, petitions, or posters.

5. Using information in the textbooks and other resources available, ask the students to trace and then record on a time line the events and personalities of atomic military buildup from President Harry S. Truman to the Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

6. Pair the students and ask them to imagine aloud what the world might be like today if the Soviets had accepted Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace proposal. Allow time for the pairs to share their ideas with the rest of the class.

An Address by
Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States

before

The General Assembly
of the United Nations
December 8, 1953

Department of State

MADAME PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

When Secretary General Hammarskjold's invitation to address this General Assembly reached me in Bermuda, I was just beginning a series of conferences with the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and of France. Our subject was some of the problems that beset our world.

During the remainder of the Bermuda Conference, I had constantly in mind that ahead of me lay a great honor. That honor is mine today as I stand here, privileged to address the General Assembly of the United Nations.

At the same time that I appreciate the distinction of addressing you, I have a sense of exhilaration as I look upon this Assembly.

Never before in history has so much hope for so many people been gathered together in a single organization. Your deliberations and decisions during these somber years have already realized part of those hopes.

But the great tests and the great accomplishments still lie ahead. And in the confident expectation of those accomplishments, I would use the office which, for the time being, I hold, to assure you that the Gov-

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ernment of the United States will remain steadfast in its support of this body. This we shall do in the conviction that you will provide a great share of the wisdom, the courage, and the faith which can bring to this world lasting peace for all nations, and happiness and well being for all men.

Clearly, it would not be fitting for me to take this occasion to present to you a unilateral American report on Bermuda. Nevertheless, I assure you that in our deliberations on that lovely island we sought to invoke those same great concepts of universal peace and human dignity which are so cleanly etched in your Charter.

Neither would it be a measure of this great opportunity merely to recite, however hopefully, pious platitudes.

A Danger Shared by All

I therefore decided that this occasion warranted my saying to you some of the things that have been on the minds and hearts of my legislative and executive associates and on mine for a great many months—thoughts I had originally planned to say primarily to the American people.

I know that the American people share my deep belief that if a danger exists in the world, it is a danger shared by all—and equally, that if hope exists in the mind of one nation, that hope should be shared by all.

Finally, if there is to be advanced any proposal designed to ease even by the smallest measure the tensions of today's world, what more appropriate audience could there be than the members of the General Assembly of the United Nations?

I feel impelled to speak today in a language that in a sense is new—one which I, who have spent so much of my life in the military profession, would have preferred never to use.

That new language is the language of atomic warfare.

The atomic age has moved forward at such a pace that every citizen of the world should have some comprehension, at least in comparative terms, of the extent of this development, of the utmost significance to every one of us. Clearly, if the peoples of the world are to conduct an intelligent search for peace, they must be armed with the significant facts of today's existence.

My recital of atomic danger and power is necessarily stated in United States terms, for these are the only incontrovertible facts that I know. I need hardly point out to this Assembly, however, that this subject is global, not merely national in character.

The Fearful Potentials

On July 16, 1945, the United States set off the world's first atomic explosion.

Since that date in 1945, the United States of America has conducted 42 test explosions.

Atomic bombs today are more than 25 times as powerful as the weapons with which the atomic age dawned, while hydrogen weapons are in the ranges of millions of tons of TNT equivalent.

Today, the United States' stockpile of atomic weapons, which, of course, increases daily, exceeds by many times the explosive equivalent of the total of all bombs and all shells that came from every plane and every gun in every theatre of war in all of the years of World War II.

A single air group, whether afloat or land-based, can now deliver to any reachable target a destructive cargo exceeding in power all the bombs that fell on Britain in all of World War II.

In size and variety, the development of atomic weapons has been no less remarkable. The development has been such that atomic weapons have virtually achieved conventional status within our armed services. In the United States, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marine Corps are all capable of putting this weapon to military use.

But the dread secret, and the fearful engines of atomic might, are not ours alone.

In the first place, the secret is possessed by our friends and allies, Great Britain and Canada, whose scientific genius made a tremendous contribution to our original discoveries, and the designs of atomic bombs.

The secret is also known by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has informed us that, over recent

years, it has devoted extensive resources to atomic weapons. During this period, the Soviet Union has exploded a series of atomic devices, including at least one involving thermo-nuclear reactions.

No Monopoly of Atomic Power

If at one time the United States possessed what might have been called a monopoly of atomic power, that monopoly ceased to exist several years ago. Therefore, although our earlier start has permitted us to accumulate what is today a great quantitative advantage, the atomic realities of today comprehend two facts of even greater significance.

First, the knowledge now possessed by several nations will eventually be shared by others—possibly all others.

Second, even a vast superiority in numbers of weapons, and a consequent capability of devastating retaliation, is no preventive, of itself, against the fearful material damage and toll of human lives that would be inflicted by surprise aggression.

The free world, at least dimly aware of these facts, has naturally embarked on a large program of warning and defense systems. That program will be accelerated and expanded.

But let no one think that the expenditure of vast sums for weapons and systems of defense can guarantee absolute safety for the cities and citizens of any nation. The

awful arithmetic of the atomic bomb does not permit of any such easy solution. Even against the most powerful defense, an aggressor in possession of the effective minimum number of atomic bombs for a surprise attack could probably place a sufficient number of his bombs on the chosen targets to cause hideous damage.

Should such an atomic attack be launched against the United States, our reactions would be swift and resolute. But for me to say that the defense capabilities of the United States are such that they could inflict terrible losses upon an aggressor—for me to say that the retaliation capabilities of the United States are so great that such an aggressor's land would be laid waste—all this, while fact, is not the true expression of the purpose and the hope of the United States.

To pause there would be to confirm the hopeless finality of a belief that two atomic colossi are doomed malevolently to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world. To stop there would be to accept helplessly the probability of civilization destroyed—the annihilation of the irreplaceable heritage of mankind handed down to us generation from generation—and the condemnation of mankind to begin all over again the age-old struggle upward from savagery toward decency, and right, and justice.

Surely no sane member of the human race could discover victory in such desolation. Could anyone wish his name to be coupled by history with such human degradation and destruction.

Occasional pages of history do record the faces of the "Great Destroyers" but the whole book of history reveals mankind's never-ending quest for peace, and mankind's God-given capacity to build.

It is with the book of history, and not with isolated pages, that the United States will ever wish to be identified. My country wants to be constructive, not destructive. It wants agreements, not wars, among nations. It wants itself to live in freedom, and in the confidence that the people of every other nation enjoy equally the right of choosing their own way of life.

No Idle Words or Shallow Visions

So my country's purpose is to help us move out of the dark chamber of horrors into the light, to find a way by which the minds of men, the hopes of men, the souls of men everywhere, can move forward toward peace and happiness and well being.

In this quest, I know that we must not lack patience.

I know that in a world divided, such as ours today, salvation cannot be attained by one dramatic act.

I know that many steps will have to be taken over many months before the world can look at itself one day and truly realize that a new climate of mutually peaceful confidence is abroad in the world.

But I know, above all else, that we must start to take these steps—NOW.

7. Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace program provoked considerable controversy. Many people looked upon the proposal as a major blunder because the program would spread the means for producing nuclear weapons worldwide, inevitably to unstable regions. In retrospect, the intent to rely extensively on nuclear power, with its attendant problems of reactor safety and radioactive waste disposal, is also alarming. Ask one or two good students to research the controversy and report on it orally, critiquing the ramifications for both offensive and peaceful uses of nuclear power. Issues deserving attention include
   - the development of nuclear weapons in the Third World, in such nations as India;
   - the availability of technology and fissionable materials to terrorists; and
   - the increased probability of reactor accidents such as those at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl.

Jackie Robinson, President Eisenhower, and the Little Rock Crisis

Nineteen ninety seven marked the 50th anniversary of the breaking of organized baseball's color line and the 40th anniversary of the Little Rock, AR, school desegregation crisis. Jackie Robinson, a man of inner strength, moral probity, and determination, played a role in both these civil rights events.

What most people know or remember about Jackie Robinson today is that he was a superb baseball player, the first African American to play major league baseball. His courage, capability, and strength of will captivated millions of fans and, in the course of his 10-year career, brought him many honors, including major league Rookie of the Year, the National League's Most Valuable Player, its 1949 batting champion, two-time stolen base leader, and perennial All-Star. In 1962 he was elected to the National Baseball Hall of Fame during his first year of eligibility.

Behind his on-the-field feats, there was another, largely forgotten civic side of Jack Roosevelt Robinson. Both the circumstances of his entry into the game and his conviction that "life is not a spectator sport" ensured that Robinson would not be content to rest on previous laurels. When he retired from baseball, Robinson decided to build upon his experience as a trailblazer in the high-profile sphere of American professional sports and become an advocate of change in the larger political world.

Robinson believed that the United States was too good a nation to shirk the goals of fair and equal treatment for all peoples; indeed, he regarded his successes on the baseball diamond as shining proof of the potential benefits to all when the United States lived up to its ideals. He was a grateful and public-spirited citizen who determined to use his gifts and fame to help his country combat ethnic intolerance and racial bigotry in everyday life.

From the moment he left the Dodgers after the 1956 season until his premature death in 1972 at the age of 53, Robinson never stopped crusading on behalf of expanded civil rights for all peoples. Unwilling to fade quietly into obscurity after his retirement from baseball, Robinson turned to new and expanded pursuits. He rose quickly to business prominence, first as a highly visible Chock Full O' Nuts corporate executive. Later, he helped organize the Freedom National Bank of New York, an institution created to fund minority commercial enterprises, and established a construction company to build low-cost public housing.

As an informed, patriotic, and responsible private citizen, Robinson raised money for charitable organizations, lent his name and efforts to national religious institutions in behalf of civic causes, chaired committees devoted to helping secure funding for young African college students, testified at congressional and administrative hearings on inner-city issues, and from 1959 to 1960, wrote almost 200 columns for a New York newspaper. Among the many awards he received for his public service work were those conferred by the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute, the Benny Leonard Foundation, the National Inter-Faith Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Howard University.

In his approach to politics, Robinson followed an independent path, and his style was adversarial—much like the way he had played baseball. Consequently, many individuals disagreed with his point of view, but few would deny the depth of his conviction or his courage to act upon what he considered to be right. His civic consciousness and social activism were born from a belief that since democracy is not static, one must fight constantly to preserve it. The years in which he worked to improve the situation for blacks in the United States constitute the high-water period for the formal civil rights movement in this country—the 1950s and 1960s. During that galvanic period the move to secure full civil rights for black Americans gained momentum through actions taking place in all three branches of the Federal Government and through the prodding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Robinson proved to be no mere "armchair philosopher" in advancing the causes he believed in. He ventured into the turbulent South many times during the 1950s and 1960s, marching at Selma, speaking in Birmingham, and joining the historic 1963 March on Washington. He also participated in other organized protest efforts and demonstrations in New York City and the District of Columbia. Frequently, he carried the battle for black political and economic parity to the Chief Executives. His spirited and voluminous correspondence with four Presidential administrations from 1956 to 1972 reflected a sometimes hot-and-cold relationship with each of the Presidents—Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon.

Jackie Robinson's letter to Eisenhower in September 1957, which is reproduced in this article, was written in the midst of a simmering crisis in Little Rock, AR. The crisis centered on the proposed desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School. Arkansas was one State that initially chose to desegregate its schools voluntarily following the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown* v. *The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), which invalidated "separate but equal" as the law of the land. In Arkansas, even before 1957, blacks were admitted to state-supported universities and to public and parochial schools in some communities. In addition, they were hired in several hospitals in the larger cities and by several white business firms. County medical societies, scouting groups, labor unions, and the American Association of University Women were among the organizations in Arkansas that began opening their membership to black Americans.

In Little Rock, the state capital, integrated meetings, conferences, libraries, and cultural events were more and more the norm rather than the exception. Further, the city school board approved an extremely moderate six-year plan to desegregate its public schools starting at the high school level in September 1957. As agreed, Central High School, a public school of more than 2,000 white students, was slated to enroll nine black students after Labor Day. On the evening before the school opened, however, Governor Orval Faubus announced on television that he could not vouch for the safety of the nine black students if violence were to break out in protest of their enrolling. As the State's highest-ranking official charged with keeping peace, he told his amazed audience that he planned to call out the Arkansas National Guard to turn the students away so as to avert bloodshed.

Faubus, previously considered racially and politically liberal, was up for reelection soon. He no doubt knew that a show of resistance to the school board desegregation plan would be politically helpful. Many residents of Little Rock and elsewhere not only rejected the legitimacy of federally-mandated school desegregation but were galled by the swiftness with which Arkansas authorities had already proven willing to implement it. The Governor may have considered that the Federal Government would eventually step in, but in the meantime his maneuver would demonstrate to potential voters that he was not accepting the Government's wishes without putting up a fight.

The NAACP, local school board, and Federal courts thereafter worked to defuse the situation and force compliance, but in the short run Faubus was successful in carrying out his plan.

Telephone
MUrray Hill 2-0600

Chock full o' Nuts

425 LEXINGTON AVENUE
New York 17, N. Y.

September 13, 1957

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

A few days ago I read your statement in the papers advising patience. We are wondering to whom you are referring to when you say we must be patient. It is easy for those who haven't felt the evils of a prejudiced society to urge it, but for us who as Americans have patiently waited all these years for the rights supposedly guaranteed us under our Constitution, it is not an easy task. Nevertheless, we have done it.

It appears to me now, Mr. President, that under the circumstances the prestige of your office must be exerted. A mere statement that you don't like violence is not enough. In my opinion, people the world over would hail you if you made a statement that would clearly put your office behind the efforts for civil rights. As it is now, you see what the Communist nations are doing with the material we have given them.

I am aware, Mr. President, this letter expresses a mood of frustration. It is a mood generally found among Negro Americans today and should be a matter of concern to you as it is to us.

Very respectfully yours,

Jackie Robinson

Jackie Robinson

JR:cc

True to his word, he sent state guardsmen to the high school and posted them to block entry of the black students. In addition, a large and menacing crowd of white onlookers gathered onsite to ensure that segregation there was staunchly upheld. The circumstances were sobering for the Nation. For the first time, opposition to admission of black students was not merely legal; it was physical.

What followed was a prolonged and ultimately fruitless period of several weeks of tense negotiation in which the President and his advisers tried to reason with Faubus. Even after the Governor reluctantly agreed to remove the National Guard, the mob remained to prevent the entry of the black students and, in fact, rioted. Eisenhower never had intended to push integration, but his administration was confronted with a challenge to the Federal Government's authority and the power of the Chief Executive to enforce the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Finally, after several well-publicized appeals for the mob to disperse, Eisenhower ordered federal troops into the city and federalized the Arkansas National Guard.

The President had been reluctant to take such an extreme measure, but as a former military officer, he knew that such bold resistance to Federal authority could not be tolerated if the Federal Union was to endure. Ironically, this extreme measure had been undertaken by a racially conservative President who, in most matters, saw a limited role for the Federal Government and supported states' rights. Only when forced by what he termed "extraordinary and compelling circumstances" did he order federal troops to defend the rights of black citizens in the South—the first time they had done so since the days of Reconstruction.

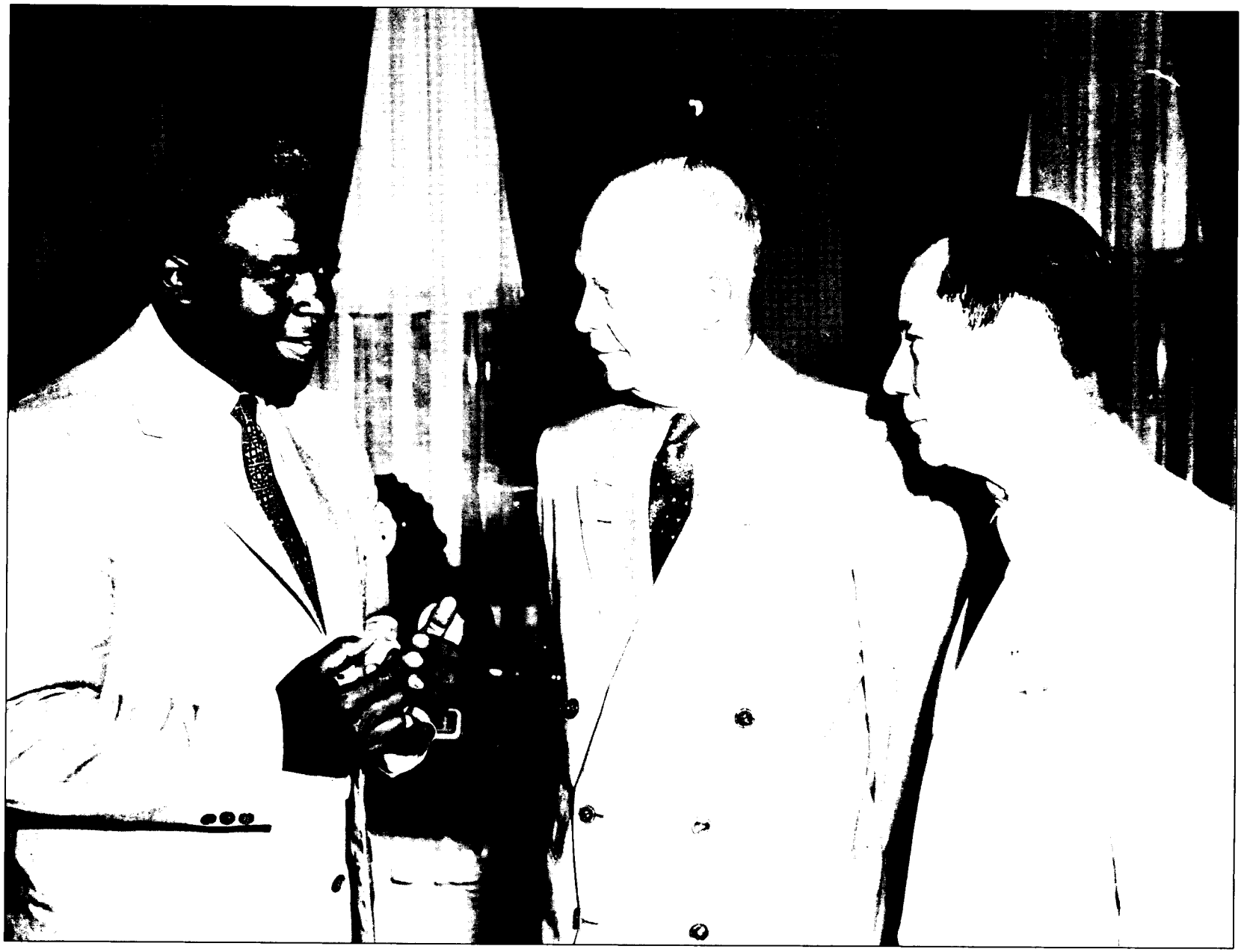
Robinson's letter of September 13 reflected the ex-ballplayer's growing concern that the President had never publicly denounced acts of violence committed by obstructionists to integration. Robinson also chafed at any insinuation on the part of racial conservatives that civil rights advocates were somehow extreme in wanting the Court's decrees upheld. Robinson believed instead that massive efforts to resist integration were unpatriotic because they were both unlawful and undemocratic in character. Further, Robinson and a number of other prominent African Americans of the time were unhappy with what they regarded as the nearly eviscerated Civil Rights Act of 1957, which had just been signed into law by the President. Expecting strong advocacy from the White House, they were not pleased with the President's decision.

The letter and a later note of congratulations from Robinson to Eisenhower for sending in the troops are contained in the holdings of the National Archives and Records Administration, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, General Files, Box 920.

Teaching Activities

1. Provide each student with a photocopy of the document, and make a transparency containing the following questions: What type of document is this? What are the dates of the document? Who wrote the document? What is the purpose of the document? What information in the document helps you understand why it was written? Does the fact that the letter was written on company letterhead paper imply that the company endorsed or supported the author's views? Ask one student to read the letter aloud as the other students read silently. Lead the class in oral responses to the questions.

2. Ask students to research the circumstances surrounding the writing of this letter by using information in the note to the teacher, the time line, and reference texts in the classroom or school library. Continue to analyze the document aloud in class with the following questions:
   a. Who is the "we" to whom the author refers? According to the author, what constitutional rights are being violated?
   b. What is the President's statement advising patience? To whom is he referring? What are the circumstances for the President's remarks?



c. What specifically do you think Jackie Robinson wants Eisenhower to do in this situation and in regard to the campaign for expanded civil rights? How do you suppose the public would have reacted to these proposed actions?
d. What is the meaning of Robinson's references to world opinion and communism? What kinds of historical events in the United States and elsewhere would have led him to believe that these were important considerations?
e. Did Robinson write this letter as a "Negro," as a "Negro American," or just an "American?" Is the author correct in implying that what concerns him is a national problem, or could it be only a regional one? Given that Robinson is writing from New York City, do you think his perspective is different from that of southern blacks at the time?
f. Robinson cites violence as a problem. To what examples of violence might he be alluding? What are some present-day parallels?
g. Do you consider Robinson's strong criticism of the National Government fair? Is the tone pleading or demanding? Discuss.
h. What effect did live television coverage of the Little Rock and subsequent civil rights incidents have on the degree and kind of public reaction that viewers might have had? What technological developments might affect public opinion now should similar occurrences take place?

3. An alternative to #2 might be to use the document and the questions as an evaluation tool for a unit on civil rights.

4. Expand the time line by assigning each student a particular year between 1958 and the present. Instruct students to use library resources to identify events related to civil rights that occurred in their assigned year. Copy the time line onto butcher paper, and attach it to a blank wall in the classroom. Ask the class to choose the most significant items they located, and add them to the time line.

5. Explore with the students the effects of letter writing as a political activity. Ask them to draft likely responses from the President to Robinson. Select several of the best examples, and post them on the bulletin board.

6. Direct the students to conduct a news conference on the Little Rock crisis with students taking the roles of representatives of several different points of view. Examples might include a news reporter representing a big northern city newspaper, a reporter representing a southern newspaper, a representative of the NAACP, a Central High School official, and a representative of Faubus' administration. Select one student to act as moderator. The rest of the class should draft questions for the media panel. Videotape the news conference, and play it back for the class to critique.

7. Use the jigsaw or other cooperative group method to give students 15 minutes to analyze one of the following statements and then reconfigure them to report the results in a new group. Then ask them to choose one statement and write a paragraph explaining how it applies to the Little Rock episode.

   "All politics are based on the indifference of the majority." —James Reston

   "If there is no struggle there is no progress. . . . Power concedes nothing without a demand." —Frederick Douglass

   "The only title in our democracy superior to that of president is the title of citizen." —Jimmy Carter

8. Jackie Robinson and NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, although close on many issues, held different opinions about the 1957 Civil Rights Act. Ask two volunteers to evaluate one of the following quotations and justify the view for the class:

   "Am opposed to civil rights bill in its present form; have been in touch with a number of my friends. We disagree that half loaf better than none." —Jackie Robinson (from a telegram)

   "If you are digging a ditch with a teaspoon and a man comes along and offers you a spade, there is something wrong with your head if you don't take it because he didn't offer you a bulldozer." —Roy Wilkins

Events Related to the Civil Rights Movement and Jackie Robinson, 1947–1958

1947: Robinson signed by the Brooklyn Dodgers, becoming the first black player in 20th-century major league baseball.

Robinson named major league Rookie of the Year.

1948: *Sipeul* v. *Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma*. The Supreme Court ruled that denying the applicant admission to the university violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

Executive Order 9981 issued, stating "There shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the Armed Services without regard to race."

1949: Robinson named National League batting and stolen bases champion.

Robinson named National League Most Valuable Player.

1950: *Sweatt* v. *Painter*. The Supreme Court held that setting up a separate black law school at the University of Texas did not provide "a truly equal education in law." It concluded that Sweatt's exclusion from the white law school at the university violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

1954: *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. The Supreme Court decided that school segregation violated the Constitution. The concept of separate but equal established in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* (1896) was overturned.

1956: *Gayle* v. *Browder*. The Supreme Court referred to the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* case to strike down segregated bus facilities in Montgomery, AL.

Robinson retired from the Dodgers.

1957: Robinson awarded the NAACP's Spingarn Medal.

Robinson became an executive for the Chock Full O' Nuts Coffee Company.

September 4: Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus blocked the integration of Central High School in Little Rock with National Guard troops.

September 9: Civil Rights Act passed, prohibiting interference in the exercise of voting rights, simplifying the system for Federal Government involvement in voting rights violations, and establishing a national Commission on Civil Rights.

September 13: Robinson wrote to President Eisenhower.

September 24: President Eisenhower sent in federal troops and removed the National Guard from Faubus's control.

1958: *Cooper* v. *Aaron* (Little Rock, AR). The Supreme Court upheld the U.S. Court of Appeals reversal of a stay against integration, saying that "the constitutional rights of children regardless of race can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislators or state executive officials nor nullified by them by evasive schemes for segregation."

A Cartoonist's View of the Eisenhower Years

Dwight D. Eisenhower was born in Denison, TX, on October 14, 1890. In 1990, the centennial of his birth, the evaluations of his contributions as citizen-soldier and President continue. It is fair to say that Eisenhower dominated the 1950s as no other public figure did and that he was able to do so largely because of his personal popularity. In elections and polls, the people of the United States consistently expressed their approval of "Ike's" appealing public style. Eisenhower's fondness for golf and family gatherings, his low-key personality, his unpretentious manner, and particularly his engaging grin made him everyone's "grandfather."

There were, of course, detractors. Eisenhower's quiet demeanor, dull oratory, and reliance upon experts who joined him in using bureaucratic jargon sometimes led observers to snipe at him. Contemporary political writers described his administration as "the bland leading the bland," and then-anonymous Oliver Jensen altered the Gettysburg Address to reflect what he regarded as Eisenhower's overly cautious manner of speaking. That version began:

> I haven't checked these figures, but 87 years ago, I think it was, a number of individuals organized a governmental set up here in this country, I believe it covered certain eastern areas, with this idea they were following up, based on a sort of national-independence arrangement and the program that every individual is as good as every other individual.

As Eisenhower's second term drew to an end in January 1961, cartoonist Charles Nickerson of the *Deseret News* drew "Images of the Fifties from Disneyland to Suez." By placing three larger-scale sketches of Eisenhower in different sections of the cartoon, and presenting him in varying roles from statesman to golfer, Nickerson visually expressed how the benign "Ike" permeated the life of his decade. The original artwork for this cartoon is located in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, KS.

Teaching Activities

Pretest

1. Introduce the document as a pretest for a unit on the 1950s. Make a transparency of the cartoon, show it to the class, and color in the images as the students correctly identify them.

Oral History Interview

2. Duplicate and distribute a copy of the cartoon to each student. Instruct the students to take the cartoon home and work with their parents or other adults in their neighborhood who recall the 1950s to identify all the images in the cartoon and make a list of them.

Spelling

3. As a spelling exercise, ask the students to design a word puzzle using as many of the names of the personalities, events, and locations depicted in the cartoon as possible.

Research and Synthesis

4. With the class, list on the chalkboard the images included in the cartoon. Assign a different topic for research to each student. Ask students to gather information on their topics, using material available in the textbook, the school library and media center, and the local library and archives, and to convey their findings either in a descriptive paragraph, a drawing, a dialogue, a skit, or a cartoon. Post the results on the bulletin board along with a copy of the cartoon.


IGY
50
49
CHASNIK
DESERET NEWS

Evaluation

5. As a posttest of your unit on the 1950s, ask students to look at the cartoon and then complete the following directions:
   a. Review the list of images found in the cartoon.
   b. Indicate which of the objects are symbols.
   c. Identify the meaning of each symbol.
   d. Describe the emotions conveyed by the symbols.
   e. Design a category system for the list of images and group the items in a category chart.

Cartoon Answers

1. Alaskan Statehood
2. Dwight D. Eisenhower
3. Television Westerns
4. *Explorer 1*
5. Fidel Castro
6. Sir Edmund Hillary on Mt. Everest
7. Hawaiian Statehood
8. Volkswagen
9. Hungarian Revolution
10. Salk Polio Vaccination
11. Sea Hunt
12. Dwight D. Eisenhower
13. Finned Automobiles
14. Adlai Stevenson, Jr.
15. Gamal Abdel Nasser and the Suez Canal
16. Senator Joseph McCarthy
17. Queen Elizabeth II's Coronation
18. Dwight D. Eisenhower
19. Disneyland
20. Nikita Khrushchev's De-Stalinization Program
21. Richard M. Nixon
22. International Geophysical Year
23. African Revolutions
24. Sputnik and Satellites
25. Marilyn Monroe
26. Elvis Presley

Note: Alaska was the 49th state rather than the 50th (which was Hawaii), as the cartoon mistakenly labels it.

The Bill of Rights: Due Process and Rights of the Accused

CLARENCE EARL GIDEON'S PETITION IN FORMA PAUPERIS

Reason and reflection require us to recognize that in our adversary system of criminal justice, any person hailed into court, who is too poor to hire a lawyer, cannot be assured a fair trial unless counsel is provided for him. This seems to be an obvious truth. . . . That government hires lawyers to prosecute and defendants who have the money hire lawyers to defend are the strongest indications of the widespread belief that lawyers in criminal courts are necessities, not luxuries. The right of one charged with crime to counsel may not be deemed fundamental and essential to fair trials in some countries, but it is in ours.

—Justice Hugo Black
Opinion, *Gideon* v. *Wainwright*

The Sixth Amendment guarantee of the right to a lawyer has expanded significantly during the past 60 years. The most important case in the expansion of the right to counsel occurred as a result of the case *Gideon* v. *Wainwright* in 1963.

In 1932, in the first of the Scottsboro appeals to come before the Supreme Court, *Powell* v. *Alabama*, the Court ruled that the right to counsel in a capital case was fundamental to due process. The Court found that the indigent defendants in this case were not provided adequate time to hire lawyers and that the court-requested lawyers had inadequate time to prepare a defense. The decision appeared to incorporate the Sixth Amendment into the Constitution through the 14th Amendment, but 10 years later, the Supreme Court rejected incorporation of the right to counsel in *Betts* v. *Brady*.

Not until the early 1960s did the Supreme Court begin to incorporate the Fifth and Sixth Amendments into the Constitution. *Malloy* v. *Hogan* extended the right against self-incrimination to the States in 1964. The Sixth Amendment was incorporated in the landmark case of *Gideon* v. *Wainwright*.

Clarence Earl Gideon, an indigent with five prior convictions, was arrested for breaking and entering a pool hall in Bay Harbor, FL, in June 1961. At the beginning of his trial in August, Gideon requested that the judge appoint a lawyer to defend him, but the judge refused because Florida law provided for free lawyers only in capital cases. At that time, 37 of the 50 States provided lawyers for poor defendants in all felony cases, and 8 others usually provided lawyers in felony cases. Only 5 provided lawyers only in capital cases, and Florida was one of them. During his trial, Gideon unsuccessfully defended himself, was convicted and was sent to the Florida state prison.

DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS No. 890 Misc.

CORRESPONDENCE REGULATIONS

OCT. TERM 1961

MAIL WILL NOT BE DELIVERED WHICH DOES NOT CONFORM WITH THESE RULES

U. S. Supreme Court

No. 1 -- Only 2 letters each week, not to exceed 2 sheets letter-size 8 1/2 x 11" and written *on one side only*, and if ruled paper, do not write between lines. *Your complete name* must be signed at the close of your letter. *Clippings, stamps, letters* from other people, *stationery* or *cash must not be enclosed* in your letters.

No. 2 -- All *letters* must be addressed in the *complete prison name* of the inmate. *Cell number*, where applicable, and *prison number* must be placed in lower left corner of envelope, with your complete name and address in the upper left corner.

No. 3 -- *Do not send any packages without a Package Permit.* Unauthorized *packages* will be destroyed.

No. 4 -- *Letters* must be written in English only.

No. 5 -- *Books, magazines, pamphlets*, and *newspapers* of reputable character will be delivered *only if* mailed direct from the publisher.

No. 6 -- *Money* must be sent in the form of *Postal Money Orders* only. Include complete prison name and prison number.

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1962
OFFICE OF THE CLERK
SUPREME COURT, U.S.

INSTITUTION _____ CELL NUMBER _____

NAME _____

In the Supreme Court of the United States
Washington D.C
Motion for leave to proceed in Forma Pauperis
Clarence Earl Gideon, Petitioner
vs.
H. G. Cochran Jr, Director, Divisions of corrections State of Florida Respondent

Petitioner, Clarence Earl Gideon, who is now held in the Florida state penitentiary, asks leave to file the attached petition for a Writ of Certiorari to the United States Supreme Court, directed to The Supreme Court of The State of Florida, without prepayment of costs and to proceed in Forma Pauperis. The petitioner's affidavit in support is attached hereto.

Clarence Earl Gideon
counsel for Petitioner

Affidavit in support of petition for leave to proceed in Forma Pauperis
Clarence Earl Gideon, petitioner
vs.
H. G. Cochran Jr, Director, Divisions of corrections State of Florida, Respondent.

I, Clarence Earl Gideon, being duly sworn according to law, depose and say that I am

DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS

CORRESPONDENCE REGULATIONS

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No. 6 -- *Money* must be sent in the form of *Postal Money Orders* only, in the inmate's complete prison name and prison number.

INSTITUTION _____ CELL NUMBER _____

NAME _____ NUMBER _____

That I am the above petitioner in the above-entitled cause, and, in support of my application for leave to proceed without being required prepay costs or fees, state:

1. Because of my poverty I am unable to pay cost of said cause.
2. I am unable to give security for the same
3. I believe I am entitled to the redress I seek in said cause
4. The nature of said cause is briefly stated as follows

I was sentenced to the State Penitentiary by the Circuit Court of Bay County, State of Florida. The present proceeding was commenced on a ~~wr~~ petition for a Writ of Habeus Corpus to the Supreme Court of the State of Florida to vacate the sentence, on the grounds that I was made to stand Trial without the aid of counsel, and, at all times of my incarseration. The said Court refused to appoint counsel and therefore deprived me of Due process of law, and violated my rights in the Bill of Rights and the constitution of the United States.

Clarence Earl Hudson

5th day of Jan 1962 Petitioner

Lawrence C Dunya

NOTARY PUBLIC

Notary Public, State of Florida at Large
My Commission Expires Jan 19 1962

Although Gideon had only an eighth-grade education, he filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus based on the argument that he was being held illegally because his right to a lawyer had been denied when one was not provided for him at the time of his trial. The petition was rejected by the Florida courts. His subsequent petition to the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari was returned because he did not use the required form. His request was returned, however, with a Supreme Court style manual. Writing on prison stationery and following the samples in the booklet, Gideon resubmitted his request in January 1962. Gideon also filed a petition *in forma pauperis*, a request that the Supreme Court appoint a lawyer to present his case because he was a pauper. This petition is the featured document, which is part of the Records of the Supreme Court of the United States, Record Group 267.

The Court appointed the respected Washington attorney Abe Fortas to represent Gideon. (Fortas was soon to become a Supreme Court Justice.) Fortas argued that a defendant could not get a fair trial in the United States without a lawyer and that conviction without a fair trial violated due process of law. In other words, those who could not afford a lawyer were being denied equal protection under the law. Fortas's arguments convinced the Court to reverse *Betts*. Justice Hugo Black, a dissenter in *Betts*, wrote the opinion. The unanimous *Gideon* decision required states to provide counsel for indigent felony defendants. Gideon was retried in Bay Harbor, his case presented by a lawyer, and he was found innocent, as he had steadfastly claimed he was all along.

Gideon v. *Wainwright* did not answer all questions about the right to counsel. For example, unanswered was the question of the stage in the legal process at which the accused's right to counsel began. It was not until the *Miranda* decision in 1966 that the Sixth Amendment right to counsel was extended to apply to a suspect from the moment of arrest.

Teaching Activities

Discussion

1. Introduce this lesson by defining the expression "due process." Ask students to locate and identify in the U.S. Constitution the amendments that define due process and equal protection.

Vocabulary Development

2. Many terms in this document and in the background reading of the case need to be identified before students can read about Clarence Earl Gideon.
   a. Assign students the following terms to define: affidavit, counsel (n.), deposition, due process of law, felony, *in forma pauperis*, indigent, misdemeanor, petitioner, redress, respondent, vacate, writ of certiorari, and writ of habeus corpus.
   b. After they have completed the definitions, divide the class into groups of four. Ask each group to make a crossword puzzle from the vocabulary list. Make copies of all the puzzles for each of the students.
   c. Once the students have mastered the legal vocabulary, you may wish to invite a lawyer or state supreme court judge to speak to your class about one or two due process cases originating in your home state. Alternately, you may wish to contact your local bar association and enter some of your students in a mock trial competition.

Document Review

3. Duplicate and distribute the document, and ask students to read it carefully and answer the following questions:
   a. What is the date of this document?
   b. Who created the document?
   c. Who received the document?
   d. What is the motion requested by the petitioner in this document?
   e. Why does the petitioner request leave to proceed without being required to prepay costs or fees of the court?
   f. Why does the petitioner believe he is entitled to redress by the courts?

Case Study

4. Instruct students to use the document, their textbooks, and library reference books to collect the following data to make a case study of *Gideon* v. *Wainwright*. Anthony Lewis's *Gideon's Trumpet* is a particularly useful secondary source.
   a. Facts
   - What crime was Gideon accused of committing?
   - When and where did the crime occur?
   - Why did Gideon not have a lawyer? Why did Gideon want a lawyer?

   b. Issues
   - What right did Gideon believe he had been denied?
   - Was there a constitutional basis for the Supreme Court to review Gideon's case?
   - What was it?
   - What Bill of Rights issue did the Court have to decide in Gideon's case?

   c. Arguments
   - What arguments did Gideon and Abe Fortas offer in support of their position?
   - What arguments did the State of Florida offer?

   d. Decision
   - How would you decide Gideon's case?

   e. Evaluation
   - What was the Court's decision in Gideon's case?
   - What reasons did the Court give for its decision?
   - What was the effect of the decision on Clarence Earl Gideon? What was the effect of the *Gideon* decision on law enforcement officers?
   - What was the effect of the *Gideon* decision on the criminal justice system?
   - What was the effect of the *Gideon* decision on the power of the States?

The 26th Amendment and Youth Voting Rights

The slogan "Old Enough to Fight, Old Enough to Vote" reflected the mood of the public and its leaders when, in the midst of the Vietnam War, the right to vote was extended to 18-year-olds. Codified as the 26th Amendment to the Constitution, the joint resolution, passed by Congress on March 23, 1971, was ratified by the States by July 1—more quickly than any other amendment in U.S. history.

Getting the resolution through Congress took a great deal longer than getting it ratified by the States. Beginning in 1942, Jennings Randolph of West Virginia introduced the resolution in every Congress through the 92d in 1971. Real momentum toward the extension of the vote began after the negotiation of the peace accords for the Korean War, when President Dwight D. Eisenhower supported Randolph's proposal to extend the right to vote to those "old enough to fight and die for the United States." Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon added similar endorsements. It was not, however, until the pressure created by the antiwar movement of the 1960s intensified that Congress finally passed the Jennings proposal in 1971.

Legal developments during the 92d Congress caused legislators to seek a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age. In 1970 Congress attempted to lower the voting age to 18 through legislation. That legislation was challenged in court in *Oregon* v. *Mitchell.* Because the Constitution gave states the power to establish most voting qualifications, the Supreme Court upheld the statute as it pertained to Federal elections but declared the act unconstitutional insofar as it pertained to state elections. Since most of the states required voters to be 21 years of age, this decision would have necessitated separate ballots for Federal and state races in the same election. With this complication unresolved, the Presidential election of 1972 would, no doubt, have been not only very expensive but also chaotic. According to Dennis J. Mahony, political science professor at California State University-San Bernardino, "The rapidity with which the Amendment was ratified is attributable to a general desire to avoid such chaos."

The Amendment Process

In Article V of the Constitution, the founders described a process for amending the charter in such a way as to balance two conflicting goals. On the one hand, they wanted to devise a process easier to use than that employed under the Articles of Confederation. At the same time, they wanted to ensure a process that would work only when a strong consensus made it clearly necessary to change the Constitution.

With these opposing goals in mind, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 created an amendment process composed of two sets of alternatives. Congress could either propose amendments backed by a two-thirds majority of both of its Houses or call a convention to propose amendments at the request of two-thirds of the state legislatures. Afterward, the proposed amendments had to be ratified by either three-fourths of the state legislatures or by conventions in three-fourths of the States. With this process, the Framers attempted to balance the need for adaptability with the desire for stable government.

Since 1789, when the process became the law of the land, more than 5,000 proposals to amend the Constitution have been introduced to Congress, but only 33 have ever received the necessary two-thirds vote of both Houses. Of

these, only 27 have been ratified by three-fourths of the States. Change is possible but extremely difficult to enact, thereby meeting both goals of the founders.

Expansion of Voting Rights

At the time the Constitution was written, most eligible voters were white male land owners. Since then, voting rights have slowly expanded as a result of various amendments that abolished restrictions based on race, color, previous servitude, gender, or failure to pay taxes.

The 15th Amendment extended the vote to black males, the 19th removed barriers to the ballot for women, and the 24th abolished poll taxes. Although the 15th Amendment was adopted shortly after the Civil War, real freedom to vote was consistently denied to black Americans for decades through intimidation by violence, cheating at the ballot boxes, and legislated disfranchisement in the form of poll taxes and literacy tests. Not until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s galvanized Congress into action to protect the voting rights of all U.S. citizens did black Americans truly enjoy the freedom to vote.

The story of the passage of the 19th Amendment relates a different suffrage struggle. First introduced at the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention in 1848, the amendment opening the ballot box to women was not proposed in Congress until 1870. For almost 50 years, the battle to get the proposal approved by Congress was unsuccessful. With the outbreak of World War I, attention focused on the contributions women made to the war effort in the workplace. Afterward, women successfully argued that if they could work to defend the country, they also deserved the right to vote. Congress was persuaded to approve the amendment in 1919, and it was ratified on August 26, 1920.

The President's Role

The Constitution makes no provision for the President to take part in the amendment process, but in the case of the 26th Amendment, President Nixon held a ceremonial signing of the certified document on July 5, 1971, and invited three 18-year-olds to add their signatures below his. No doubt Nixon's decision to publicly endorse the amendment was based on the popularity of the action—indeed, *all* the States had ratified the amendment by July 1—and the recognition that adoption of the amendment enabled approximately 11 million new voters to participate in the national elections of 1972.

Response of Young Citizens

Congressional leaders and others expressed great confidence in American youth during the debate over the 26th Amendment. Senator Randolph described Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 as "educated, motivated and involved." Furthermore, he added, "Young people are aware of the world around them and are familiar with the issues before government officials. In many cases they have a clearer view because it has not become clouded through time and involvement. They can be likened to outside consultants called in to take a fresh look at our problems."

Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana observed, "The surest and most just way to harness the energies and moral conscience of youth is to open the door to full citizenship by lowering the voting age. Youth cannot be expected to work within the system when they are denied that very opportunity." Senator Bayh also proclaimed, "Passage of this amendment will challenge young Americans to accept even more responsibility and show that they will participate."

Many political observers at the time predicted that high numbers of young voters would register and vote, thereby having a profound effect on U.S. electoral politics. The fact is, however, that 18- to 20-year-olds have participated at a significantly lower rate than the general population in every election until the Presidential election of 1992.

The document included with this article is found in the General Records of the U.S. Government,

S. J. Res. 7

Ninety-second Congress of the United States of America

AT THE FIRST SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Thursday, the twenty-first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one

Joint Resolution

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens eighteen years of age or older.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Carl Albert

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Allen J. Ellender

~~Vice President of the United States and~~ *President of the Senate pro tempore*

Record Group 11, Ratified Amendments. The document is also featured in a teaching package entitled *The Constitution: Evolution of a Government* with 34 other facsimile documents and an extensive teacher's guide. For more information about the teaching package, write the Education Staff, National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408, or access the Digital Classroom at <*http://www.nara.gov./education*>.

Teaching Activities

Document Analysis

1. Photocopy the document, and give a copy to each student. Make a transparency of the questions below and display it for the class with an overhead projector. After students have read the document, lead the class in oral responses to the questions. Questions to be considered might include: What type of document is this? What are the dates of the document? Who wrote the document? Who signed the document? What unique physical qualities does the document have? What is the purpose of the document? What evidence in the document helps you understand why it was written? What else do you need to know about the document?

2. Ask the class to read the document again carefully to determine what students learn about the amendment process from examining the text of the document. Next, ask them to consult a copy of the Constitution to verify the requirements for amending the Constitution. [Please note that the Constitution and the amendments can be accessed through the National Archives' Web site at <*http://www.nara.gov/exhall*>.]

Storytelling

3. Assign students to research the history of the 26th Amendment and the time period(s) involved in its adoption. Choose a storytelling method appropriate for the age and ability level of your students, and ask them to tell the story of the passage of the amendment. The story might begin with the first proposal in 1942 and conclude with the ceremonial signing in 1971.

Time line

4. Using this article, student textbooks, and other reference materials, ask students to help you compile a list of events related to the history of voting rights. Ask volunteers to make a time line and place the events on it. As a followup, ask all students to write a paper contrasting the struggle for suffrage for blacks, women, and youth.

Class Discussion

5. Lead the class in a discussion about the age of adulthood as related to draft registration, legal drinking, criminal accountability, and contract obligations and privileges. Ask students what responsibilities are associated with each of these adult activities. Determine if the class can reach a consensus on its definition of the best age of adult accountability.

6. Assign some students to research the voting patterns of youth since 1971 and report them to the class. Help students organize a voter registration drive among high school seniors in your school district and mount a campaign to encourage them to vote in the next Presidential election.

Due Process and Student Rights: Syllabus of the Goss *v.* Lopez *Decision*

The Ninth Amendment guarantees that rights not enumerated in the Constitution are retained by the people. To identify these rights and give them legal status, statutes have been adopted, amendments added, Presidential proclamations issued, and court opinions written. Rights of citizens under the age of 18 have been secured in this piecemeal manner.

The legal rights of minors emerged in a series of Supreme Court interpretations. Beginning in 1899, juvenile courts were established as a reform measure to separate youthful offenders from older lawbreakers. The juvenile justice system balances justice with the doctrine of *parens patriae*, under which the court is supposed to act as a parent protecting the interests of the juvenile. In the case of 15-year-old Gerald Gault, the juvenile court judge sentenced him to state reform school until he reached the age of majority, a six-year sentence, for an obscene phone call. Gault's parents appealed his case to the state supreme court on the grounds that Gault had been denied due process of law. Gault's case was subsequently appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which reversed the lower court's decisions (*In Re Gault*, 1967).

Justice Abe Fortas wrote the opinion that found the juvenile court had deprived Gault of due process in denying him basic legal rights, including notice of the charges, right to counsel, right to confrontation and cross-examination, privilege against self-incrimination, the right to a transcript of the proceedings, and the right to appellate review.

School systems, too, are required to accord students a minimum amount of due process as a result of *Goss* v. *Lopez*, 1975. In 1971 public school officials responded to student unrest in Columbus, OH, by suspending for up to 10 days all students present at or participating in demonstrations on school grounds. Students were not given a hearing prior to suspension, although some students and parents were able to hold conferences with school principals at a later date. Parents of many of the suspended students decided to sue the board of education on the basis of due process since Ohio law guaranteed free public education to all children between the ages of 6 and 21.

The Supreme Court, in a five-to-four decision, ruled that students are entitled to due process protection of their right to an education and their reputations. The state of Ohio was obliged to provide students with a written or oral notice of charges against them. If the students denied the charges, a hearing had to be held informing them of the evidence against them and providing them an opportunity to present their defense. Other than in the event of an emergency, schools were required to schedule this hearing with students before suspending them from school for misconduct for up to 10 days. A broader range of rights may be granted to students by local school boards or state law, but the range of rights cannot be narrowed. The decision did not entitle students to a lawyer, to cross-examine hostile witnesses, or to call friendly witnesses. It also did not require that the hearing be held before an impartial judge.

The featured document is the syllabus issued by the Court's Reporter of Decisions for the case of

Goss v. *Lopez*, which is in the Records of the Supreme Court of the United States, Record Group 267.

Teaching Activities

Vocabulary

1. Many terms in this document and in the background reading need to be identified before students can read about the *Goss* case. Instruct students to refer to their textbooks and a dictionary to define the following legal terms: appellant, appellee, *de minimis*, dissenting opinion, due process of law, enjoin, injunction, statute, syllabus, and opinion.

Document Analysis

2. Duplicate and distribute copies of the document to pairs of students, and instruct each pair to answer the following questions:
   a. What is the date of the document?
   b. Who prepared this document? For what purpose was the document created?
   c. Why are the students of Ohio seeking action against school officials?
   d. On the basis of which amendment did the Supreme Court uphold the rights of the students?
   e. What is the students' property interest that qualifies for protection?
   f. What is the students' liberty interest that qualifies for protection?
   g. According to the *Goss* decision, what does due process minimally provide for students?
   h. According to the *Goss* decision, when do schools have the authority to suspend students without an immediate hearing?
   i. How many of the justices decided for Goss? Who were they?
   j. How many of the justices decided against Goss? Who were they?

Discuss the questions in class, clarifying any points that students find confusing.

Research

3. Ask students to select one of the following activities for further research and to share their findings in an oral report or project:
   a. If your local school board or state department of education has a written list of student rights and responsibilities, try to discover how they were developed, when they were adopted, and what topics are covered. Are rights other than the due process ones mandated by *Goss* v. *Lopez* addressed in the listing, for instance, rights of learners in instructional matters? Are the topics of the student rights and responsibilities still timely, or are revisions needed?
   b. If your school does not have such a list, find out whether the student government has a student rights committee and why no such document has been compiled. Students may wish to work through the student government association with the faculty adviser and administration to adopt a statement of student rights and responsibilities and to inform the student body through the school newspaper or perhaps through a special assembly.
   c. Contact the school librarian or counseling office about the possibility of preparing and displaying a small exhibit that illustrates the theme, The Constitution and Student Rights. Sources of materials for such an exhibit might include:
      - *The Bill of Rights: Evolution of Personal Liberties*, a documentary teaching package produced by the National Archives and Records Administration
      - American Bar Association materials
      - Student Government Association materials
      - School board regulations and handouts
      - Articles from local and school newspapers
      - Original student drawings, illustrations, and cartoons

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NOTE: Where it is feasible, a syllabus (headnote) will be released, as is being done in connection with this case, at the time the opinion is issued. The syllabus constitutes no part of the opinion of the Court but has been prepared by the Reporter of Decisions for the convenience of the reader. See *United States* v. *Detroit Lumber Co.*, 200 U.S. 321, 337.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Syllabus

GOSS ET AL. *v.* LOPEZ ET AL.

APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO

No. 73-898. Argued October 16, 1974—Decided January 22, 1975

Appellee Ohio public high school students, who had been suspended from school for misconduct for up to 10 days without a hearing, brought a class action against appellant school officials seeking a declaration that the Ohio statute permitting such suspensions was unconstitutional and an order enjoining the officials to remove the references to the suspensions from the students' records. A three-judge District Court declared that appellees were denied due process of law in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment because they were "suspended without hearing prior to suspension or within a reasonable time thereafter," and that the statute and implementing regulations were unconstitutional, and granted the requested injunction. *Held:*

1. Students facing temporary suspension from a public school have property and liberty interests that qualify for protection under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Pp. 6-11.

(a) Having chosen to extend the right to an education to people of appellees' class generally, Ohio may not withdraw that right on grounds of misconduct, absent fundamentally fair procedures to determine whether the misconduct has occurred, and must recognize a student's legitimate entitlement to a public education as a property interest that is protected by the Due Process Clause, and that may not be taken away for misconduct without observing minimum procedures required by that Clause. Pp. 7-8.

(b) Since misconduct charges if sustained and recorded could seriously damage the students' reputation as well as interfere with later educational and employment opportunities, the State's claimed right to determine unilaterally and without process

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whether that misconduct has occurred immediately collides with the Due Process Clause's prohibition against arbitrary deprivation of liberty. P. 9.

(c) A 10-day suspension from school is not *de minimis* and may not be imposed in complete disregard of the Due Process Clause. Neither the property interest in educational benefits temporarily denied nor the liberty interest in reputation is so insubstantial that suspensions may constitutionally be imposed by any procedure the school chooses, no matter how arbitrary. Pp. 10–11.

2. Due process requires, in connection with a suspension of up to 10 days, that the student be given oral or written notice of the charges against him and, if he denies them, an explanation of the evidence the authorities have and an opportunity to present his version. Generally, notice and hearing should precede the student's removal from school, since the hearing may almost immediately follow the misconduct, but if prior notice and hearing are not feasible, as where the student's presence endangers persons or property or threatens disruption of the academic process, thus justifying immediate removal from school, the necessary notice and hearing should follow as soon as practicable. Pp. 12–18.

— F. Supp. —, affirmed.

WHITE, J., delivered the opinion of the Court, in which DOUGLAS, BRENNAN, STEWART, and MARSHALL, JJ., joined. POWELL, J., filed a dissenting opinion, in which BURGER, C. J., and BLACKMUN and REHNQUIST, JJ., joined.

Numbered List of Articles

This list enumerates all the articles included in volumes 1 and 2 of *Teaching With Documents*. The articles in volume 1 are numbered 1.1–1.52. The articles in volume 2 are numbered 2.1–2.43. The articles in both volumes are arranged chronologically by the date of the document.

1.49 Close Encounters with the Fourth Dimension, 1962, p.227
1.50 Tonkin Gulf: A Study in Historical Interpretation, 1964, p.230
1.51 Constitutional Issues: Watergate and the Constitution, 1974, p.234
1.52 President Nixon's Letter of Resignation, 1974, p.238
2.1 "The Alternative of Williamsburg": A British Cartoon on Colonial American Violence, 1775
2.2 The Wording of the First Amendment Religion Clauses, 1789
2.3 Documents and Discovery: Jefferson's Letter to Washington Accepting the Position of Secretary of State, 1790
2.4 U.S. Court of Claims Deposition of Kish um us tubbee, 1837
2.5 Robert E. Lee's Resignation from the U.S. Army, 1861
2.6 The Fight for Equal Rights: A Recruiting Poster for Black Soldiers in the Civil War, ca. 1862
2.7 The Homestead Act of 1862, 1862
2.8 Reconstruction, the Fourteenth Amendment, and Personal Liberties, 1866 and 1874
2.9 1869 Petition: The Appeal for Woman Suffrage, 1869
2.10 Glidden's Patent Application for Barbed Wire, 1874
2.11 Native American Education, 1876
2.12 Alexander Graham Bell's Telephone Patent, 1876
2.13 Mapping a Mystery: The Battle of Little Bighorn, 1877
2.14 Little House in the Census: Almanzo and Laura Ingalls Wilder, 1880 and 1900
2.15 The Statue of Liberty Deed of Presentation, 1884
2.16 Cache Note from Peary's North Greenland Expedition of 1892, 1892
2.17 The Pledge of Allegiance, 1892–1954
2.18 Petition for a Fair Representation of African Americans at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1892
2.19 Sierra Club Petition to Congress Protesting the Proposed Diminution of Yosemite National Park, 1893
2.20 Petition for the Rights of Hopi Women, 1894
2.21 The Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection, 1898
2.22 Immigration Patterns, Public Opinion, and Government Policy, 1909–1921
2.23 The First Amendment: The Finished Mystery Case and World War I, 1918
2.24 The Protection of Working Children, 1922
2.25 Photographs of Ellis Island: The High Tide of Immigration, 1923
2.26 The Inquiry into the Education of Don Henry and His Subsequent Death in the Spanish Civil War, 1936
2.27 A 1939 Letter of Protest: Controversy Over Public Art During the New Deal, 1939
2.28 "A Date Which Will Live in Infamy": The First Typed Draft of Franklin D. Roosevelt's War Address, 1941
2.29 Correspondence Concerning Women and the Army Air Forces in World War II, 1942
2.30 Rights in Time of Crisis: American Citizens and Internment, 1943
2.31 D-day Message from General Eisenhower to General Marshall, 1944
2.32 Fire Prevention Posters: The Story of Smokey Bear, 1944
2.33 Nazi Medical Experiment Report: Evidence from the Nuremberg Medical Trial, 1944
2.34 Correspondence Urging Bombing of Auschwitz during World War II, 1944
2.35 Decision at Yalta: Anna Roosevelt's Diary, 1945
2.36 Letter Proposing Candidates for the First U.N. Assembly, 1945
2.37 President Harry S. Truman's Diary, 1949
2.38 "Out of Fear and into Peace": President Eisenhower's Address to the United Nations, 1953
2.39 Jackie Robinson, President Eisenhower, and the Little Rock Crisis, 1957
2.40 A Cartoonist's View of the Eisenhower Years, 1961
2.41 The Bill of Rights: Due Process and Rights of the Accused: Clarence Earl Gideon's Petition *in forma pauperis*, 1962
2.42 The 26th Amendment and Youth Voting Rights, 1971
2.43 Due Process and Student Rights: Syllabus of the *Goss* v. *Lopez* Decision, 1975

Appendix A: Types of Documents

This chart is a listing of articles in volumes 1 and 2 of *Teaching With Documents* that feature the following types of documents. See pages 251-252 for a numbered list of the articles.

Baseball cards	**1.42**
Cache note	**2.16**
Census	**1.4, 2.14**
Diaries & Journals	**2.2, 2.35, 2.37**
Editorial/political cartoons	**1.25, 1.39, 2.1, 2.40**
Foreign language documents	**2.15, 2.16, 2.33**
Gov't proclamations/resolutions/reports	**1.2, 1.6, 1.8, 1.10, 1.13, 1.16, 1.38, 1.43, 1.45, 1.48, 1.50, 1.51, 2.2, 2.8, 2.15, 2.17, 2.24, 2.28, 2.31, 2.33, 2.42, 2.43**
Graphs/charts	**1.4, 1.5, 2.14, 2.22, 2.30**
Letters	**1.7, 1.9, 1.10, 1.11, 1.17, 1.21, 1.23, 1.28, 1.29, 1.32, 1.37, 1.40, 1.41, 1.44, 1.49, 1.51, 1.52, 2.3, 2.5, 2.11, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.26, 2.27, 2.29, 2.34, 2.36, 2.39**
Literary works	**1.34, 2.25**
Maps	**1.3, 2.13, 2.19**
Patents	**2.10, 2.12**
Petitions	**1.10, 2.8, 2.9, 2.18, 2.19, 2.20, 2.41**
Photographs/paintings	**1.7, 1.10, 1.14, 1.15, 1.24, 1.32, 2.17, 2.25, 2.27**
Posters/broadsides/leaflets	**1.1, 1.18, 1.20, 1.22, 1.33, 1.35, 1.36, 2.6, 2.26, 2.32**
Press release and news article	**1.38, 2.22**
Resolutions/statements by private organization	**1.10, 1.12, 1.31**
Speech transcripts	**1.47, 2.28, 2.38**
Surveys/forms/interviews/depositions	**1.4, 1.16, 1.26, 1.45, 2.4, 2.7, 2.14**
Telegrams	**1.19, 1.27, 1.30, 1.38, 1.46**

Appendix B: Disciplines and Subject Areas

This charts lists the articles in volumes 1 and 2 of *Teaching With Documents* that contain teaching suggestions related to the following disciplines or subject areas. See pages 251-252 for a numbered list of the articles.

American History	**all**
Art/Music/Literature	**1.6, 1.7, 1.16, 1.37, 1.41, 1.49, 2.1, 2.6, 2.10, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16, 2.17, 2.19, 2.20, 2.22, 2.25, 2.26, 2.27, 2.31, 2.32, 2.40**
***Civics/Government**	**1.2, 1.6, 1.10, 1.11, 1.15, 1.16, 1.17, 1.21, 1.30, 1.31, 1.40, 1.47, 1.50, 1.51, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, 2.12, 2.17, 2.18, 2.19, 2.20, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.26, 2.27, 2.30, 2.32, 2.36, 2.38, 2.41, 2.42, 2.43**
Economics	**1.1, 1.4, 1.14, 1.15, 1.33, 1.35, 1.42, 1.46, 2.1, 2.6, 2.7, 2.10, 2.12, 2.20, 2.22, 2.24, 2.27**
Foreign Language	**1.30, 2.15, 2.16, 2.33**
Geography	**1.3, 1.6, 1.7, 1.14, 1.19, 1.34, 1.38, 1.42, 1.46, 2.3, 2.4, 2.7, 2.11, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16, 2.19, 2.21, 2.22, 2.35**
***Language Arts/Writing**	**1.2, 1.4, 1.6, 1.9, 1.10, 1.13, 1.15, 1.18, 1.29, 1.31, 1.32, 1.34, 1.41, 1.43, 1.45, 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.8, 2.9, 2.16, 2.19, 2.21, 2.23, 2.25, 2.26, 2.28, 2.31, 2.32, 2.35, 2.37, 2.38, 2.40, 2.41**
Math	**1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.15, 1.26, 1.42, 2.7, 2.14, 2.15, 2.22, 2.24, 2.30**
Science	**1.8, 1.46, 1.49, 2.10, 2.12, 2.16, 2.19, 2.25, 2.33, 2.35, 2.38**
World History	**1.1, 1.5, 1.7, 1.9, 1.18, 1.27, 1.30, 1.37, 1.38, 1.39, 1.43, 1.49, 1.50, 2.1, 2.10, 2.15, 2.16, 2.18, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.25, 2.26, 2.28, 2.29, 2.31, 2.33, 2.34, 2.35, 2.36, 2.38**

*** Basically, all of the articles relate to civics and government and to language arts and writing, but especially the articles listed.**

Appendix C: Thematic Chart

This chart lists articles from volumes 1 and 2 of *Teaching With Documents* that contain information and teaching suggestions related to the following themes. See pages 251-252 for a numbered list of the articles.

Citizenship	**1.5, 1.10, 2.1, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.11, 2.17, 2.18, 2.20, 2.23, 2.30, 2.39, 2.41, 2.42, 2.43**
Civil Rights/Liberties	**1.6, 1.10, 1.13, 1.21, 1.34, 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 2.6, 2.8, 2.9, 2.11, 2.17, 2.18, 2.20, 2.23, 2.26, 2.30, 2.36, 2.39, 2.41, 2.43**
Civil War	**1.9, 2.5, 2.6**
Congress	**1.6, 1.10, 1.31, 1.50, 2.1, 2.2, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.12, 2.15, 2.17, 2.18, 2.19, 2.24, 2.42**
Constitution	**1.2, 1.11, 1.31, 1.40, 1.44, 1.45, 1.48, 1.51, 2.2, 2.3, 2.8, 2.9, 2.12, 2.17, 2.23, 2.24, 2.30, 2.41, 2.42, 2.43**
Economics/Industry	**1.1, 1.4, 1.5, 1.14, 1.15, 1.16, 1.28, 1.33, 1.35, 2.1, 2.10, 2.12, 2.24, 2.27**
Explorers/Exploration	**2.11, 2.16**
Family Life	**1.4, 1.23, 1.28, 1.29, 2.4, 2.14, 2.20**
Federalism	**1.2, 1.10, 1.13, 1.40, 1.47, 2.5, 2.8, 2.17, 2.24, 2.39**
Foreign Policy	**1.1, 1.7, 2.1, 2.3, 2.21, 2.36, 2.38**
Global Studies (20th c)	**see World History Standards chart**
Holocaust	**1.37, 2.33, 2.34**
Immigration	**1.5, 1.16, 1.22, 1.34, 2.15, 2.22, 2.25**
Inventors/Inventions	**2.10, 2.12**
Military Issues	**1.6, 1.8, 1.9, 1.11, 1.18, 1.20, 1.41, 1.50, 2.5, 2.6, 2.13, 2.21, 2.23, 2.28, 2.29, 2.30, 2.31, 2.34**
Minority Studies	**1.4, 1.10, 1.12, 1.13, 1.16, 1.20, 1.22, 1.32, 1.34, 1.40, 1.42, 1.45, 1.47, 2.4, 2.6, 2.8, 2.11, 2.13, 2.18, 2.20, 2.23, 2.30, 2.39**
Presidency	**1.6, 1.7, 1.11, 1.24, 1.28, 1.29, 1.30, 1.31, 1.32, 1.36, 1.37, 1.38, 1.40, 1.41, 1.43, 1.44, 1.46, 1.47, 1.51, 1.52, 2.3, 2.6, 2.17, 2.28, 2.35, 2.36, 2.37, 2.38, 2.39, 2.40, 2.42**
Propaganda	**1.1, 1.18, 2.1, 2.6, 2.26, 2.32**

Public Policy	**1.10, 1.12, 1.13, 1.15, 1.16, 1.17, 1.22, 1.26, 1.28, 1.29, 2.4, 2.7, 2.8, 2.11, 2.19, 2.20, 2.22, 2.23, 2.24, 2.30, 2.38**
Religious Freedom	**1.26, 1.44, 1.48, 2.2, 2.11, 2.17, 2.23**
Supreme Court	**1.10, 1.11, 1.13, 1.31, 1.40, 1.48, 2.17, 2.23, 2.24, 2.30, 2.41, 2.43**
Voting Rights	**1.10, 2.9, 2.42**
Westward Expansion	**1.4, 1.6, 1.12, 1.14, 1.16, 2.4, 2.7, 2.10, 2.11, 2.13, 2.14, 2.19, 2.20**
Women's Studies	**1.8, 1.23, 1.28, 1.32, 2.9, 2.14, 2.20, 2.29, 2.35, 2.36**
World War II	**1.30, 1.33, 1.34, 1.35, 1.36, 1.37, 2.28, 2.29, 2.30, 2.31, 2.32, 2.33, 2.34, 2.35**
Youth Roles/Issues	**1.15, 1.23, 1.26, 1.34, 1.41, 1.42, 1.47, 2.14, 2.17, 2.24, 2.26, 2.42, 2.43**

Appendix D: National Standards for U.S. History

This chart identifies the articles in volumes 1 and 2 of *Teaching With Documents* that connect primary sources and related teaching activities to the National Standards for U.S. History, grades 5–12. Note the absence of articles for the first two eras since the primary sources featured in the articles are official documents of the Federal Government, which had its beginnings in the late 18th century. See pages 251-252 for a numbered list of the articles.

Era 1: Three Worlds Meet (Beginnings To 1620)

Standard 1: Comparative characteristics of societies in the Americas, Western Europe, and Western Africa that increasingly interacted after 1450.

1A	Student understands the patterns of change in indigenous societies in the Americas up to the Columbus voyages.	**No TWD**
1B	Student understands changes in Western European societies in the age of exploration.	**No TWD**
1C	Student understands developments in Western African societies in the period of early contact with Europeans.	**No TWD**
1D	Student understands the differences and similarities among Africans, Europeans, and Native Americans who converged in the western hemisphere after 1492.	**No TWD**

Standard 2: How early European exploration and colonization resulted in cultural and ecological interactions among previously unconnected peoples.

2A	Student understands the stages of European oceanic and overland exploration, amid international rivalries, from the 9th to 17th centuries.	**No TWD**
2B	Student understands the Spanish and Portuguese conquest of the Americas.	**No TWD**

Era 2: Colonization and Settlement (1585–1763)

Standard 1: Why the Americas attracted Europeans, why they brought enslaved Africans to their colonies, and how Europeans struggled for control of North America and the Caribbean.

1A	Student understands how diverse immigrants affected the formation of European colonies.	**No TWD**
1B	Student understands the European struggle for control of North America.	**No TWD**

Standard 2: How political, religious, and social institutions emerged in the English colonies.

2A	Student understands the roots of representative government and how political rights were defined.	**No TWD**
2B	Student understands religious diversity in the colonies and how ideas about religious freedom evolved.	**No TWD**
2C	Student understands social and cultural change in British America.	**No TWD**

Standard 3: How the values and institutions of European economic life took root in the colonies, and how slavery reshaped European and African life in the Americas.

3A	Student understands colonial economic life and labor systems in the Americas.	**No TWD**
3B	Student understands economic life and the development of labor systems in the English colonies.	**No TWD**
3C	Student understands African life under slavery.	**No TWD**

ERA 3: REVOLUTION AND THE NEW NATION (1754–1820S)

Standard 1: The causes of the American Revolution, the ideas and interests involved in forging the revolutionary movement, and the reasons for the American victory.

1A	Student understands the causes of the American Revolution.	**2.1**
1B	Student understands the principles articulated in the Declaration of Independence.	**No TWD**
1C	Student understands the factors affecting the course of the war and contributing to the American victory.	**No TWD**

Standard 2: The impact of the American Revolution on politics, economy, and society.

2A	Student understands revolutionary government-making at national and state levels.	**2.1**
2B	Student understands the economic issues arising out of the Revolution.	**1.1**
2C	Student understands the Revolution's effects on different social groups.	**2.1**

Standard 3: The institutions and practices of government created during the Revolution and how they were revised between 1787 and 1815 to create the foundation of the American political system based on the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

3A	Student understands the issues involved in the creation and ratification of the U.S. Constitution and the new government it established.	**1.2, 2.2, 2.3**
3B	Student understands the guarantees of the Bill of Rights and its continuing significance.	**1.2, 2.2, 2.17, 2.30**

3C	Student understands the development of the Supreme Court's power and its significance from 1789 to 1820.	**No TWD**
3D	Student understands the development of the first American party system.	**No TWD**

Era 4: Expansion and Reform (1801–1861)

Standard 1: United States territorial expansion between 1801 and 1861, and how it affected relations with external powers and Native Americans.

1A	Student understands the international background and consequences of the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812, and the Monroe Doctrine.	**No TWD**
1B	Student understands federal and state Indian policy and the strategies for survival forged by Native Americans.	**1.4, 2.4**
1C	Student understands the ideology of Manifest Destiny, the nation's expansion to the Northwest, and the Mexican-American War.	**1.6, 1.7**

Standard 2: How the industrial revolution, increasing immigration, the rapid expansion of slavery, and the westward movement changed the lives of Americans and led toward regional tensions.

2A	Student understands how the factory system and the transportation and market revolutions shaped regional patterns of economic development.	**No TWD**
2B	Student understands the first era of American urbanization.	**No TWD**
2C	Student understands how antebellum immigration changed American society.	**1.5**
2D	Student understands the rapid growth of the "peculiar institution" after 1800 and the varied experience of African Americans under slavery.	**No TWD**
2E	Student understands the settlement of the West.	**2.4, 2.7**

Standard 3: The extension, restriction, and reorganization of political democracy after 1800.

3A	Student understands the changing character of American political life in the "age of the common man."	**No TWD**
3B	Student understands how the debates over slavery influenced politics and sectionalism.	**2.5**

Standard 4: The sources and character of cultural, religious, and social reform movements in the antebellum period.

4A	Student understands the abolitionist movement.	**2.9**
4B	Student understands how Americans strived to reform society and create a distinct culture.	**No TWD**
4C	Student understands changing gender roles and the ideas and activities of women reformers.	**1.8, 2.9**

Era 5: Civil War and Reconstruction (1850–1877)

Standard 1: The causes of the Civil War.

1	Student understands how the North and South differed and how politics and ideologies led to the Civil War.	**2.5**

Standard 2: The course and character of the Civil War and its effects on the American people.

2A	Student understands how the resources of the Union and Confederacy affected the course of the war.	**1.8, 1.9, 2.5, 2.6**
2B	Student understands the social experience of the war on the battlefield and homefront.	**1.8, 1.11, 2.6**

Standard 3: How various reconstruction plans succeeded or failed.

3A	Student understands the political controversy over Reconstruction.	**1.10**
3B	Student understands the Reconstruction programs to transform social relations in the South.	**1.10**
3C	Student understands the success and failures of Reconstruction in the South, North, and West.	**1.10, 2.8**

Era 6: The Development of the Industrial U.S. (1870–1900)

Standard 1: How the rise of corporations, heavy industry, and mechanized farming transformed the American people.

1A	Student understands the connections among industrialization, the advent of the modern corporation, and material well-being.	**2.12**
1B	Student understands the rapid growth of cities and how urban life changed.	**No TWD**
1C	Student understands how agriculture, mining, and ranching were transformed.	**1.14, 2.7, 2.10**
1D	Student understands the effects of rapid industrialization on the environment and the emergence of the first conservation movement.	**2.19, 2.20**

Standard 2: Massive immigration after 1870 and how new social patterns, conflicts, and ideas of national unity developed amid growing cultural diversity.

2A	Student understands the sources and experiences of the new immigrants.	**1.16, 2.15, 2.22**
2B	Student understands "scientific racism," race relations, and the struggle for equal rights.	**1.10, 1.13, 2.18, 2.22**
2C	Student understands how new cultural movements at different social levels affected American life.	**2.17, 2.22**

Standard 3: The rise of the American labor movement and how political issues reflected social and economic changes.

3A	Student understands how the "second industrial revolution" changed the nature and conditions of work.	**1.15**
3B	Student understands the rise of national labor unions and the role of state and federal governments in labor conflicts.	**No TWD**
3C	Student understands how Americans grappled with social, economic, and political issues.	**1.15, 2.9**

Standard 4: Federal Indian policy and United States foreign policy after the Civil War.

4A	Student understands various perspectives on federal Indian policy, westward expansion, and the resulting struggles.	**1.12, 2.11, 2.13, 2.14, 2.20**
4B	Student understands the roots and development of American expansionism and the causes of the Spanish-American War.	**2.16, 2.21**

Era 7: The Emergence of Modern America (1890–1930)

Standard 1: How Progressives and others addressed the problems of industrial capitalism, urbanization, and political corruption.

1A	Student understands the origin of the Progressives and the coalitions they formed to deal with issues at the local and state levels.	**1.15, 2.24**
1B	Student understands Progressivism at the national level.	**1.15, 2.24**
1C	Student understands the limitations of Progressivism and the alternatives offered by various groups.	**1.17, 2.18**

Standard 2: The changing role of the United States in world affairs through World War I.

2A	Student understands how the American role in the world changed in the early 20th century.	**No TWD**
2B	Student understands the causes of World War I and why the U.S. intervened.	**1.18, 1.19**
2C	Student understands the impact at home and abroad of the U.S. involvement in World War I.	**1.17, 1.18, 1.20, 2.22, 2.23, 2.25**

Standard 3: How the United States changed from the end of World War I to the eve of the Great Depression.

3A	Student understands social tensions and their consequences in the postwar era.	**1.16, 1.20, 1.21, 1.22, 1.23, 1.25, 1.26, 2.22, 2.25**
3B	Student understands how a modern capitalist economy emerged in the 1920s.	**No TWD**
3C	Student understands how new cultural movements reflected and changed American society.	**1.22**
3D	Student understands politics and international affairs in the 1920s.	**1.21, 1.24, 1.25, 1.27**

ERA 8: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II (1929–1945)

Standard 1: The causes of the Great Depression and how it affected American society.

1A	Student understands the causes of the crash of 1929 and the Great Depression.	**No TWD**
1B	Student understands how American life changed during the 1930s.	**1.10, 1.28, 1.29, 1.32, 2.26, 2.27**

Standard 2: How the New Deal addressed the Great Depression, transferred American federalism, and initiated the welfare state.

2A	Student understands the New Deal and the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt.	**1.29, 1.30, 1.36, 2.27**
2B	Student understands the impact of the New Deal on workers and the labor movement.	**1.28**
2C	Student understands opposition to the New Deal, the alternative programs of its detractors, and the legacy of the New Deal.	**1.31, 2.27**

Standard 3: The causes and course of World War II, the character of the war at home and abroad, and its reshaping of the U.S. role in world affairs.

3A	Student understands the international background of World War II.	**1.30, 2.26, 2.28, 2.33, 2.34**
3B	Student understands World War II and how the Allies prevailed.	**2.31, 2.33, 2.34**
3C	Student understands the effects of World War II at home.	**1.33, 1.34, 1.35, 2.17, 2.29, 2.30, 2.32**

ERA 9: POSTWAR UNITED STATES (1945 TO EARLY 1970s)

Standard 1: The economic boom and social transformation of postwar United States.

1A	Student understands the extent and impact of economic changes in the postwar period.	**No TWD**
1B	Student understands how the social changes of the postwar period affected various Americans	**1.10, 1.41, 1.42, 2.37**
1C	Student understands how postwar science augmented the nation's economic strength, transformed daily life, and influenced the world economy.	**1.46, 1.49, 2.38**

Standard 2: How the Cold War and conflicts in Korea and Vietnam influenced domestic and international politics.

2A	Student understands the international origins and domestic consequences of the Cold War.	**1.37, 1.39, 1.43, 1.46, 2.35, 2.38**
2B	Student understands U.S. foreign policy in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America.	**1.38**
2C	Student understands the foreign and domestic consequences of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.	**1.50**

Standard 3: Domestic policies after World War II.

3A	Student understands the political debates of the post-World War II era.	**1.40, 2.40**
3B	Student understands the "New Frontier" and the "Great Society."	**1.44, 1.46**

Standard 4: The struggle for racial and gender equality and the extension of civil liberties.

4A	Student understands the "Second Reconstruction" and its advancement of civil rights.	**1.10, 1.40, 1.45, 1.47, 2.39**
4B	Student understands the women's movement for civil rights and equal opportunities.	**2.36**
4C	Student understands the Warren Court's role in addressing civil liberties and equal rights.	**1.10, 1.48, 2.41**

Era 10: Contemporary United States (1968 to the present)

Standard 1: Recent developments in foreign policy and domestic politics.

1A	Student understands domestic politics from Nixon to Carter.	**1.51, 1.52, 2.42, 2.43**
1B	Student understands domestic politics in contemporary society.	**No TWD**
1C	Student understands major foreign policy initiatives.	**No TWD**

Standard 2: Economic, social, and cultural developments in contemporary United States.

2A	Student understands economic patterns since 1968.	**No TWD**
2B	Student understands the new immigration and demographic shifts.	**No TWD**
2C	Student understands changing religious diversity and its impact on American institutions and values.	**No TWD**
2D	Student understands contemporary American culture.	**No TWD**
2E	Student understands how a democratic polity debates social issues and mediates between individual or group rights and the common good.	**1.10**

Appendix E: National Standards for World History

This chart identifies the articles in volumes 1 and 2 of *Teaching With Documents* that connect primary sources and related teaching activities to the National Standards for World History, grades 5–12. Note the absence of articles for the first six eras since the primary sources featured in the articles are official documents of the U.S. Government, which had its beginnings in the late 18th century. See pages 251-252 for a numbered list of the articles.

Era 7: An Age of Revolutions, 1750–1914

Standard 1: The causes and consequences of political revolutions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

1A	Student understands how the French Revolution contributed to transformation of Europe and the world.	**No TWD**
1B	Student understands how Latin American countries achieved independence in the early 19th century.	**No TWD**

Standard 2: The causes and consequences of the agricultural and industrial revolutions, 1700–1850.

2A	Student understands the early industrialization and the importance of developments in England.	**1.1, 2.1**
2B	Student understands how industrial economies expanded and societies experienced transformations in Europe and the Atlantic basin.	**1.1**
2C	Student understands the causes and consequences of the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Americas.	**1.10**

Standard 3: The transformation of Eurasian societies in an era of global trade and rising European power, 1750–1870.

3A	Student understands how the Ottoman Empire attempted to meet the challenge of Western military, political, and economic power.	**No TWD**
3B	Student understands Russian absolutism, reform, and imperial expansion in the late 18th and 19th centuries.	**No TWD**
3C	Student understands the consequences of political and military encounters between Europeans and peoples of South and Southeast Asia.	**1.7**
3D	Student understands how China's Qing dynasty responded to economic and political crises in the late 18th and the 19th centuries.	**1.16**

3E	Student understands how Japan was transformed from feudal shogunate to modern nation-state in the 19th century.	**No TWD**

Standard 4: Patterns of nationalism, state-building, and social reform in Europe and the Americas, 1830–1914.

4A	Student understands how modern nationalism affected European politics and society.	**No TWD**
4B	Student understands the impact of new social movements and ideologies on 19th-century Europe.	**1.8, 1.10, 1.15, 2.9**
4C	Student understands cultural, intellectual, and educational trends in 19th-century Europe.	**No TWD**
4D	Student understands the political, economic, and social transformations in the Americas in the 19th century.	**1.3, 1.13, 2.3, 2.20**

Standard 5: Patterns of global change in the era of Western military and economic dominance, 1800–1914.

5A	Student understands connections between major developments in science and technology and the growth of industrial economy and society.	**1.15, 2.10, 2.12**
5B	Student understands the causes and consequences of European settler colonization in the 19th century.	**1.4, 1.12, 2.4, 2.14**
5C	Student understands the causes of European, American, and Japanese imperial expansion.	**2.16**
5D	Student understands transformations in South, Southeast, and East Asia in the era of the "new imperialism."	**1.7**
5E	Student understands the varying responses of African peoples to world economic developments and European imperialism.	**No TWD**

Standard 6: Major global trends from 1750–1914.

6	Student understands major global trends from 1750–1914.	**1.2, 1.5, 1.12, 1.16, 2.15, 2.22**

Era 8: A Half-Century of Crisis and Achievement, 1900–1945

Standard 1: Reform, revolution, and social change in the world economy of the early century.

1A	Student understands the world industrial economy emerging in the early 20th century.	**1.15, 1.28, 2.9, 2.24**
1B	Student understands the causes and consequences of important resistance and revolutionary movements in the early 20th century.	**2.26**

Standard 2: The causes and global consequences of World War I.

2A	Student understands the causes of World War I.	**1.19**
2B	Student understands the global scope, outcome, and human costs of the war.	**1.18, 1.20, 2.23**
2C	Student understands the causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution of 1914.	**1.21**

Standard 3: The search for peace and stability in the 1920s and 1930s.

3A	Student understands postwar efforts to achieve lasting peace and social and economic recovery.	**1.27**
3B	Student understands economic, social, and political transformations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in the 1920s and 1930s.	**1.27**
3C	Student understands the interplay between scientific or technological innovations and new patterns of social and cultural life between 1900 and 1940.	**No TWD**
3D	Student understands the interplay of new artistic and literary movements with changes in social and cultural life in various parts of the world in the post-war decades.	**2.27**
3E	Student understands the causes and global consequences of the Great Depression.	**1.28, 1.29, 1.30, 1.31**

Standard 4: The causes and global consequences of World War II.

4A	Student understands the causes of World War II.	**1.30, 2.26, 2.28**
4B	Student understands the global scope, outcome, and human costs of the war.	**1.34, 1.37, 1.38, 2.29, 2.31, 2.33, 2.34, 2.35**

Standard 5: Major global trends from 1900 to the end of World War II.

5	Student understands major global trends from 1900 to the end of World War II.	**1.22, 1.30**

ERA 9: THE 20TH CENTURY SINCE 1945: PROMISES AND PARADOXES

Standard 1: How post-World War II reconstruction occurred, new international power relations took shape, and colonial empires broke up.

1A	Student understands major political and economic changes that accompanied post-war recovery.	**1.38, 2.36**
1B	Student understands why global power shifts took place and the Cold War broke out in the aftermath of World War II.	**1.39, 1.43, 1.46, 1.50**
1C	Student understands how African, Asian, and Caribbean peoples achieved independence from European colonial rule.	**No TWD**

Standard 2: The search for community, stability, and peace in an interdependent world.

2A	Student understands how population explosion and environmental changes have altered conditions of life around the world.	**No TWD**
2B	Student understands how increasing economic interdependence has transformed human society.	**No TWD**
2C	Student understands how liberal democracy, market economies, and human rights movements have reshaped political and social life.	**1.10, 1.47, 2.36, 2.39, 2.42**
2D	Student understands major sources of tensions and conflict in the contemporary world and efforts that have been made to address them.	**No TWD**
2E	Student understands major worldwide scientific and technological trends of the second half of the 20th century.	**1.46, 1.49, 2.38**
2F	Student understands worldwide cultural trends of the second half of the 20th century.	**1.41**

Standard 3: Major global trends since World War II.

3	Student understands major global trends since World War II.	**1.10, 1.38, 2.36, 2.38, 2.42**

Appendix F: National Standards for Civics and Government

This chart identifies the articles in volumes 1 and 2 of *Teaching With Documents* that connect primary sources and related teaching activities to the National Standards for Civics and Government for upper grades. See pages 251-252 for a numbered list of the articles.

I. What Are Civic Life, Politics, and Government

A. What is civic life? What is politics? What is government? Why are government and politics necessary? What purposes should government serve?

1	Students should be able to explain the meaning of the terms civic life, politics, and government.	**all**
2	Students should be able to explain the major arguments advanced for the necessity of politics and government.	**all**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on competing ideas regarding the purposes of politics and government and their implications for the individual and society.	**all**

B. What are the essential characteristics of limited and unlimited government?

1	Students should be able to explain the essential characteristics of limited and unlimited governments	**1.11, 1.30, 1.37, 2.33**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the importance of the rule of law and on the sources, purposes, and functions of law.	**1.11, 1.30, 1.47, 1.51, 1.52**
3	Students should be able to explain and evaluate the argument that civil society is a prerequisite of limited government.	**1.10, 1.12, 1.15, 1.22, 1.26, 1.32, 2.9, 2.11, 2.18, 2.19**
4	Students should be able to explain and evaluate competing ideas regarding the relationship between political and economic freedoms.	**1.1, 1.14, 2.10, 2.12**

C. What are the nature and purposes of constitutions?

1	Students should be able to explain different uses of the term of "constitution" and to distinguish between governments with a constitution and a constitutional government.	**1.2**
2	Students should be able to explain the various purposes served by constitutions.	**1.10, 1.51, 2.2, 2.9, 2.42**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on what conditions contribute to the establishment and maintenance of constitutional government.	**1.2, 1.30, 1.40, 1.51**

D. What are the alternative ways of organizing constitutional governments?

1	Students should be able to describe the major characteristics of systems of shared powers and of parliamentary systems.	**1.6, 1.31, 1.51, 1.52, 2.17, 2.42**
2	Students should be able to explain the advantages and disadvantages of federal, confederal, and unitary systems of government.	**1.2, 1.40**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on how well alternative forms of representation serve the purposes of constitutional government.	**1.10, 2.9, 2.42**

II. What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?

A. What is the American idea of constitutional government?

1	Students should be able to explain central ideas of American constitutional government and their history.	**1.2, 1.31, 1.51, 2.2**
2	Students should be able to explain the extent to which Americans have internalized the values and principles of the Constitution and attempted to make its ideals realities.	**1.10, 1.17, 2.9, 2.23, 2.30, 2.39, 2.41, 2.43**

B. What are the distinctive characteristics of American society?

1	Students should be able to explain how [certain] characteristics tend to distinguish American society from most other societies.	**1.4, 1.10, 1.14, 1.22, 1.24, 1.26, 1.44, 1.48, 2.11, 2.14, 2.15, 2.17, 2.22, 2.23, 2.25**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the importance of voluntarism in American society.	**1.8, 1.35, 2.11**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the contemporary role of organized groups in American social and political life.	**1.10, 1.12, 1.26, 1.32, 2.19**
4	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding diversity in American life.	**1.4, 1.5, 1.10, 1.16, 1.22, 2.4, 2.15, 2.20, 2.22, 2.25**

C. What is American political culture?

1	Students should be able to explain the importance of shared political and civic beliefs and values to the maintenance of constitutional democracy in an increasingly diverse American society.	**1.22, 2.15**
2	Students should be able to describe the character of American political conflict and explain factors that usually tend to prevent it or lower its intensity.	**1.10, 1.21, 1.32, 1.44, 1.47, 2.2, 2.5, 2.6, 2.9, 2.24**

D. What values and principles are basic to American constitutional democracy?

1	Students should be able to explain the meaning of the terms "liberal" and "democracy" in the phrase "liberal democracy."	**1.2, 1.10, 1.13**
2	Students should be able to explain how and why ideas of classical republicanism are reflected in the values and principles of American constitutional democracy.	**1.6, 1.51, 1.52**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on what the fundamental values and principles of American political life are and their importance to the maintenance of constitutional democracy.	**2.2, 2.15, 2.17, 2.23**
4	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues in which fundamental values and principles may be in conflict.	**1.11, 1.17, 1.21, 2.23, 2.30**
5	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about issues concerning the disparities between American ideals and realities.	**1.10, 1.13, 1.16, 1.20, 1.34, 1.45, 1.47, 2.6, 2.9, 2.18, 2.29, 2.39**

III. How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody The Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?

A. How are power and responsibility distributed, shared, and limited in the government established by the United States Constitution?

1	Students should be able to explain how the U.S. Constitution grants and distributes power to national and state government and how it seeks to prevent the abuse of power.	**1.2, 1.10, 1.31, 1.40, 1.45, 2.8, 2.17**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding the distribution of powers and responsibilities within the federal system.	**1.10, 1.40, 1.45, 2.5**

B. How is the national government organized and what does it do?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding the purposes, organization, and functions of the institutions of the national government.	**all**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding the major responsibilities of the national government for domestic and foreign policy.	**1.15, 1.50, 2.24, 2.28**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding how government should raise money to pay for its operations and services.	**No TWD**

C. How are state and local governments organized and what do they do?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding the proper relationship between the national government and the state and local governments.	**1.40, 1.45**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding the relationships between state and local governments and citizen access to those governments.	**No TWD**
3	Students should be able to identify the major responsibilities of their state and local governments and evaluate how well they are being fulfilled.	**No TWD**

D. What is the place of law in the American constitutional system?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the role and importance of law in the American political system.	**1.10, 1.51, 2.8, 2.17**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on current issues regarding the judicial protection of individual rights.	**2.8, 2.30, 2.41, 2.43**

E. How does the American political system provide for choice and opportunities for participation?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about how the public agenda is set.	**1.28, 1.29, 2.9, 2.40**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the role of public opinion in American politics.	**1.33, 1.36, 1.44**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the influence of the media on American political life.	**1.1, 1.17, 1.25, 1.47, 2.28**
4	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the roles of political parties, campaigns, and elections in American politics.	**1.36, 2.8**
5	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the contemporary roles of associations and groups in American politics.	**1.10, 1.15, 2.19**
6	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the formation and implementation of public policy.	**1.10, 1.15, 2.19, 2.24**

IV. What is the Relationship of the United States to Other Nations And to World Affairs?

A. How is the world organized politically?

1	Students should be able to explain how the world is organized politically.	**1.38**

2	Students should be able to explain how nation-states interact with each other.	**1.6, 1.7, 1.16, 1.19, 1.38, 1.43, 1.46, 1.50, 2.28, 2.33**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the purposes and functions of international organizations in the world today.	**2.36, 2.38**

B. How do the domestic politics and constitutional principles of the United States affect its relations with the world?

1	Students should be able to explain the principal foreign policy positions of the United States and evaluate their consequences.	**1.6, 1.19, 1.38, 1.50, 2.21, 2.26, 2.34, 2.35**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about how U.S. foreign policy is made and the means by which it is carried out.	**1.6, 1.27, 1.43, 1.50, 2.21, 2.28**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on foreign policy issues in light of American national interests, values, and principles.	**1.37, 1.38, 2.26, 2.33**

C. How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the impact of the American political ideas on the world.	**1.37**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the effects of significant international political developments on the United States and other nations.	**1.18, 1.19, 1.21, 1.39, 2.26**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the effects of significant economic, technological, and cultural developments in the United States and other nations.	**1.41, 1.42, 2.12**
4	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about what the response of American governments at all levels should be to world demographic and environmental developments.	**1.16, 2.19, 2.22, 2.25**
5	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about what the relationship of the United States should be to international organizations.	**2.36, 2.38**

V. What Are the Roles of the Citizen in American Democracy?

A. What is citizenship?

1	Students should be able to explain the meaning of citizenship in the United States.	**1.22, 1.34**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding the criteria used for naturalization.	**1.22, 2.22, 2.25**

B. What are the rights of citizens?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding personal rights.	**1.2, 2.2, 2.8, 2.41**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding political rights.	**1.10, 2.8, 2.9, 2.39, 2.43**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding economic rights.	**2.7, 2.10, 2.12, 2.20**
4	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the relationships among personal, political, and economic rights.	**1.15, 2.7, 2.24**
5	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding the proper scope and limits of rights.	**1.11, 1.17, 1.21, 2.23, 2.26**

C. What are the responsibilities of citizens?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding personal responsibilities of citizens in American constitutional democracy.	**1.23, 1.26**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues regarding civic responsibilities of citizens in American constitutional democracy.	**1.8, 2.3, 2.39**

D. What civic dispositions or traits of private and public character are important to the preservation and improvement of American constitutional democracy?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the importance to American constitutional democracy of dispositions that lead individuals to become independent members of society.	**1.6, 1.47, 2.39**
2	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the importance to American constitutional democracy of dispositions that foster respect for individual worth and human dignity.	**1.32**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the importance to American constitutional democracy of dispositions that incline citizens to public affairs.	**2.3, 2.36**
4	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the importance to American constitutional democracy of dispositions that facilitate thoughtful and effective participation in public affairs.	**1.10, 2.9**

E. How can citizens take part in civic life?

1	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions on the relationship between politics and the attainment of individual and public goals.	**1.47, 2.5, 2.8, 2.26, 2.39**
2	Students should be able to explain the difference between political and social participation.	**1.8**
3	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the means that citizens should use to monitor and influence the formation and implementation of public policy.	**1.10, 1.36, 2.9, 2.29, 2.39**
4	Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the functions of leadership in American constitutional democracy.	**1.30, 2.3, 2.37**
5	Students should be able to explain the importance of knowledge to competent and responsible participation in American democracy.	**all**

Appendix G: National Archives and Records Administration

Reference Services

The National Archives Building
700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20408-0001
Telephone: 202-501-5400
E-mail: inquire@nara.gov

The National Archives at College Park
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740
Telephone: 301-713-6800 Fax 301-713-6920

Regional Records Services Facilities

(Only those facilities of interest to teachers and students are listed.)

NARA–Northeast Region (Boston)
380 Trapelo Road
Waltham, MA 02452-6322
Telephone: 781-647-8104 Fax: 781-647-8088
E-mail: center@waltham.nara.gov

NARA–Northeast Region (Pittsfield)
10 Conte Drive
Pittsfield, MA 01201-8230
Telephone: 413-445-6885 Fax: 413-445-7305
E-mail: center@pittsfield.nara.gov

NARA–Northeast Region (New York City)
201 Varick Street
New York, NY 10014-4811
Telephone: 212-337-1300 Fax: 212-337-1306
E-mail: archives@newyork.nara.gov

NARA–Mid Atlantic Region (Center City Philadelphia)
900 Market Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107-4292
Telephone: 215-597-3000 Fax: 215-597-2303
E-mail: archives@philarch.nara.gov

NARA–Southeast Region (Atlanta)
1557 St. Joseph Avenue
East Point, GA 30344-2593
Telephone: 404-763-7477 Fax: 404-763-7059
E-mail: center@atlanta.nara.gov

NARA–Great Lakes Region (Chicago)
7358 South Pulaski Road
Chicago, IL 60629-5898
Telephone: 773-581-7816 Fax: 312-886-7883
E-mail: center@chicago.nara.gov

NARA–Central Plains Region (Kansas City)
2312 East Bannister Road
Kansas City, MO 64131-3011
Telephone: 816-926-6920 Fax: 816-926-6982
E-mail: center@kansascity.nara.gov

NARA–Southwest Region (Fort Worth)
501 West Felix Street, P.O. Box 6216
Fort Worth, TX 76115-0216
Telephone: 817-334-5515 Fax: 817-334-5511
E-mail: center@ftworth.nara.gov

NARA–Rocky Mountain Region (Denver)
Denver Federal Center, Building 48
P.O. Box 25307
Denver, CO 80225-0307
Telephone: 303-236-0817 Fax: 303-236-9297
E-mail: center@denver.nara.gov

NARA–Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel)
24000 Avila Road
P.O. Box 6719
Laguna Niguel, CA 92607-6719
Telephone: 949-360-2641 Fax: 949-360-2624
E-mail: archives@laguna.nara.gov

NARA–Pacific Region (San Francisco)
1000 Commodore Drive
San Bruno, CA 94066-2350
Telephone: 650-876-9018 Fax: 650-876-0920
E-mail: center@sanbruno.nara.gov

NARA–Pacific Alaska Region (Seattle)
6125 Sand Point Way NE
Seattle, WA 98115-7999
Telephone: 206-526-6501 Fax: 206-526-6575
E-mail: center@seattle.nara.gov

NARA–Pacific Alaska Region (Anchorage)
654 West Third Avenue
Anchorage, AK 99501-2145
Telephone: 907-271-2443 Fax: 907-271-2442
E-mail: archives@alaska.nara.gov

NARA–National Personnel Records Center
(Civilian Personnel Records)
111 Winnebago Street
St. Louis, MO 63118-4199
314-425-5722

NARA–National Personnel Records Center
(Military Personnel Records)
9700 Page Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63132-5100
314-538-4247

Presidential Libraries

Herbert Hoover Library
210 Parkside Drive, P.O. Box 488
West Branch, IA 52358-0488
Telephone: 319-643-5301 Fax: 319-643-5825
E-mail: library@hoover.nara.gov

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
511 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538-1999
Telephone: 914-229-8114 Fax: 914-229-0872
E-mail: library@roosevelt.nara.gov

Harry S. Truman Library
500 West U.S. Highway 24
Independence, MO 64050-1798
Telephone: 816-833-1400 Fax: 816-833-4368
E-mail: library@truman.nara.gov

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library
200 Southeast Fourth Street
Abilene, KS 67410-2900
Telephone: 785-263-4751 Fax: 785-263-4218
E-mail: library@eisenhower.nara.gov

John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library
Columbia Point
Boston, MA 02125-3398
Telephone: 617-929-4500 Fax: 617-929-4538
E-mail: library@kennedy.nara.gov

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
2313 Red River Street
Austin, TX 78705-5702
Telephone: 512-916-5137 Fax: 512-478-9104
E-mail: library@johnson.nara.gov

Nixon Presidential Materials Staff
National Archives at College Park
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-6001
Telephone: 301-713-6950
E-mail: nixon@arch2.nara.gov
Non-audiovisual records fax: 301-713-6916
Audiovisual records fax: 301-713-6917

Gerald R. Ford Library
1000 Beal Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2114
Telephone: 734-741-2218 Fax: 734-741-2341
E-mail: library@fordlib.nara.gov

Gerald R. Ford Museum
303 Pearl Street, NW
Grand Rapids, MI 49504-5353
616-456-2675

Jimmy Carter Library
441 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307-1406
Telephone: 404-331-3942 Fax: 404-730-2215
E-mail: library@carter.nara.gov

Ronald Reagan Library
40 Presidential Drive
Simi Valley, CA 93065-0666
Telephone: 805-522-8444 Fax: 805-522-9621
E-mail: library@reagan.nara.gov

George Bush Library
1000 George Bush Drive
P.O. Box 10410
College Station, TX 77842-0410
Telephone: 409-260-9554 Fax: 409-260-9557
E-mail: library@bush.nara.gov

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

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