2017 Faculty Fellow American History and Government Teaching Modules

The Constitutional Convention. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/y8qvlb9l.

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
Center for Reflective Citizenship

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Editor's Message

Shortly after the 2011 creation of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga (UTC) Center for Reflective Citizenship (CRC), I hoped to be fortunate enough to plan and implement educational institutes whereby outstanding teachers could work with nationally and internationally-known academics in deepening their knowledge of American History, Government, and related disciplines. Thanks to the generosity of several foundations and support from UTC, by spring 2016 the CRC had sponsored twelve different institutes and programs that provided middle, high school, and introductory college-level teachers from Chattanooga, Southeast Tennessee, and North Georgia the opportunity to learn more about significant historical, cultural, legal, economic, and international topics that are essential in fostering the development of thoughtful, knowledgeable, and prudent citizens.

A second longer-range CRC aspiration was the identification of a small group of the most talented and innovative teacher alumni of CRC programs. These teachers and the CRC staff would engage in a collaborative effort resulting in the creation of high quality history and government instructional resources that would be available at no charge to large numbers of instructors in middle, high school, and introductory survey-level college classrooms. The CRC's first publication, *2017 Faculty Fellow American History and Government Teaching Modules,* is hopefully a realization of this objective.

The instructional modules encompass a variety of significant themes, but all modules share the following commonalities:

- An emphasis upon rich and intellectually engaging American history and government content
- Are designed to be taught in two-four hours of class time
- Include exemplary digital resources and practical pedagogical strategies
- Fellows first taught extensive early versions of their modules and subsequently made modifications
- Faculty Fellows working with CRC staff further refined and augmented all modules
- Modules are focused but flexible; revisions resulted in more instructional options

A number of people including academics, students, and other educators played valuable roles in contributing to these instructional materials but CRC Faculty Fellows justly deserve the most credit for their hard work. Brief profiles of these exceptional teachers are available at the conclusion of this publication.

Cordially,
Lucien Ellington
Director: Center for Reflective Citizenship
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The Political Philosophies of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke

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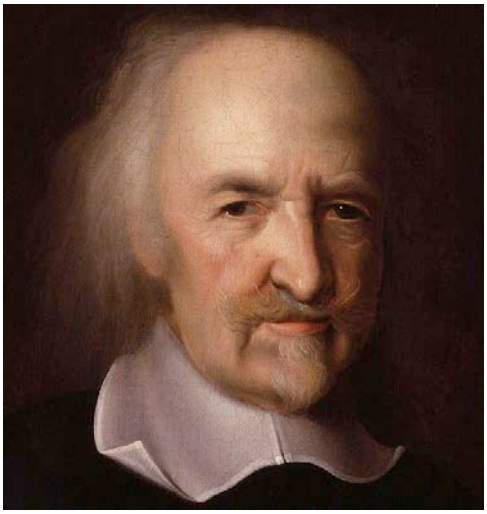
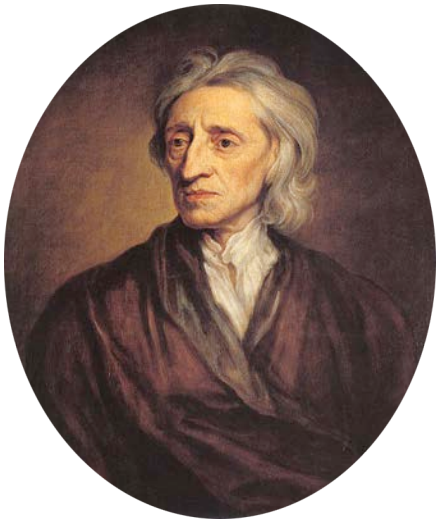
This module was developed and utilized for a ninth-grade advanced placement U.S. government class to teach the AP syllabus topic "Constitutional Foundations**:** English Enlightenment Influences." However, the module may be utilized in standard or honors U.S. government or history classes.

Estimated module length: Two hours and fifteen to twenty minutes



Thomas Hobbes. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/leocdbx.



John Locke. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/kpmmpb2.

Overview

Thomas Hobbes (April 5, 1588–December 4, 1679) and John Locke (August 29, 1632–October 28, 1704), although in agreement in some of their assertions about human nature and the need for government, held radically different perspectives about the ability of people to govern themselves. A number of American founders, familiar with both political philosophers, favored the ideas of Locke, particularly the assertions that men had natural rights, rulers should derive their authority from the consent of the governed, and the governed had the right to overthrow governments that abused their rights.

This module is designed to introduce students to the political thought of both men and serves as a bridge to future lessons concerning the Declaration of Independence, the U.S Constitution, and other foundational documents.

Objectives

Students will:
Identify Thomas Hobbes's and John Locke's contributions to the English Enlightenment.

Compare and contrast their beliefs about the state of nature, the best type of government, and the nature of the social contract.

Explain the concepts of popular sovereignty, consent of the governed, and the social contract, and how these concepts influenced the American Revolution and founding documents like the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.

Prerequisite knowledge

The module was written to enable students to have contextual knowledge for understanding the creation of the American political system. The assumption is that students will have no prior knowledge of Hobbes and Locke. Basic understanding of terms and concepts such as sovereignty, consent, order, and liberty is assumed.

Module introduction: Human nature, good or bad?

This introduction to the module is intended for students to understand that political thought and often action are predicated in part on the individual's perspective about human nature. Generally, Hobbes had a somewhat negative view of human nature, while Locke's perspective on human nature was more positive.

Upon entering the classroom, students are asked to complete the task below, posted on the whiteboard (estimated time, ten to fifteen minutes):

Write a short paragraph answering the following question: "Are people naturally good or naturally bad?" Base your rationale on history, current events, or your own life. This is an opinion question, and your response will not be categorized as correct or incorrect.

Students then are randomly asked to share their answers.

Follow-up questions may be utilized to help students think more deeply about the initial question. Examples include:

"If people are naturally bad, how does one justify demonstrable improvements in human life that have occurred throughout history?"

"If people are naturally bad, why are there so many charities and taxpayer-funded government programs for the needy?"

"If people are naturally good, why do we need so many rules and laws?"

"If people are naturally good, why do you lock your car, house, and cellphone?"

Student primary source work: The political philosophies of Hobbes and Locke

Introduce students to the political thought of Hobbes and Locke through succinctly describing basic biographical information about each man and the major event(s) that influenced their respective perspectives on government (estimated time, five to eight minutes).

Hobbes:
For Hobbes, the English Civil War significantly shaped his worldview. In response, he developed a political philosophy that emphasized three key concepts:

The natural state of mankind (the "state of nature") is a state of war of one man against another, as man is selfish and brutish.

The way out of the "state of nature" is a "social contract," to be agreed upon by the people to be governed and the government.

The ideal form that government should take is an absolute monarchy that has maximum authority, subverting mankind's natural state and creating societal order in the process.

Locke:
For Locke, the overthrow of King James II in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 showed how governments and people should behave. He developed a philosophy that emphasized three points:

According to Locke, the natural condition of mankind is a "state of nature" characterized by human freedom and equality. Locke's "law of nature"—the obligation that created beings have to obey their creator—constitutes the foundation of the "state of nature." However, because some people violate this law, governments are needed.

People voluntarily give government some of their power through a "social contract" in order to protect their "natural rights" of life, liberty, and property.

If a government fails to protect the natural rights of its citizens or if it breaks the social contract, the people are entitled to rebel against the government and create a new one.

References: http://tinyurl.com/y8n7abkw and http://tinyurl.com/y9avro28.

Primary source excerpts: Hobbes's *Leviathan* and Locke's *Second Treatise on Government*

Before distribution of the primary source documents, the following additional contextual comment (or something similar) might be needed:

Hobbes and Locke also each posed questions about the nature of humanity, or the "state of nature," as they called it. These questions about the state of nature concerned whether men were naturally inclined to cooperate and get along with each other in society—or, in other words, "good"—or if man was naturally greedy, self-centered, and prone to violence and isolation from his fellow man—or, in other words, "bad."

Distribute the excerpts of *Leviathan* and *Second Treatise on Government* with eleven text-based questions and have students work through each excerpt, answering the questions as they read. Circulate throughout the room checking student progress and clarifying questions and explaining vocabulary if needed (estimated time, forty-five minutes to one hour).

Note: All primary source materials and accompanying questions are included in Appendix 1 and available at this link (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crcloganm1materials.pdf)

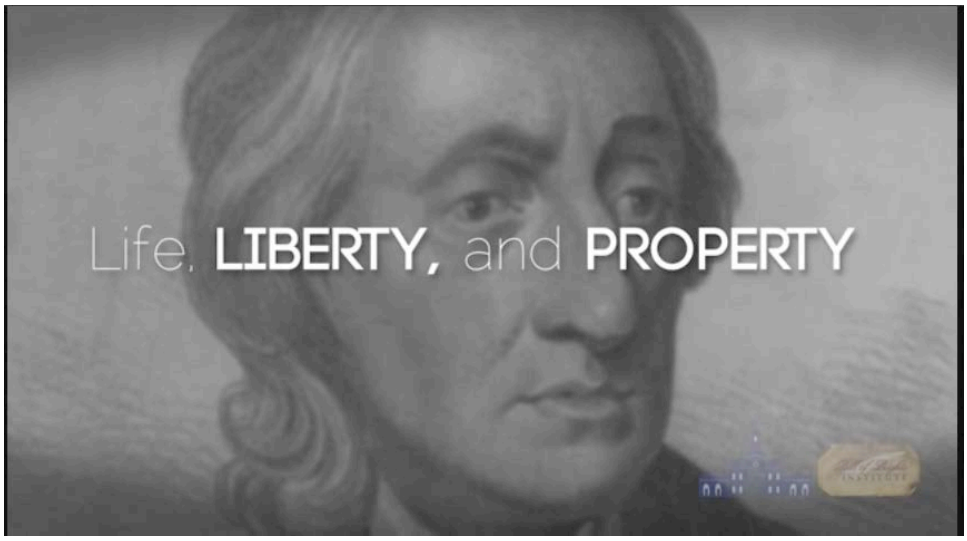
After students finish reading and answering the Hobbes document, solicit student responses to the Hobbes portion of the question sheet first, correcting or expanding/simplifying answers as needed (estimated time, five to eight minutes).

Augment and expand upon student answers by stressing that although the statement is not present in the primary source readings, Hobbes believed a government headed by an absolute monarch could ensure enforcement of the social contract, and therefore suggested hereditary monarchs be allowed to rule with absolute authority. He argued that anarchy would follow from the lack of powerful central authority and man would revert back to the nasty, brutish, and short state of nature (AKA the "state of war"). The founders rejected this assertion.

After students finish reading and answering the Locke document, solicit student responses to the Locke portion of the question sheet, correcting or expanding/simplifying answers as needed (estimated time, five to eight minutes).

The teacher will emphasize during this section that Locke believed a constitutional government that ruled through the consent of the governed and popular sovereignty was needed. This government should protect the citizens' natural rights of life, liberty, and property, and could be dissolved if the government abused the people and didn't recognize their authority. The founders found this claim accurate, and they adopted many of Locke's ideas as their own.

As a homework assignment, students watch a brief online Bill of Rights Institute video titled *Consent of the Governed* and download and complete an accompanying video guide/worksheet available at the same site (estimated time, forty-five minutes):



Source: Screen capture from *Consent of the Governed* from the Bill of Rights Institute.

Links: https://www.billofrightsinstitute.org/engage/student-resources/constitutional-principles-videos/

http://billofrightsinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Consent-of-the-Governed-Video-Viewing-Guide-Final.pdf

Cumulative activity questions/formative assessment (estimated time, thirty-five minutes)
Use the following questions that reinforce particularly Locke's ideas and their relationship to the concept of "consent of the governed":

Why does Locke's portrait appear in the short documentary?

Define "consent of the governed" in your own words and give a contemporary example.

Go back to the Locke primary source document. Find passages in Locke that defend the idea of "consent of the governed."

Consider the differences and similarities you see in the philosophies of Hobbes and Locke. What do you identify as the key difference between the two? Recall what you know about the Declaration of Independence. Which philosophers' writing aligns more with the primary message of that document?

Instructors collect copies of the video guide/worksheet for formative evaluation.

Summative evaluation

Instructors can include summative evaluation questions on graded tests or examinations.

Enrichment/alternative activity

The Center for Civic Education's *We the People* program features two very lucid and basic lectures, each just a bit over eleven minutes long, by Peter Woodcock on Hobbes and Locke. The lecture on Hobbes indicates his quite modern and novel—for the day—arguments about why people should support the state. In Woodcock's Locke lecture, he explains Locke's arguments for human rights—perhaps the first in political history—his defense of freedoms of property and (though qualified) religion, and his argument that in certain situations people have a right to overthrow their government. The lectures may be accessed at http://www.civiced.org/constitution-course-unit-i.

References and Resources

http://tinyurl.com/y8n7abkw: This site from Yale's National Initiative to Strengthen Teaching in Public Schools provides an excellent unit plan that uses Hobbes and Locke to teach students about civil rights and civil liberties. The unit plan here is too long for an AP course, but it provides great background content on Hobbes and Locke, and it gives some potentially useful ideas about how to approach this topic. I used it primarily for content background in preparing the lesson.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/creating-the-united-states/interactives/declaration-of-independence/index.html: This Library of Congress site is a digital exhibition called "Creating the United States." This particular page concerns the creation of the Declaration of Independence and provides interactive buttons that reveal the intellectual background of key passages in the document, many relating to Locke. It could be used to enrich a lesson with more digital content.

https://www.billofrightsinstitute.org/engage/student-resources/constitutional-principles-videos/: This site features videos that provide background on core American ideals such as separation of powers, consent of the governed (used in this lesson), rule of law, and representative government. The other videos would also prove useful during or after this module if a teacher wanted to add more video resources.

https://www.billofrightsinstitute.org/founding-documents/declaration-of-independence/: This is a link to the video guide/worksheet that accompanies the *Consent of the Governed* video from the Bill of Rights Institute's website.

http://youtu.be/ZfWZE8N2snw: This video from "Educatina" on YouTube gives an overview of the similarities and differences between Hobbes and Locke. It is in Spanish and could be used for students who need extra help in English-language classrooms.

http://tinyurl.com/y7kh9tvu and http://tinyurl.com/ycyps8zj: Hobbes's *Leviathan* and Locke's *Second Treatise on Government* were accessed at Project Gutenberg, which offers over 53,000 free e-books.

Appendix 1

http://tinyurl.com/y7kh9tvu and http://tinyurl.com/ycyps8zj

From Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)

OF THE NATURAL CONDITION OF MANKIND AS CONCERNING THEIR FELICITY AND MISERY

NATURE has made men so equal in the talents of body and mind that, though one man is sometimes manifestly stronger in body or of quicker mind than another, yet when all is reckoned together the difference between men is not so considerable as that one man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit to which another may not also claim. For as to the strength of body, the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest, either by secret machination or by confederacy with others that are in the same danger with himself….

From this equality of ability arise the quality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore if any two men desire the same thing, which they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way to their goal, they endeavor to destroy or subdue one another. And from this, it comes to pass that where an invader has no more to fear than another man's single power, if one plant, sow, build, or possess a convenient seat, others may probably be expected to come prepared with forces united to dispossess and deprive him, not only of the fruit of his labor, but also of his life or liberty. And the invader again is in the like danger of another….

Hereby it is manifest that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war; and such a war as is of every man against every man… the nature of war consists not in actual fighting, but in the known disposition thereto during all the time there is no assurance to the contrary. All other time is peace.

Whatsoever therefore is consequent to a time of war, where every man is enemy to every man, the same is consequent to the time wherein men live without other security than what their own strength and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such condition there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no culture of the earth… no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

It may seem strange to some man that has not well weighed these things that Nature should thus dissociate and render men apt to invade and destroy one another: and he may therefore, not trusting to this inference, made from the passions, desire perhaps to have the same confirmed by experience. Let him therefore consider with himself: when taking a journey, he arms himself and seeks to go well accompanied; when going to sleep, he locks his doors; when even in his house he locks his chests; and this when he knows there be laws and public officers, armed, to revenge all injuries shall be done him; what opinion he has of his fellow subjects, when he rides armed; of his fellow citizens, when he locks his doors; and of his children, and servants, when he locks his chests. Does he not there as much accuse mankind by his actions as I do by my words?

To this war of every man against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no injustice. Force and fraud are in war the two cardinal virtues. Justice and injustice are none of the faculties neither of the body nor mind. If they were, they might be

in a man that were alone in the world, as well as his senses and passions. They are qualities that relate to men in society, not in solitude. It is consequent also to the same condition that there be no propriety, no dominion, no mine and thine distinct; but only that to be every man's that he can get, and for so long as he can keep it. And thus much for the ill condition which man by mere nature is actually placed in; though with a possibility to come out of it, consisting partly in the passions, partly in his reason.

The passions that incline men to peace are: fear of death, desire for a comfortable life, and the hope of attaining a comfortable life by hard work. And reason suggests convenient articles of peace upon which men may be drawn to agreement.

From John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government* (1690)

CHAP. II.: Of the State of Nature.

Sec. 6. . . .The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions: for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent, and infinitely wise maker; all the servants of one sovereign master, sent into the world by his order, and about his business; they are his property, whose workmanship they are, made to last during his, not one another's pleasure: and being furnished with like faculties, sharing all in one community of nature, there cannot be supposed any such subordination among us, that may authorize us to destroy one another, as if we were made for one another's uses, as the inferior ranks of creatures are for our's. Every one, as he is bound to preserve himself, and not to quit his station wilfully, so by the like reason, when his own preservation comes not in competition, ought he, as much as he can, to preserve the rest of mankind, and may not, unless it be to do justice on an offender, take away, or impair the life, or what tends to the preservation of the life, the liberty, health, limb, or goods of another.

Sec. 8. . . . In transgressing the law of nature, the offender declares himself to live by another rule than that of reason and common equity, which is that measure God has set to the actions of men, for their mutual security; and so he becomes dangerous to mankind, which is to secure them from injury and violence, being slighted and broken by him. Which being a trespass against the whole species, and the peace and safety of it, provided for by the law of nature, every man upon this score, by the right he hath to preserve mankind in general, may restrain, or where it is necessary, destroy things noxious to them, and so may bring such evil on any one, who hath transgressed that law, as may make him repent the doing of it, and thereby deter him, and by his example others, from doing the like mischief. And in the case, and upon this ground, every many hath a right to punish the offender, and be executioner of the law of nature.

CHAP. IX. : Of the Ends of Political Society and Government.

Sec. 123. IF man in the state of nature be so free, as has been said; if he be absolute lord of his own person and possessions, equal to the greatest, and subject to no body, why will he part with his freedom? Why will he give up this empire, and subject himself to the dominion and control of any other power? To which it is obvious to answer, that though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the invasion of others: for all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, and the greater part no strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very unsecure. This makes him willing to quit a condition, which, however free, is full of fears and continual dangers: and it is not without reason, that he seeks out, and is willing to join in society with others, who are already united, or have a

mind to unite, for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties and estates, which I call by the general name, property.

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

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

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

Sec. 131. But though men, when they enter into society, give up the equality, liberty, and executive power they had in the state of nature, into the hands of the society, to be so far disposed of by the legislative, as the good of the society shall require; yet it being only with an intention in every one the better to preserve himself, his liberty and property; (for no rational creature can be supposed to change his condition with an intention to be worse) the power of the society, or legislative constituted by them, can never be supposed to extend farther, than the common good; but is obliged to secure every one's property, by providing against those three defects above mentioned, that made the state of nature so unsafe and uneasy. And so whoever has the legislative or supreme power of any common-wealth, is bound to govern by established standing laws, promulgated and known to the people, and not by extemporary decrees; by indifferent and upright judges, who are to decide controversies by those laws; and to employ the force of the community at home, only in the execution of such laws, or abroad to prevent or redress foreign injuries, and secure the community from inroads and invasion. And all this to be directed to no other end, but the peace, safety, and public good of the people.

CHAP. XI. : Of the Extent of the Legislative Power.

Sec. 134. THE great end of men's entering into society, being the enjoyment of their properties in peace and safety, and the great instrument and means of that being the laws established in that society; the first and fundamental positive law of all commonwealths is the establishing of the legislative power; as the first and fundamental natural law, which is to govern even the legislative itself, is the preservation of the society, and (as far as will consist with the public good) of every person in it. This legislative is not only the supreme power of the common-wealth, but sacred and unalterable in the hands where the community have once placed it; nor can any edict of any body else, in what form soever conceived, or by what power soever backed, have the force and obligation of a law, which has not its sanction from that legislative which the public has chosen and appointed: for without this the law could not have that, which is absolutely necessary to its being a law, the consent of the society, over whom no body can have a power to make laws, but by their own consent, and by authority received from them; and therefore all the obedience, which by the most solemn ties any one can be obliged to pay, ultimately terminates in this supreme power, and is directed by those laws which it enacts: nor can any oaths to any foreign

power whatsoever, or any domestic subordinate power, discharge any member of the society from his obedience to the legislative, acting pursuant to their trust; nor oblige him to any obedience contrary to the laws so enacted, or farther than they do allow; it being ridiculous to imagine one can be tied ultimately to obey any power in the society, which is not the supreme.

CHAP. XVIII.: Of Tyranny.

Sec. 202. Where-ever law ends, tyranny begins, if the law be transgressed to another's harm; and whosoever in authority exceeds the power given him by the law, and makes use of the force he has under his command, to compass that upon the subject, which the law allows not, ceases in that to be a magistrate; and, acting without authority, may be opposed, as any other man, who by force invades the right of another.

CHAP. XIX.: Of the Dissolution of Government.

Sec. 222. . . . Whensoever therefore the legislative shall transgress this fundamental rule of society; and either by ambition, fear, folly or corruption, endeavour to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people; by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and, by the establishment of a new legislative, (such as they shall think fit) provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society.

Sec. 225. Secondly, I answer, such revolutions happen not upon every little mismanagement in public affairs. . . . But if a long train of abuses, prevarications and artifices, all tending the same way, make the design visible to the people, and they cannot but feel what they lie under, and see whither they are going; it is not to be wondered, that they should then rouse themselves, and endeavor to put the rule into such hands which may secure to them the ends for which government was at first erected; and without which, ancient names, and specious forms, are so far from being better, that they are much worse, than the state of nature, or pure anarchy; the inconveniencies being all as great and as near, but the remedy farther off and more difficult.

Hobbes vs. Locke: Compare and contrast

Answer the following questions as you read the excerpts from Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Stop when you are finished with Section I. We will discuss your responses and then move to Locke's *Second Treatise*.

I. Hobbes, *Leviathan*

1. Why do people harm each other?

2. According to Hobbes, what "condition" do men live in when they live without a common power to keep them all in awe?

3. How does Hobbes describe life without common security?

4. What evidence does Hobbes give for his claims?

5. What "inclines men to peace"?

II. Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*

From Ch. II

1. What is the law of nature that should govern mankind? Who created this law of nature?

2. What should happen when a person breaks the law of nature?

From Ch. IX

3. Why would a person voluntarily give up some of his freedom to join society and submit to laws and rules of the society?

4. What role should judges play in a commonwealth of men?

From Ch. XI

5. What is the "great end" of men entering into society with each other?

Ch. XIX

6. What can people in a society do if their legislature breaks the fundamental rules of society?

Module 1: American Citizenship Past, Present, and Future?

Hunt Davidson
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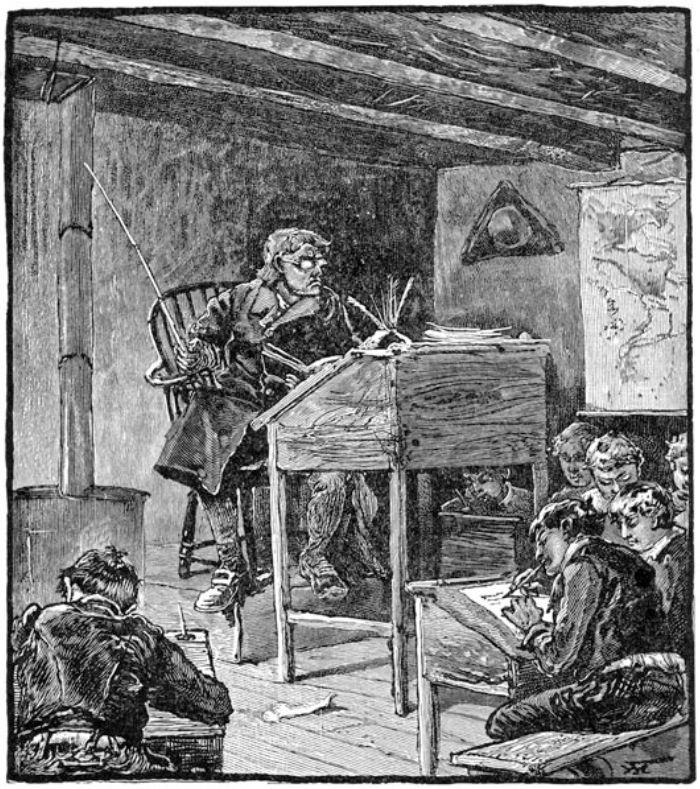
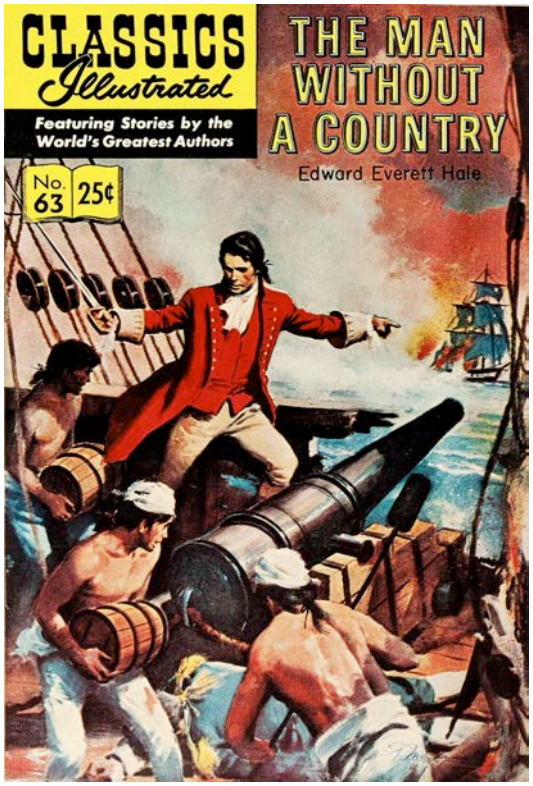
Editor's note: Most of this module was created over a several year period by Chattanooga Christian School History Department Chair Gary Lindley, working with Hunt Davidson. Portions of this module can be traced back to Covenant College Professor Steve Kaufmann. The editor expanded the original module and added supplemental information and activities.



Seventeenth-century grammar school class. Source: *City of Boston blog* at https://tinyurl.com/ybzxobgf.



Cover of *Classics Illustrated* No. 63, featuring "The Man Without a Country" by Edward Everett Hale. Source: *Linda Hall Library* at https://tinyurl.com/yac79q7o.

The module was developed and utilized for a ninth-grade civics and American government class. However, the content of the module is "high expectations," and the module can be utilized in most high school standard or honors U.S. government or history classes. The module was created for a Christian school, but this version is designed for use in both public and private schools.

Estimated module length: Three hours and fifteen minutes (about one hour each for three classes, about thirty to forty-five minutes for day one's homework, and about forty-five to sixty minutes for day two's homework)

Overview

The essential question "What does it mean to be an American citizen?" has been at the heart of our national dialogue since the founding. Indeed, simply investigating our original national motto, *e pluribus unum* ("out of many, one"), reveals that a general conceptualization of what kind of people we were to be was central to understanding the Founders' conceptions of the Republic and of national identity. What have many Americans believed to be "good citizenship" at various junctures in our history? Have these beliefs changed, and if so, how? What contemporary visions of American citizenship might have the most profound future ramifications and why?

This module is a systematic exploration of the above essential questions that utilizes class discussion and reflection, primary source excerpts, and historical fiction. It only scratches the surface of this important subject.

Objectives

Students will:
Demonstrate an understanding of various definitions of citizenship.

Utilize primary source excerpts from American schoolbooks to understand what children were taught about good citizenship in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Compare and contrast how American schools and our culture define what constitutes a "good citizen" now and what might be expected of good citizens in the future.

Investigate and explore the idea of citizenship through reading Edward Everett Hale's short story "The Man Without a Country" and utilize the related workshop available on the website *What So Proudly We Hail*.

Prerequisite knowledge

The model was written to enable students to gain knowledge appropriate for understanding citizenship in general, and American citizenship in particular. The assumption is that students will have had no prior experience with any of the primary sources. However, there is an expectation that students have basic familiarity with the concept of "citizenship" and an elemental understanding of terms such as republic, voting, rights, and duties.

Module introduction: Exploring the Concept of Citizenship (class one)

At the beginning of the first class, have students in one to three sentences define citizenship in their own words. Then, lead a whole-class discussion where students both discuss their respective definitions and think more deeply about the concept of citizenship through addressing the following questions:

Do definitions, qualifications, and expected actions of citizenship and citizen action differ depending on historical era or geographic place? If so, cite examples.

Do you think of yourself as a citizen of your school, community, or city? The U.S.? The world? All of the above? For any category you select, give specific examples of what a good citizen would believe or do.

Which level of citizenship do you consider most important? Why? Defend your answer.

At the conclusion of the introductory discussion, explain that the class will now investigate how many Americans have historically conceptualized citizenship and being a "good" American citizen, how the concept is perceived in the contemporary U.S., and how it might be perceived in the future (estimated time, fifteen minutes).

American Citizenship: Changing Definitions and Expectations?

Begin this discussion by providing students with a conventional definition of national citizenship.

A citizen is a person who possesses all the privileges and responsibilities granted by the law of a nation to residents who have legal status.

Briefly ask students for specific examples of privileges and responsibilities now granted to American citizens, and correct any factually erroneous student answers (estimated time, ten minutes).

Then, ask students to write a one- to two-sentence answer to the following question: Please cite any examples you know of how definitions of who is a U.S. citizen, or privileges granted to groups of Americans, have changed throughout our history?

Have students share their answers and correct any erroneous student answers. The expectation is at least some students will be aware of examples like African-Americans being granted citizenship and women being granted the right to vote (estimated time, fifteen minutes).

As a final activity for class one and a prelude for subsequent work with American primary source excerpts, begin with the following introduction or a similar one:

If our great-great-great grandparents were citizens in eighteenth- or nineteenth-century America, how would they answer this question: What were the values of the young Republic?

If one wants to understand a time period, one good place to start is to look at that time period's schoolbooks; what were most children of an era *commonly* reading and learning together? Often what people collectively experience binds them together.

To help frame this idea, consider the following advice long ago from St. Augustine, who articulated one vision that is germane to national citizenship even though he used it in a different context:

Augustine asserted in his work *City of God* that in order to define a people, one should discover the "… loved things held in common. Then, if we wished to discern the character of any given people, we would have to investigate what it loves.… Surely it is a better or worse people as it is united in loving things that are better or worse."

Then, have students in a "think, pair, share" activity with a partner consider what are the "loved things held in common" today by American citizens? First, students think silently and write down their answers, then compare lists with a partner (estimated time, five minutes).

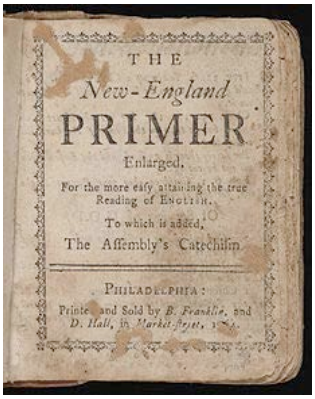
Facilitate a short whole-class discussion and write the most common items students identified on the board. Note the items in the list so that they can be discussed further in class No. 2 (estimated time, ten to twenty minutes).

End class one with a description of the homework assignment for class No. 2: The first paragraph linking Augustine's comment about common learning to homework is especially important, but if

possible, arouse student curiosity by using some or all of the short descriptions of the books read by so many American children in earlier times in our nation's history (estimated time, three to five minutes).

To discover the "loved things held in common" by many citizens of the early Republic, we will look at examples of instruction and values common in the schooling of earlier Americans, from before the United States was even a country to the beginning of World War II. We will work with selections from the three most important schoolbooks for children that were widely used in earlier times; they provided a common learning for many Americans. For homework, you will investigate selections from each of these early schoolbooks. Remember Augustine's advice—what are the "loved things held in common" by the early American citizens?
Note: The accompanying worksheet and all primary source excerpts that follow are available at this link (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crchuntm1materials.pdf)

Primary source material descriptions:



The New England Primer. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/ya3ofbgg.

The New England Primer, first published in 1687 or 1688 and written by Benjamin Harris, a British journalist who immigrated to Boston, was highly popular through the first few decades of the nineteenth century. It was the most popular schoolbook in the English colonies and the early Republic for over 150 years and served as the foundation of most schooling before the 1790s.

Noah Webster. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/ybbqftle.

Webster's Blue-Back Speller, first published in 1783 by prominent New England American educator and statesman Noah Webster, eclipsed *The New England Primer* as one of the most important schoolbooks in America during the 1800s. Educational historian Lawrence indicated millions of copies were published during much of the nineteenth century, and even Chief Sequoyah, who created the Cherokee alphabet and a written language, used the *Speller* as a model.

William McGuffey. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/y8855agb.

College President William McGuffey first created textbooks for different grades, known as *McGuffey's Readers*, in 1836 in Oxford, Ohio. Between 1836 and 1870, forty-seven million copies of the series were sold, and successive editions of *McGuffey's Readers* remained popular for almost half of the twentieth century.

Distribute "The Formation of Citizens" worksheet and the primary source excerpts.

Name: _____

The Formation of Citizens Worksheet

The United States of America was profoundly shaped by the events, ideas, and values of the first fifty years of our existence. The United States today is facing a serious dilemma: For well over 100 years, traditional values have been challenged by new ones. Should we welcome these new values or resist them? The question for us today is whether we the people of the United States will try to retain our original "shape" or whether we will take on a new "shape" according to the changing values of our own day and time. The only way for us to answer this question is to understand what those traditional values were and attempt to value perspectives that challenge older beliefs.

To that end, we are going to explore how education helps reveal and shape our national values. Schooling is the process of shaping the next generation. Both parents and teachers teach skills, but they also teach values. These skills and values, when combined together, form citizens. What follows are three early examples of what most schoolchildren in our young Republic learned (from before the War for Independence until about World War II). Please note both the difficulty level of and the values taught within the readings. What sort of citizens would these texts create?

I. Schoolbook example No. 1: *The New England Primer* by Benjamin Harris (1673–1716)

This was first published in 1687 or 1688 and was the most popular schoolbook in America for nearly two centuries. It was the foundation of most schooling in our nation up to the 1790s.

Directions: Take the two letters indicated by your first and last name (for example, mine would be "H" and "D"), and by using the appropriate reading selection explain the moral and religious precepts that are taught by the little verse that accompanies each letter. Then answer No. 3 based on the whole alphabet.

1. Letter of your first name: ___
    a. What moral and/or religious precept (a general rule) is being taught?

2. Letter of your last name: ____
    a. What moral and/or religious precept is being taught?

3. Even in the midst of teaching something as rote (mechanical, habitual, routine) as the alphabet, deep values are being taught. Name at least two of those values (must be different than your answers from Nos. 1 or 2).

II. Schoolbook example No. 2: *Webster's Blue-Back Speller* by Noah Webster (1758–1843)

This was first published in 1783 and eclipsed *The New England Primer* as the most important and most used schoolbook for teaching schoolchildren in America during the 1800s.

Directions: Using the appropriate reading selection, answer the following questions:

1. What reading skills are these fifteen short lessons intended to teach students?

2. Name three specific themes you observe upon reading through all fifteen lessons

a.

b.

c.

3. Read again and pay especial attention to the last four lessons (XII–XV). Describe the moral lessons that are being inculcated in children through these lessons. Do not just copy the lessons verbatim. Please put your answer in your own words.

4. Remember, almost every child in the United States learned these things. What do you think would happen if every young child in the United States was given a schoolbook with these lessons in it today?

III. Schoolbook example No. 3: *McGuffey's Readers* by William McGuffey (1800–1873)

These were first published in 1836 and replaced *Webster's Blue-Back Speller* during the second half of the nineteenth century as the primary American schoolbook of choice. It remained highly prominent up through World War II.

Although by 1850, 61 percent of all American children attended common (later called public) schools, few students entered secondary schools. Beginning after the Civil War, elementary schooling became an even more common experience for American children. Attendance past eighth grade was very rare. In 1900, only a little over 6 percent of American students graduated from high school, and even fewer went on to college (Educational Policy Institute, April 2011).

William McGuffey's Eclectic Readers were the most widely used schoolbook during this time and well into the twentieth century. ("Eclectic" means stories taken from many different sources.) The fact that these books were almost universally studied among American children meant that the stories themselves (and the values therein) were an essential part of the common identity for American citizens.

Directions: For each of the corresponding selections, note the vocabulary and the reading level (hard? easy?) of the story, but in particular note the moral tone or lesson. What values and lessons are being taught by each selection?

1. "The Three Kingdoms" (from the **third-grade** reader):

2. "Robert Bruce and the Spider" (from the **third-grade** reader):

3. "Extract from the Sermon on the Mount" (from the **fourth-grade** reader):

    a. (Note especially the follow-up questions, both those having to do with content and those having to do with language and grammar.)

4. "The Idle School-Boy" (from the **fourth-grade** reader):

The New England Primer: The Alphabet

A
In *Adam's* Fall
We Sinned all.

B
Thy Life to Mend
This *Book* Attend.

C
The *Cat* doth play
And after stay.

D
A *Dog* will bite
A Thief at night.

E
An *Eagles* flight
Is out of fight.

F
The Idle *Fool*
Is whipped at School.

G
As runs the *Glass*
Mans life doth pass

H
My Book and *Heart*
Shall never part.

J
Job feels the Rod
Yet blesses GOD.

K
Our *King* the good
No man of blood.

L
The *Lion* bold
The *Lamb* doth hold.

M.
The *Moon* gives light
In time of night.

N
Nightingales sing
In Time of Spring.

O
The Royal *Oak*
it was the Tree
That saved His
Royal Majesty

P
Peter denies
His Lord and cries

Q
Queen Esther comes
in Royal State
To Save the JEWS
from dismal Fate

R
Rachel doth mourn.
For her first born.

S
Samuel anoints
Whom God appoints

T
Time cuts down all
Both great and small.

U
Uriah's beauteous Wife
Made David seek his Life

W
Whales in the Sea
God's Voice obey.

X
Xerxes the great did die,
And so must you & I,

Y
Youth forward slips
Death soonest nips.

Z
Zacheus he
Did climb the Tree
His Lord to see

Table XIII

Lessons of easy words, to teach children to read and to know their duty.
Lesson I.
NO man may put off the land of God
My joy is in His law all the day
O may I not go in the way of sin!
Let me not go in the way of ill men.

II.
A bad man is a foe to the law;
It is his joy to do ill.
All men go out of the way.
Who can say he has no sin?

III.
The way of man is ill.
My son do as you are bid:
But if you are bid, do no ill.
See not my sin, and let me not go to the pit.

IV.
Rest in the Lord, and mind his word.
My son, hold fast the law that is good.
You must not tell a lie. nor do hurt.

V.
Do as well as you can, and do no harm. Mark
the man that doth well, and do so too. Help
such as want help, and be kind.
Let your sins past put you in mind to mend.

VI.
I will not walk with bad men, that I may not be cast off with them. I
will love the law and keep it.
I will walk with the just and do good.

VII.
The life is not long: but the life to come has no end.
We must pray for them that hate us.
We must love them that love not us.
We must do as we like to be done to.

VIII.
A bad life will make a bad end.
He must live well that will die well. He
doth live ill that doth not mend. In
time to come we must do no ill.

IX.
No man can say that he has done no ill: For all men have gone out of the way. There is none that doth good; no not one. If I have done harm, I must do it no more.

X.
Sin will lead us to pain and woe.
Love that which is good and shun vice.
Hate no man, but love both friends and foes. A bad man can take no rest, day nor night.

XI.
He who came to save us, will wash us from all sin; I will be glad in his name.
A good boy will do all that is just; he will flee from vice; he will do good, and walk in the way of life.
Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world; for they are sin.
I will not fear what flesh can do to me; for my trust is in him who made the world:
He is nigh to them that pray to him, and praise his name.

XII.
Be a good child; mind your book; love your school, and strive to learn.
Tell no tales; call no ill names; you must not lie, nor swear, nor cheat, nor steal.
Play not with bad boys; use no ill words at play; spend your time well; live in peace and shun all strife. This is the way to make good men love you, and save your soul from pain and woe.

XIII.
A good child will not lie, swear, nor steal.
He will be good at home, and ask to read his book; when he gets up he will wash his hands and face clean; he will comb his hair, and make haste to school; he will not play by the way, as bad boys do.

XIV.
When good boys and girls are at school, they will mind their books, and try to learn to spell and read well, and not play in the time of school. When they are at church, they will sit, kneel, or stand still; and when they are at home, will read some good book that God may bless them,

XV.
As for those boys and girls that mind not their books, and love not the church and school, but play with such as tell tales, tell lies, curse, swear and steal, they will come to some bad end, and must be whipt till they mend their ways.

New *McGuffey Third Reader*: "The Three Kingdoms"

Prus'sia	wel'come	feared	chlld'ish
king'dom	path'way	la'dy	cour'age
veg'e ta ble	great' ly	grant	wor'thy
a gree'a ble	min'er al	deeply	greatly

THE THREE KINGDOMS.

King Frederic of Prussia, when traveling through his kingdom, came one day to a pretty village where he was to stay a little while. The people of the village were greatly pleased to have a visit from their king, and had done many things to make his stay pleasant and agreeable.

The school children sang songs of welcome, and threw flowers in his pathway. The king visited the school and was pleased to see how well the children knew their lessons. After a time he turned to the teacher, and said he would like to ask the children a few questions. On a table near by, stood a large dish of oranges.

The king took up one of the oranges, and said, "To what kingdom does this belong, children ?

"To the vegetable kingdom," answered one of the little girls.

"And to what kingdom does this belong?," said he, as he took from his pocket a piece of gold money.

"To the mineral kingdom," she answered.

"And to what kingdom, then, do I belong, my child ?" he asked, thinking, of course, she would answer, "To the animal kingdom."

The little girl did not know what answer to make. She feared it would not seem just right to say to a king that he belonged to the animal kingdom.

"Well," said the good king," "can you not answer that question, my little lady ?" The kind words and gentle look of the king gave the little girl courage to speak the thought that was in her mind. She trembled a little as she stood before him, but, looking up into his face, she answered, I think, sir, to the kingdom of Heaven."

The king placed his hand upon her head. A tear stood in his eye. He was deeply moved by her childish words, and said, " God grant that I may be found worth of that kingdom!

New McGuffey Third Reader: "Robert Bruce and the Spider"

ROBERT BRUCE AND THE SPIDER.

Nearly six hundred years ago there was a king of Scotland whose name was Robert Bruce. Those were very rude times. The king of England wanted to rule over Scotland, and he led an army against Bruce. A great battle was fought, and Bruce was beaten.

But the English could not drive him away from his country. He raised another army. Another battle was fought, and he was beaten again. But still he did not lose heart, Six times did he lead his brave men against the English, and six times did the battle go against him.

At last he had to hide himself in the woods and among the mountains. Some of his men were in one place, some in another. Many of his best friends had lost their lives. He was almost ready to give up in despair. One day he was hiding in a little hut on the side of a mountain. He lay on the floor of the hut, and thought of the sad things that had happened to his country and to himself.

"It is of no use to try any longer," he said to himself.

Just then he saw a spider on one of the beams above him. It was making its web, and Bruce, having nothing else to do, lay still and watched it. The spider was trying hard to fasten one of its threads to another beam a little lower down. It would have to do this before it could make a web that would be of use.

It swung itself down and tried to catch hold of the beam, but the wind carried it past, and it fell to the ground. Then there was no other way but to climb up again to the higher beam and try the same thing another time. Bruce lay upon the floor of the hut, and watched it try again and again. Six times it swung itself down and failed to reach the lower beam. Six times it climbed with great labor to the upper beam and made ready to try again.

"And I have failed six times, too," said Bruce.

But the seventh time the spider carried the thread straight down to the lower beam, fastened it there, and then it was easy enough to make the rest of the web.

"I will try the seventh time!," said Bruce.

He jumped to his feet. He went out of the hut and called his men together. He told them of his plans, and all were glad to make one more trial to set their country free. A few days after that another battle was fought, and this time the English were beaten. It was not long until Bruce had driven them out of the land, and was the true king of Scotland again.

"It was the spider that did it," he said.

"If it had not been for the spider, I should not have tried the seventh time."

McGuffey New Fourth Eclectic Reader: Extract From "The Sermon on the Mount"

1. Bless'ed; *v.* happy
1. In-her'it; *v.* to come into possession of.
4. Re-vile'; *v.* to speak against without cause
5. De-spite'ful-ly; *adv.* Maliciously
6. Pub;li-can; *n.*-a collector of taxes (These, among Jews, were very bad men.)

Extract From The Sermon on the Mount

Remark—The words *Lord* and *God* are seldom pronounced with that full and solemn sound that is proper. *Lud* and *Laward* and *Gud* and *Gawd*, are too frequently used instead of the proper sounds. If the pupil can learn to speak the three words, O—Lord—God, in a clear, full, and solemn tone, it will be worth no little attention.

Articulate the *r* in the following words, *poor, their, hunger, are, pure, members, forswear, perform, earth, neither, heard, more, therefore, perfect.* See Ex. V, page 27.

1. BLESSED are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted. Blessed are meek; for they shall inherit the earth.
2. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.
3. Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
4. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven.
5. You have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt have they neighbor and hate thine enemy: but I say into you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that we may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.
6. For if you love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so? Be ye, therefore, perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

Exercises—Who delivered this sermon? Why are the poor in spirit blessed or happy? Why, they that mourn? What kind of mourners are intended? Why are the meek happy? Why, they who hunger and thirst after righteousness? Why, the merciful? Why, the pure in heart? Why, peace-makers? Why, the persecuted for righteousness' sake? What should we do to our enemies? What does God do to the evil and the good?

In the first sentence, for what does the pronoun *theirs* stand? Which are the nouns in the sentence? Which are the verbs? Which is the conjunction?

Which words are in the objective case? Which in the nominative? What does the word *nominative* mean? See Pinneo's Primary Grammar, Art. 94, page 51.

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McGuffey New Fourth Eclectic Reader: "The Idle School-Boy"

1. In'do-lent; *adj.* lazy; idle
8. Com-mer'cial; *adj.* trading.
8. Com'ic-al; *adj.* amusing.
3. Drone; *n.* an idler.
4. Nav'i-ga-ble; *adj.* in which boats can sail.

The Idle School-Boy

Pronounce correctly. Do not say *indorlunt* for in-d*o*-l*e*nt;
Creepin for creep-in*g*; *sylubble* for syl-*la*-ble; *colud* for col-*o*red; *scarlit* for scar-let
ignerunt for ig-n*o*-r*a*nt.

1. I WILL tell you about the laziest boy you ever heard of. He was indolent about every thing. When he played, the boys said he played as if the teacher told him to. When he went to school, he went creeping along like a snail. The boy had sense enough; but he was too lazy to learn any thing.
2. When he spelled a word, he drawled out one syllable after another, as if he were afraid the syllables would quarrel, if he did not keep them a great way apart.
3. Once when he was reciting, the teacher asked him "What is said of Hartford?" He answered, "Hartford is a flourishing *comical* town." He meant that it was a "flourishing *commercial* town;" but he was such a drone, that he never knew what he was about.
4. When asked how far the River Kennebee was navigable, he said, "it was navigable for *boots* as far as Waterville." The boys all laughed, and the teacher could not help laughing, too. The idle boy colored like scarlet.
5. "I say it is so in my book," said he. When one of the boys showed him the book, and pointed to the place where it was said, that the Kennebee was navigable for *boats* as far as Waterville, he stood with his hands in his pockets, and his mouth open, as he could not understand what they were all laughing at.
6. Another day, when the boys were reciting a lesson in defining, he made a mistake worse than all the rest. The word A-CEPH'A-LOUS was printed with syllables divided as you see. The meaning given of the word was, "without a head."
7. The idle boy had often been laughed at for being so slow in saying his lessons. This time, he thought he would be very quick and smart. So he spelled the word before the teacher had a chance to put it out. And how do you think he spelled it?
8. "A-C-E-P-H, ACEPH," said he, "a louse without a head." The boys laughed at him so much about this that he was obliged to leave school. The teacher said, "he was a drone, and the working bees stung him out of the hive."
9. You can easily guess what luck this idle boy had. With all his father's care to have him learn, he *would* be a dunce; not because he was a fool, but because he was too lazy to give his thoughts to anything.
10. He had some fortune left him. But he was too lazy to take care of it, and now he goes about the streets, begging his bread. He often wishes that he had been more attentive to his books, when young. But he can not live over again the time he has spent so badly, and he must be a poor ignorant fellow for the rest of his life.

Exercises—What is this lesson about? How did the idle boy play? What did he say about Hartford? What did he say about the Kennebec River? How did he spell and define *acephalous?* Can you define it? What became of the lazy boy?

Module: American Citizenship Then, Now, and the Future? (class two)

Give the short quiz ″U.S. Citizenship: Historical Documents" and briefly provide students with correct answers (estimated time, ten to fifteen minutes)

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Name: _____

Module 1 Short Quiz: *U.S. Citizenship: Historical Documents*
Directions: this is an open quiz, which means you may use your notes from last class along with your homework for today.

1. What is a citizen?
    a. A person who legally belongs to a nation.
    b. A person who enters and remains in a nation for at least five years.
    c. A person who votes, serves on a jury, and is eligible for a military draft.
    d. A person who possesses all the privileges and responsibilities granted by the law of a nation to its members.
    e. All of the above
    f. Both A and D
    g. Both B and C
    h. A, B, and C

2. Who was the author of The New England Primer?
    a. Noah Webster
    b. William McGuffey
    c. Horace Mann
    d. Benjamin Harris

3. The following was the earliest text to receive almost universal usage in America:
    a. The New England Primer
    b. The Farmer's Almanac
    c. McGuffey's Readers
    d. Webster's Blue-Back Spellers

4. Which of the following remained highly prominent among American schoolchildren until WWII?
    a. The New England Primer
    b. The Farmer's Almanac
    c. McGuffey's Readers
    d. Webster's Blue-Back Spellers

5. After closely reading each of these, it becomes clear that in the early Republic, American citizens were profoundly shaped by which of the following (circle all that apply)?
    a. Roman Catholicism
    b. Protestant Christianity
    c. A "rugged individual" ethic which placed emphasis on hard work and obedience
    d. A clear emphasis on religious pluralism and moral tolerance

Review Augustine's metric with the class and then ask the following question:

As you completed your primary source-based homework, did you find similarities or differences in what early Americans were taught to love (what educators expected would bind them together)?

Use student answers from the "Formation of Citizens" worksheet to create a list on the whiteboard of common expectations of knowledge, skills, and values for early citizens.

In the discussion, help students understand the following key points:

Since most American children for hundreds of years learned by using these books, we can deduce from them many common values educators and political leaders historically thought appropriate to teach the nation's children.

Reframe what follows into a question (what other book or books do you think Americans in past times commonly read?) designed to assist students to think about how changing American cultural values affect contemporary and future beliefs about citizenship, or share the following observation with students:

In early American instruction, the King James Bible was the most widely used book in schools for literacy instruction.

Make students aware that increasing cultural pluralism, particularly shortly before and after the Civil War, meant that by the middle of the nineteenth century, controversies were already beginning to occur in newly emerging public schools about the Protestant Bible's use—particularly if Catholics and Jews attended specific public schools. The controversies about religion in the public schools continually expanded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for various reasons (incorporation of the theory of evolution in science courses, immigration of peoples from other areas than western and northern Europe) and resulted in the controversial Supreme Court prayer decisions (*Murray v. Curlett* 1963 was the most famous) where the nation's highest court interpreted the religion Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution as banning government at any level, including public (local government) schools from endorsing any specific religion or making religious instruction part of the formal curriculum. (Students should understand that Supreme Court bans on government schools teaching religion do not extend to public schools teaching *about* religion and do not prevent private schools from *teaching* religion.) In the 1990 *Board of Education v. Mergens* case, the Supreme Court also affirmed the right of public school students to exercise their First Amendment right to freedom of religion at school through forming extracurricular religious clubs (estimated time, seven to ten minutes).

Use student responses to begin to create a column on the whiteboard titled "What Knowledge, Skills, and Values Contemporary Citizens Should Hold in Common."

The objective of the final discussion for class two is not for students to reach consensus but for serious reflection about what contemporary beliefs and developments constitute American citizenship and what might be done to strengthen civic education.
Begin discussion with the following discussion statement:

In the contemporary U.S., list examples of common knowledge, values, and skills that most Americans agree are critical for good citizenship.

The ensuing discussion is intended to be open-ended to a certain extent, but teachers might wish to pose some of the following questions or utilize additional follow-up activities that are juxtaposed by select questions.

What common content about American history and government is most important for American citizens to know, in your opinion?

Teaching toleration of different beliefs has been particularly emphasized in most of the nation's schools the past fifty to sixty years. What are possible positive and negative effects on citizenship because of the strong emphasis on teaching tolerance?

How can schools teach children to both care about their nation, state, and community, and strive for personal achievement? Is teaching the latter value even important for good citizenship; why or why not?

Is the cultivation of good character essential for good citizenship? Most (almost 90 percent) of American students attend public schools, where explicit religious instruction is illegal. Can good character be taught without explicit religious instruction either in schools or the home? Why or why not? Is it possible to teach about religion in public schools without teaching religion? (see three extension activities)*

Numerous media interviews with random people indicate that many citizens don't have basic knowledge of how our government works; perhaps the most famous of many surveys a few years ago indicated that the sample of respondents knew more about the TV show *The Simpsons* than the Bill of Rights:
http://tinyurl.com/y8jne672

The framers of our Constitution believed that representative government where ordinary citizens were given the right to vote was impossible without a critical mass of educated citizens. How might civic education be improved, in your opinion? (estimated time, ten to fifteen minutes)

In preparation for class three, distribute or provide the link of "The Man Without a Country" by Edward Everett Hale and assign it to students to read for homework. Explain to students that often works of fiction can impart values or messages to readers that are important insights on many aspects of human life, including politics and citizenship. Just because a story is fiction doesn't mean it is not "true." Share the brief synopsis of the story with students (estimated time, five minutes).

This short story by American author Edward Everett Hale, first published in 1863, tells the story of an American Army lieutenant, Philip Nolan. The story begins with Mr. Nolan on trial for treason. In the midst of the trial, Mr. Nolan renounces his country. The judge determines that the appropriate punishment would be to ban him from the United States indefinitely. More than that, however, Mr. Nolan is confined to an American warship and is not allowed to ever read or hear a word about his abandoned country. As the story unfolds, we watch how being without a country affects Mr. Nolan.

Instructors might also want to ask that students watch a conversation with Professor Wilfred McClay on "The Man Without a Country." The conversation with McClay is available at *What So Proudly We Hail.*

Module: Reflections on Citizenship through Literature (class three)

First, without discussing important themes in the story, make sure that students comprehended the plot through asking questions like what happened to Nolan and why? What was his sentence? What were the major events in the story after Nolan began to serve his sentence? How does the story end?

Then, move to more reflective questions:

What appealed to you about the story? Why?

What did you not like about the story? Why?

Do you think few, some, or many Americans your age generally would or would not like this story? Why?

Was Nolan's punishment appropriate? Do you think a similar punishment should be used today for a citizen convicted of treason?

What do you think of Hale's description of a man no longer attached to a country? Do you find it appealing or convincing? Why or why not? (estimated time, fifty minutes)

Assessment

Students will be assessed on the knowledge and/or skills gained from the module in three ways:

"U.S. Citizenship: Historical Documents" short quiz at the beginning of the second class. The quiz is designed to reflect the student's engagement in the homework assignment.

Active participation, largely based on the extent and quality of the student's verbal interaction with his or her peers and the instructor during classes.

The homework assignment "The Formation of Citizens." This assessment will enable the instructor to detect the student's comprehension level with regard to the primary source documents.

Enrichment/alternative activities*

The topic of citizenship is so complex that interested instructors might wish to enrich understanding through using the following three activities.

The Puritan Values Exercise

Without using the term "Puritan," have students complete a short "values survey" (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crcpuritanvalues.pdf) where they agree, disagree, or check undecided regarding whether teachers should promote twelve values.

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Values Survey

Teachers should promote:	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
Respect for authority			
Postponing immediate gratification			
Neatness			
Punctuality			
Responsibility for one's own work			
Honesty			
Patriotism and loyalty			
Striving for personal achievement			
Competition			
Repression of aggression and overt sexual expression			
Respect for the rights and property of others			
Obeying rules and regulations			

Once the class completes the surveys, indicate that the authors of a highly popular college-level American educational history text trace all the values in the survey back to our Puritan heritage. Then, share this following quotation from the text with students:

"Without making a judgment about these values, it may be pointed out that teaching them creates certain problems. Ours is a multicultural society in which minority and ethnic groups differ in the emphasis they place on traditional values of the majority culture." Pulliam and Van Patten

Conclude this activity through asking the following questions:

When you took the values survey, did you think at all about the Puritans?

Did you associate the values in the survey with Christianity?

Do only Caucasian Americans who are Christians believe these values?

(If students don't make this point, instructors are encouraged to indicate that Japanese, Taiwanese, and many Chinese are not Christian but make these values part of their daily lives. The same is also true of many Americans who are not Caucasian.)

Instructors might ask students whether these values are Puritan values or middle-class values.

Citizenship and Morality: Illustrations of the Tao Exercise

Many educators are familiar with C. S. Lewis from his children's books and popular books on Christianity. However, in 1943, Lewis wrote one book on education titled *The Abolition of Man*. Lewis's central assertion in the book is that because of natural law, there are objective moral values shared by many cultures that in the twentieth century were continually attacked by moral relativists. In the appendix of Lewis's short book, he listed moral rules of behavior that were historically shared by many religions and belief systems.

Examples include prohibitions against murder, hatred, and doing to others what you would not like them to do to you. Share excerpts from the appendix of *The Abolition of Man* (available at http://tinyurl.com/l3s2r5g.

Ask students to discuss whether it is possible to teach and model these values in schools without religious instruction.

Humility and American Citizenship

In 2013, Dr. David Bobb, president of The Bill of Rights Institute, published the book *Humility: An Unlikely Biography of America's Greatest Virtue*. His work is an historically based argument for the role of the virtue of humility in contributing to the profound success of the United States as a nation.

Have students watch Bobb's fifty-one-minute lecture (http://youtu.be/3F4rXGf5DO8) based on his book and react to what they learn about the virtues of humility, leadership, and citizenship.

References and Resources

http://tinyurl.com/y7u4rh4m and http://tinyurl.com/yahk3fvf are full-text of volumes 1 and 2 of *The City of God* by St. Augustine.

http://tinyurl.com/yf2a56x: a short essay about *The New England Primer* by Samuel J. Smith of Liberty University from 2008.

http://tinyurl.com/y7e7kmjm: This is a link to *The New England Primer* by Benjamin Harris that was reprinted in 1899 by The University Press (edited by Paul Leicester Ford).

https://www.loc.gov/item/11012477/: This is a link to Noah Webster's *Blue-Back Speller*, printed in Boston by Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1970.

https://tinyurl.com/ycvqdtlv and https://tinyurl.com/y8hcppgs: Links to the *McGuffey's Readers* by William McGuffey used in this module.

http://tinyurl.com/y8jne672 This is a link to an NBC News story on how many Americans know more about *The Simpsons* than they do about the Bill of Rights.

https://www.whatsoproudlywehail.org/?p=1151: From the American literature website *What So Proudly We Hail,* the "National Identity and Why It Matters" curriculum unit includes the text of "The Man Without a Country" by Edward Everett Hale and a video lecture on the story by Wilfred McClay.

John D. Pulliam and James J. Van Patten, *History of Education in America*, 7th edition: Source for the content of the values survey and the quotation that precedes questions to students.

http://tinyurl.com/l3s2r5g: This link includes the full text of C.S. Lewis's *The Abolition of Man*, including "The Law of General Beneficence" and "The Law of Mercy" excerpts from the book's appendix.

http://youtu.be/3F4rXGf5DO8: This is a lecture by David Bobb, president of the Bill of Rights Institute, on his book *Humility: An Unlikely Biography of America's Greatest Virtue*.

Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876*: This book, published in 1980, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1981 and is considered the definitive source on educational history of this period.

The Rise and Fall of Empires

Hunt Davidson
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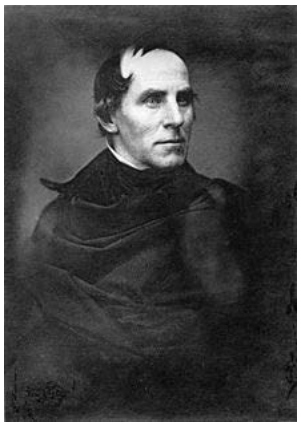
Editor's note: Chattanooga Christian School History Department Chair Gary Lindley had the original idea that resulted in the development and implementation of this module.

This interdisciplinary module was developed and utilized for a ninth-grade civics and American government class. However, the content of the module is "high expectations," and it can be utilized in high school standard or honors U.S. government or history classes. The module is intended for students who are near the end or about to complete a civics, U.S. government, or history class.

Estimated total time: Two to three fifty-minute classes

Overview



Thomas Cole. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/yd6hu9vl.

"The Consummation of Empire" by Thomas Cole. Source: *Explore Thomas Cole* at https://tinyurl.com/y8mkcnrf.

Why do empires rise? Why do they fall? Even the briefest survey of history will reveal the fact that no empire or great nation has permanently endured through the ages. Are there common characteristics that great nations and empires across time and space share in their rise and fall? American Founders, particularly those who were college graduates, with classical educations

grounded in the study of antiquity recognized that no polity is immune from eventual decline and fall, but attempted to design a system that would preserve a republican form of government as long as possible. During this module, students will work with a series of paintings titled *The Course of Empire* by Thomas Cole (1801–1848), a noted American landscape artist. In the course of the module, students will consider Cole's visual depiction of a cycle of history and use Cole's ideas to reflect upon America's past and its future.*

*(For the purposes of this module, although the terms "empire" and "great nation" are both used, the two are not necessarily synonymous, and teachers are encouraged to draw some distinction for students between the two terms. Empires have characteristically possessed colonies—e.g. the Roman Empire, Imperial China, or the British Empire—while great nations like the U.S. or contemporary China don't have formal colonies, but because of military power and cultural and political influence exercise and even contest for geopolitical spheres of influence.)

Objectives

Students will:
Discuss and analyze various themes that, according to Cole, accompany the rise and fall of great civilizations.

Analyze the series of paintings *The Course of Empire* Thomas Cole painted between 1833 and 1836. utilizing three criteria: analysis of technique, exploration of historical context, and interpretation of themes and symbols.

Consider how in developing our present Constitution, some of the Founders attempted to construct a system that could effectively forestall national decline as long as possible.

Reflect upon what lessons Cole thought his paintings had for the U.S. in the 1830s and what lessons the paintings might have for contemporary Americans.

Prerequisite knowledge

The assumption is that students will have no prior knowledge of Thomas Cole or his paintings. However, it is expected that they will be familiar with the generalization that nations do rise and fall, and to date, there is no evidence one nation's particular political system has proven impervious to events and to time. Since this module is intended to be used near the conclusion of a school year, the expectation is that students will understand basic information about American history, the Constitution, and our political system.

Procedures narrative

Editor's note: This module is unique in certain respects in its use of civic and historical ideas through art and its seemingly open-ended but, in fact, structured approach. The author was requested to summarize student responses, and they appear occasionally in what follows. The paintings shown are available at http://www.explorethomascole.org/tour/items/63/series/. Teachers will need to use a compatible web browser with Adobe Flash Player to experience the full features of the site like pan and zoom with paintings.

Module introduction (class one)

Write or display the following questions on a whiteboard or overhead projector for students when entering the classroom:

What factors contribute to the rise of powerful nations and empires? Why, thus far in human history, has no great nation or empire managed to permanently avoid decline and fall? (Remind students that even powerful empires such as Imperial China or Egypt declined and eventually fell, even though today, both these nations again exist with different forms of government than in the past, as well as significant global or regional influence.)

Encourage students to articulate their responses and critique various cited factors raised by other class members. As the discussion progresses, write down any recurrent reasons students cite on a whiteboard or overhead (to be referenced later when Cole's paintings are introduced).

An additional question *that is optional* is whether or not the U.S. is in the midst of a period of national decline relative to the nation's past. Posing this question in my class has stimulated students' imagination and motivation for the activities that follow, but it is important if the question is utilized that students provide a rationale for particular positions, that teachers and students critique student assertions, and that the discussion time for the question be limited (estimated time, fifteen to twenty minutes).

Contemplating *The Course of Empire* series

Explain that a broad question such as why great empires and nations rise and fall can be investigated in many ways, but the class will think more about the question through exploring a series of five famous paintings called *The Course of Empire* by Thomas Cole. Do not provide contextual or historical information about Cole or the paintings at this juncture in the module.

Before looking at the paintings, ask the students to infer what Cole might be depicting in his paintings based just on the title *The Course of Empire*. Now, display each painting in sequential series order (available at http://www.explorethomascole.org/tour/items/63/series/).

Painting 1, "The Savage State"

Painting 2, "The Arcadian or Pastoral State"

Painting 3, "The Consummation of Empire"

Painting 4, "Destruction"

Painting 5, “Desolation"

Guide students through silent but systematic individual observations of each of the five paintings in the series, which will occur for the remainder of class one. Student observations lay the groundwork for both subsequent homework and the ensuing class discussion the following day. Have students spend approximately five minutes viewing each painting. Indicate to students that for each of the following paintings, they should spend one or two minutes simply carefully viewing, thinking, and reacting to the painting. Then, they should briefly note in writing as specifically as possible their reactions and thoughts about each painting after each separate viewing. Focusing questions you might want to use for this exercise include the following: What mood does the painting evoke? What is the painting literally depicting? What might it be symbolically be depicting?

(Author's note: The paintings are powerful in a unique way, and student fascination with the series was particularly enhanced when I zoomed in on different parts of a painting to introduce students to nuances they might have otherwise missed).

Near the end of class one, indicate to students that they are asked to complete a homework assignment that I hope will deepen their reflections about the paintings in the series and prepare the class for an extended discussion on the essential topic of their study. Distribute or have students access online an abridged version of Matthew Bristley's "How to Analyze an Artistic Work." Students will access the series again for homework at http://www.explorethomascole.org/tour/items/63/series/.

Students will again view the paintings, read a brief biography of Cole at http://thomascole.org/biography-of-thomas-cole/, and utilize the abridged "How to Analyze an Artistic Work" to write a one-to two-page response to the *Course of Empire* series based upon most of criterion in the document. Note: An abridged version of the original worksheet by Matthew Bristley is available at this link (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crcartanalysis.pdf) estimated time, thirty minutes).

Class No. 2

Begin class by reading a quotation from the famous British Romantic poet Lord Byron (1788–1824), who profoundly influenced Cole to the extent that the artist used Byron's lines to promote the series (from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 1818):

> *There is the moral of all human tales;*
> *'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past.*
> *First freedom and then Glory – when that fails,*
> *Wealth, vice, corruption – barbarism at last.*
> *And History, with all her volumes vast,*
> *Hath but one page...*

Begin class by again asking an extension of the question posed the previous day: Why do great nations rise and fall? How do they rise and seemingly cannot last? Have students paraphrase or read their responses to the questions below from:

"How to Analyze an Artistic Work."

In the title
List the basic information of the piece: artist's name, title, date, medium, size, and location.

Example:
Botticelli, Primavera, 1482. Tempera on wood, 80 × 124 in. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Michelangelo, David, 1504. Marble, 17 ft. Piazza della Signoria, Florence.

Introductory paragraph
What immediately catches your eye?
What is the subject matter (what's happening in the artwork)?
Is there a message? How is that message communicated to the viewer (briefly)?

Analysis of technique
Where is the light coming from in the painting/drawing and how is it used?
What is the perspective of the painting/drawing and how is that significant?

Historical context
What was going on in America when Cole painted this series?
Who do you think his intended audience was?
What do you think his intended message(s) was?

Author's notes on student reactions: With the knowledge of where Cole was from and when he lived, students are beginning to place this series of paintings within the context of American history. For example, one student said, "The second painting ('The Arcadian or Pastoral State') reminds me a little of Thomas Jefferson's idealized, agrarian state, and the second-to-last painting ('Destruction') reminded me of his warning about cities and urbanization."

One student asked a very thought-provoking question, "I wonder how Cole would have altered his paintings if he had painted them after the Civil War?" Discussion at this point started to orient itself around a comparison with the Founders' hopes and fears of America (Jefferson in particular came up a good deal).

Now, have students negotiate the interpretation questions in the analysis worksheet that are critical for the concluding discussion for class two:

What was the artist's intention with creating this work? Did he or she succeed?
How does the artwork make you feel? What is your reaction to it? Why do you react so?
Critical judgment: Is it good; is it true; is it beautiful? Why or why not?

After students respond, again revisit the foundational question by using the following or similar language: Based on your work with these paintings from Cole, how and why do nations become powerful, and how and why do they fall?

Author's note on students' reactions: Because of our earlier study of governmental power in this course, students know the danger of centralized power. In light of that previous learning, students talked a great deal about the transition from "Pastoral" to "Consummation." More particularly, students were very curious about the role that power played in these two paintings and, therefore, what the allocation of power says about why a nation would rise or fall. For example, one student observed that 'Pastoral' did not seem to have a clear "king" or ruling class, while 'Consummation' certainly does. The class then spent a few minutes discussing what has happened to the locus of control/power between the two paintings and whether or not that was a good thing. One possibility

here (that I used) would be to redirect conversation for a few minutes to this question: In our study of American history, what evidence can we point to that would show whether or not our nation's government has become more or less powerful? What effects does this centralization have upon citizens?

End the discussion with a final question utilizing the following or similar language: In light of your work with the Cole series, where do you see the United States in this spectrum between birth, growth, decay, death? Do we fit any of the paintings particularly well? Do you see evidence we can use to support our claim(s)? Do you think this "course of empire" is inevitable? Why or why not?

It is important to point out to students that Cole, like Thomas Jefferson, had what many would consider an overly romantic view of the virtues of agrarian, pastoral societies and a distrust of cities. If necessary, have students consider the costs as well as the benefits of forms of human organization that are similar to the views of Jefferson or Cole. Also, pose this question: Are cycles of history inevitable, or is the view they exist too narrow and an oversimplification?

Author's notes on students' reactions: This was probably the students' favorite part. Since there had been a full semester of learning about the founding of the country and lessons in citizenship, the students were very engaged with the question. One student said, "The U.S. is clearly in the stage of 'Consummation.'" To this, another student respectfully responded: "How can you say that with everything going on in our country today? If we aren't there already, we are definitely headed toward 'Destruction' because of our materialism and consumerism. Didn't you see that the religious symbol [the temple] in 'Destruction' was absent, after it had was born in 'Pastoral' and grown to fruition in 'Consummation'?" This back-and-forth dialogue took the class in a good direction. The rest of class was spent in a vibrant discussion of this initial disagreement, followed by a discussion of what the proper response of citizens ought to be. Should that response change in light of where the nation is on the "the course"? If so, how? This question is where the class ended.

Extension/enrichment activities

Editor's note: Further work on Cole after the module is taught provides even more fruitful opportunities to extend this module, which is a major reason for the expansion of the two-day option to possibly three class periods. Pennsylvania Art Professor Robb Bomboy has an excellent documentary on the series called *The Course of Empire: Thomas Cole's Warning for America*, available at:

http://youtu.be/tA2bnof3-D8. It draws on Cole's journal and related scholarship to indicate that the artist was significantly troubled by the Andrew Jackson Presidency and presents some evidence that the monarch being crowned in "The Consummation of Empire" was symbolically representative of Jackson. Excerpts from the documentary or even a complete showing will definitely enrich learning in the module.

If a third class day is devoted to the module, it is highly recommended that instructors assign or utilize excerpts from Anthony Comegna's superb essay "Art as Ideas: Thomas Cole's *The Course of Empire*":
https://www.libertarianism.org/columns/art-ideas-thomas-coles-course-empire.

The author situates Cole as not only a landscape art pioneer but part of a new generation of New York-based artists and intellectuals, "The New Americans," who were attempting to create an

authentic new American culture. Cole shared many of these views but was personally conservative and disposed toward the newly emerging Whig Party idea of ordered liberty.

Both the documentary and the essay stress the profound influence exerted upon Cole's series by his emotional response to visiting the ruins of Ancient Rome and contemplation of where America seemed to be heading.

Assessment

This module's major purpose is to make students who have a basic understanding of American history and government deeply consider such critical questions as the tension between freedom and authority, the effect of corruption on government, the relationship between power and its abuse, and the pitfalls an overemphasis on materialistic values impose on any political system. Discussion will necessarily be subjective, and in many instances, there are no narrowly correct answers to these profound questions. However, the conscientiousness with which students prepare homework and the quality and seriousness of their classroom discussion can be assessed.

References and Resources

http://www.explorethomascole.org/: This is a web project by the Thomas Cole National Historic Site dedicated to exploring and analyzing the work of the painter Thomas Cole.

http://thomascole.org/biography-of-thomas-cole/: This is a link to a biography of Thomas Cole by the Thomas Cole National Historic Site.

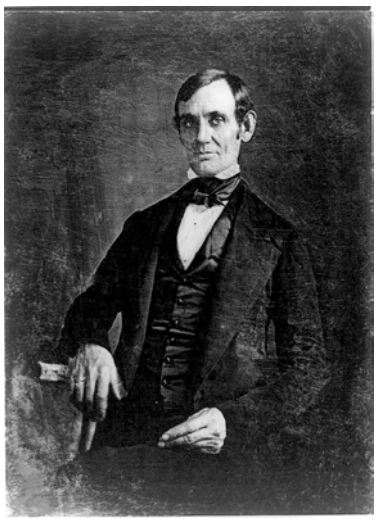
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tA2bnof3-D8: This is a link to the documentary *The Course of Empire: Thomas Cole's Warning to America* by Pennsylvania Art Professor Robb Bomboy on *YouTube.*

https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/art-music-and-film/essays/natures-nation-hudson-river-school-and-american-landscape: This link takes readers to *"Nature's Nation": The Hudson River School and American Landscape Painting, 1825–1876* by Linda Ferber from the Gilder-Lehrman Institute.

https://www.libertarianism.org/columns/art-ideas-thomas-coles-course-empire: Anthony Comegna's essay "Art as Ideas: Thomas Cole's *The Course of Empire*" is available from the *Libertarianism* website.

Lincoln: The Man, the Politician, and Slavery: 1838–1858

Jeremy Henderson
Center for Creative Arts
Chattanooga, Tennessee



Abraham Lincoln, 1840s (left) and the Lincoln Memorial (right)
Source: *Wikimedia Commons* at https://tinyurl.com/y9d8z9e8 and https://tinyurl.com/ya5xpnfh.

Overview

This module was originally developed and utilized in an eighth-grade American history class in order that students might have more realistic perceptions of Abraham Lincoln as a human being and an aspiring leader, and to understand his views about slavery before the Civil War. The module can be easily adapted to high school American history courses.

Many, if not virtually all, middle and high school students have difficulty humanizing Lincoln because of a lack of knowledge about Lincoln's life before he became one of the nation's greatest presidents. Little or no understanding of Lincoln's early life and his thought and writing before becoming president often causes students to easily succumb to the erroneous notion that Lincoln was an abolitionist, or the even more inaccurate perception that Lincoln cared nothing for the plight of black slaves. This module is designed to assist students in the cultivation of a more accurate and nuanced view of Lincoln, and hopefully complements existing textbooks and other pedagogical tools readers might use in their classes (estimated time, two and a half to three hours).

Objectives

Students will:
Differentiate between the somewhat dehumanized Lincoln of the Lincoln Memorial and Mount Rushmore and Lincoln the human being—a person with arguably the most humble origins of all

American presidents and the politician whose views evolved yet who consistently possessed antislavery beliefs.
Analyze primary source excerpts of Lincoln's speeches and letters from before the Civil War to think about Lincoln as an aspiring leader and to better understand his views about slavery and how they changed.

Think about Lincoln in the context of nineteenth-century rather than early twenty-first-century beliefs about African-Americans.

Prerequisite knowledge

No prior knowledge of Lincoln himself is necessary. Basic understanding of the following terms and concepts will be helpful: abolition movement, Africa colonization plans for former slaves, Missouri Compromise, Compromise of 1850, Fugitive Slave Law, Kansas-Nebraska Act, and *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.

Module introduction: Lincoln, stone and flesh

Steps one through three are part of introductory activities and should move quickly relative to the remainder of the module.

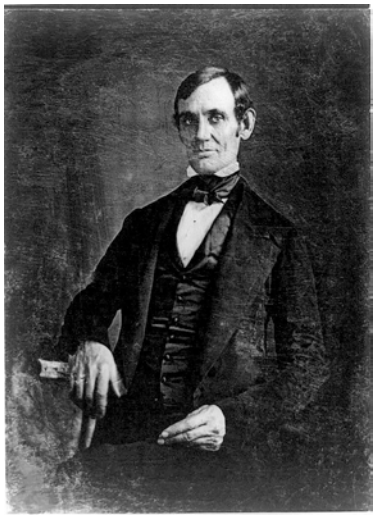
Warmup, part one (estimated time, fifteen minutes)

Source: *Wikimedia Commons* at https://tinyurl.com/ya5xpnfh.

Show photo of Lincoln Memorial on-screen or provide printouts for each group. Have students answer the following questions either individually, in groups, or as a whole-group discussion:

What words or phrases come to mind when you see this image of Lincoln? What are the first thoughts for you personally when you hear someone mention Lincoln?
What sort of mood does the Lincoln Memorial convey?
What can we learn from visiting memorials for famous Americans?
What information might we lack by learning about famous Americans only through memorials and statues?
How might a memorial be a misleading representation of a historic figure? (During discussion portion, the teacher may want to talk about the debate that occurred over the Lincoln Memorial when it was conceptualized and constructed. See resources for more information.)

Warmup, part two (estimated time, five to eight minutes)



Source: *Wikimedia Commons* at https://tinyurl.com/y7cq4y2b.

Show the 1846 daguerreotype of a young Lincoln on-screen.

An earlier photo of Lincoln was chosen for this lesson intentionally, as most students are familiar with photos with from his presidency. Have students answer the following questions either individually, in groups, or as a whole-group discussion:

What words come to mind about Lincoln as an individual when you view this photograph? (Students should be informed that because photography had just been invented and being photographed was considered a significant experience, few people in the nineteenth century smiled in photographs. Also, holding a smile for the lengthy exposure time was difficult.)
What does this photo show about Lincoln's personality?
Why might a photo give us a better starting point of discussion about a person than a statue?

Lincoln's early life: Video and discussion (estimated time, ten minutes)

Source: Screen capture from "Lincoln: Growing up on the Frontier," on *YouTube* at https://youtu.be/rXdZe1Q-dQo.

Show the three-minute video from "Lincoln: Growing up on the Frontier" about Lincoln's early life.

After the video, have students write two or three sentences describing any surprising or unknown facts about Lincoln's early life they learned, and lead a brief class discussion based upon student responses.

Document analysis (estimated time, one and a half hours for both steps four and five)

Students will analyze excerpts from Lincoln's speeches that focus on his thoughts regarding the issue of slavery in the United States. Assign one of the following excerpts and accompanying questions for each student to read silently in groups of four to six, depending on the size of the class.

Note: All primary source material that follows is also available at this link (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crchendersonm1materials.pdf).

Teacher contextual information for primary sources

Many instructors will have the contextual knowledge to briefly introduce each primary source reading to students, but this might not be the case with all six readings, particularly with Lincoln's private correspondence. The annotations and sources below should be helpful as teacher background or, with high school students, possible in-depth or homework resources.

The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1838

Context: On November 7, 1837, in Alton, Illinois, in what came to be a nationally publicized and polarizing event, a mob raided the warehouse where abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy stored his printing press, burned the building, and killed Lovejoy. Although the then-twenty-eight-year-old Lincoln did not mention Lovejoy by name, a major theme of Lincoln's earliest published speech was the evil of mob rule and the need for respect for the law. For the complete speech and other background information, visit http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/lincoln/lyceum-address-january-27-1838/.

Letter to Mary Speed, September 27, 1841

Context: In this letter to the half-sister of one of Lincoln's best friends, Joshua Speed, Lincoln recounted his observations of a recent steamboat trip he and Speed took together. Parts of the letter would have outraged abolitionists because they hinted at Lincoln's sympathy for slaves and their plight. Available at http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/lincoln/letter-to-mary-speed-september-27-1841/.

Peoria Speech, October 16, 1854

Context: Lincoln's response to congressional passage of the highly divisive 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act allowing territories to exercise popular sovereignty regarding the question of whether or not to allow slavery marked the first time Lincoln made the moral evils of slavery and its threat to the republic a personal central political theme. For the complete speech and background information, visit http://ashbrook.org/library/document/speech-on-the-repeal-of-the-missouri-compromise/. Teachers might also want to read political scientist's Kevin Portteus's succinct essay on the historical significance of the speech at http://ashbrook.org/publications/onprin-feb2009-portteus/.

Letter to Joshua Speed, August 24, 1855

Context: This letter to a close friend, who as a Kentucky slaveholder had a different viewpoint on slavery than Lincoln, is influenced by Lincoln's alarm concerning the Kansas-Nebraska Act. It also affords students the chance to read two different Lincoln accounts of the same steamboat journey and his reactions to the shackled slaves onboard. See the complete letter, which condemns not only slavery but also the anti-immigrant "Know-Nothing" Party, at http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/speed.htm.

Dred Scott Decision Speech, Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857

Context: The Supreme Court decision in the Dred Scott case ruling against Scott—a slave who contended that because his master had moved him from a slave state to a free state and then a free territory, he was legally free on the grounds that slaves had no right to sue since blacks were not citizens, further divided an already-polarized union. Lincoln's complete speech may be accessed at http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/speech-on-the-dred-scott-decision/.

First Debate with Stephen A. Douglas, Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858

Context: U.S. Senator Stephen Douglas, a Democrat, architect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and Lincoln's opponent for the Senate seat, engaged Lincoln in seven debates. (State legislatures elected U.S. senators until 1913, but the candidates held public debates to vie for support for the election from supportive legislators.) Much of the debates centered on issues such as slavery in the territories, the Dred Scott decision, and the morality of slavery. Although Douglas was reelected to the Senate, the debates propelled Lincoln and the antislavery Republican Party into the national spotlight. The transcript of the first debate with accompanying background information is available at https://www.nps.gov/liho/learn/historyculture/debate1.htm.

Author's note: The excerpts from Lincoln's letters are easier for students below eighth-grade reading levels if differentiation of reading skills is necessary.

Lincoln Primary Sources and Accompanying Questions

The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1838

The question recurs, "how shall we fortify against it?" [killings and destruction of property created by mob violence]. The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and Laws, let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor;--let every man remember that to violate the law, is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the character of his own, and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws, be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap--let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in Primers, spelling books, and in Almanacs;--let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation….

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. In any case that arises, as for instance, the promulgation of abolitionism, one of two positions is necessarily true; that is, the thing is right within itself, and therefore deserves the protection of all law and all good citizens; or, it is wrong, and therefore proper to be prohibited by legal enactments; and in neither case, is the interposition of mob law, either necessary, justifiable, or excusable…

Reason, cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason, must furnish all the materials for our future support and defence.--Let those materials be moulded into general intelligence, sound morality, and in particular, a reverence for the constitution and laws...

Describe Lincoln's views on the importance of law.

What are Lincoln's arguments against the use of mob law in dealing with "grievances" such as abolitionism?

Make a prediction on how Lincoln will develop future arguments as a speaker based on his words in this document.

Letter to Mary Speed, September 27, 1841

You remember there was some uneasiness about Joshua's health when we left. That little indisposition of his turned out to be nothing serious; and it was pretty nearly forgotten when we reached Springfield. We got on board the Steam Boat Lebanon, in the locks of the Canal about 12. o'clock. M. of the day we left, and reached St. Louis the next Monday at 8 P.M. Nothing of interest happened during the passage, except the vexatious delays occasioned by the sand bars be thought interesting. By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one at a convenient distance from, the others; so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them, from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One, whose offence for which he had been sold was an over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually; and the others danced, sung, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that He renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while He permits the best, to be nothing better than tolerable.

In this letter, Lincoln is recalling a boat trip to St. Louis, Missouri, with his close friend Joshua Speed in the same year. This letter is to Speed's half-sister. How does Lincoln describe the condition of the slaves he saw on the boat trip?

How would you describe Lincoln's feelings on slavery?

Simply from reading this letter, do you think Lincoln exhibits much emotion regarding slavery? Why or why not?

Peoria Speech, October 16, 1854

Again, you have amongst you, a sneaking individual, of the class of native tyrants, known as the "SLAVE-DEALER." He watches your necessities, and crawls up to buy your slave, at a speculating price. If you cannot help it, you sell to him; but if you can help it, you drive him from your door. You despise him utterly. You do not recognize him as a friend, or even as an honest man. Your children must not play with his; they may rollick freely with the little negroes, but not with the "slave-dealer's children". If you are obliged to deal with him, you try to get through the job without so much as touching him. It is common with you to join hands with the men you meet; but with the slave dealer you avoid the ceremony---instinctively shrinking from the snaky contact. If he grows rich and retires from business, you still remember him, and still keep up the ban of non-intercourse upon him and his family. Now why is this? You do not so treat the man who deals in corn, cattle or tobacco.

And now, why will you ask us to deny the humanity of the slave? and estimate him only as the equal of the hog? Why ask us to do what you will not do yourselves? ….
Our republican robe is soiled, and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white, in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of "moral right," back upon its existing legal rights, and its arguments of "necessity." Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it; and there let it rest in peace. Let us re-adopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it, the practices, and policy, which harmonize with it. Let north and south---let all Americans---let all lovers of liberty everywhere---join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union; but we shall have so saved it, as to make, and to keep it, forever worthy of the saving. We shall have so saved it, that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up, and call us blessed, to the latest generations.

Summarize the argument that Lincoln is making in the first paragraph regarding the feelings about slave dealers.

How does Lincoln draw attention in this argument to the fact that slaves are humans and deserve to be seen as such?

What does Lincoln claim are the proper steps to save the Union?

Letter to Joshua Speed, August 24, 1855

You know I dislike slavery; and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far there is no cause of difference. But you say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave -- especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested, you would see the Union dissolved. I am not aware that any one is bidding you to yield that right; very certainly I am not. I leave that matter entirely to yourself. I also acknowledge your rights and my obligations, under the constitution, in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down, and caught, and carried back to their stripes, and unrewarded toils; but I bite my lip and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip, on a Steam Boat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave-border. It is hardly fair to you to assume, that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the constitution and the Union.

I do oppose the extension of slavery, because my judgment and feelings so prompt me; and I am under no obligation to the contrary.

This letter is about the same boat trip Lincoln describes in the letter to Mary Speed. How many years have passed between these two letters?

What descriptions does Lincoln make about the journey?

What insights about his feelings on slavery does Lincoln provide?

Dred Scott Decision Speech, Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857

Now I protest against that counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either, I can just leave her alone. In some respects she certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking leave of anyone else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others.

Chief Justice Taney, in his opinion in the Dred Scott case, admits that the language of the Declaration is broad enough to include the whole human family, but he and Judge Douglas argue that the authors of that instrument did not intend to include negroes, by the fact that they did not at once, actually place them on an equality with the whites. Now this grave argument comes to just nothing at all, by the other fact, that they did not at once, or ever afterwards, actually place all white people on an equality with one or another. And this is the staple argument of both the Chief Justice and the Senator, for doing this obvious violence to the plain unmistakable language of the Declaration. I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness, in what respects they did consider all men created equal-equal in "certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This they said, and this meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth, that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet, that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere.

What does Lincoln say about the equality of black and white Americans?

In the context of this speech, what do you think Lincoln means about leaving black Americans "alone," as in his example in the first paragraph?

Describe Lincoln's beliefs about the intent of the Declaration of Independence.

First Debate with Stephen A. Douglas, Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858

Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides, who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tiptop Abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slave-masters….

If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia,-to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope, (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible….What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not….

I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. [Loud cheers.] I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects-certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.

What does Lincoln say about Northerners and Southerners in the first paragraph? Why do you think he is making this appeal?

What two possible outcomes for slaves does Lincoln speak of in the second paragraph?

What does Lincoln say about changing the "institution of slavery" in the third paragraph?

What argument does Lincoln make about the equality of "the white and the black races"?

Document analysis continued

After silent reading, have student complete the following for each excerpt:

Highlight at least five key words from each excerpt from Lincoln. These key words will help students write their summary "I think" statements.

Instruct students to answer questions that follow each excerpt to facilitate their summary statements and later discussion.

In order to summarize the selection, students should write an "I think" statement on their interpretation of Lincoln's views from the assigned selection. (Example: "I think Lincoln is saying in this letter than slavery was wrong because it goes against their humanity.")

Teacher should allow each student to share their "I think" statements within their groups.

Discussion (estimated time, thirty minutes)

Teacher should lead a whole-class discussion using the best of the "I think" statements and/or responses to text-based questions.

Culminating writing task (estimated time, thirty to sixty minutes)

Allow students to choose one of the following questions to respond to in writing. At this point, students will need all six documents for use as evidence.

Are there similarities and differences between Lincoln's letters and his public speeches in regards to what he writes about slavery? Explain with evidence.

In what ways do you think Lincoln's public addresses are influenced by the fact that he was a lawyer and aspired to be a democratically elected leader? Explain with evidence.

Use evidence from the primary sources presented in class to show that Lincoln was not an abolitionist and to show that Lincoln was against slavery.

In the nineteenth century, whether white Americans were for or against slavery, the vast majority of whites in the U.S. and Europe considered blacks an inferior race. Based on primary source evidence, how might Lincoln's views on race conform to and contradict the dominant views of the majority race?

Editor's note: Because of the contemporary sensitivity regarding the above topic, careful teacher preparation for this question is important. Two approaches are suggested: students should be introduced to the notion that historical thinking involves cultivating empathy (not sympathy) for people who lived in another era who held beliefs that today are considered "racist" or "backward." A discussion making this point might be followed by a specific examination of Civil War-era beliefs about blacks. See the following website for accurate information on this topic: http://www.americanantiquarian.org/Freedmen/Intros/questions.html.

Assessment

Teachers should feel free to use a rubric of their choice to assess the writing task, or they may use the one below from the University of North Carolina School of Education: https://tinyurl.com/yblpcdq3.

References and Resources

https://youtu.be/rXdZe1Q-dQo: This brief video clip on *YouTub*e of Lincoln's early life from A&E network's *Biography* series is titled "Lincoln: Growing Up on the Frontier."

https://vimeo.com/60458867: This is a longer, ninety-minute biography of Lincoln from the History Channel, available on *Vimeo*.

http://tinyurl.com/y86ncut3: This daguerreotype of Congressman Abraham Lincoln was taken in 1846 by Nicholas H. Shepherd and is available on *Wikimedia Commons*.

http://tinyurl.com/y74mhpco: This photograph of the Lincoln Memorial by Attilio Piccirilli for Daniel Chester French (1920) is available on *Wikimedia Commons*.

http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/lincoln/: Lincoln's 1838 Lyceum Speech and his letter to Mary Speed, from *The House Divided Project: Lincoln's Writings, The Multi-Media Edition* by Dickinson College, are available at this URL.

http://ashbrook.org/: Lincoln's 1854 Peoria Speech, accompanying materials, and Lincoln's 1857 Dred Scott Speech are available at this URL from the Ashbrook Center at Ashland University.

https://www.c-span.org/series/?LincolnDouglas: This site has the "Lincoln-Douglas Debates" from *C-Span Classroom,* a series of reenactments in 1994 of the Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas Illinois senatorial debates in 1858.

https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/lincoln/essays/lincoln-and-abolitionism#fn2: This site has an essay titled "Lincoln and Abolitionism" by Douglas L. Wilson from *The Gilder Lehrman Institute* and is included as a teacher background.

https://vimeo.com/69675871: Matthew Pinsker of Dickinson College's lecture "Understanding Lincoln: Lyceum Address (1838)" from *The Gilder Lehrman Institute* is available here.

http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/speeches.htm: Lincoln's 1855 Letter to Joshua Speed is available at the *Abraham Lincoln Online* website.

http://www.nps.gov: The transcript of Lincoln's August 21, 1858, first debate with Stephen A. Douglas and accompanying materials are available at the *National Park Service* website.

"Do Nothing with Us!" African-American Integration during Reconstruction

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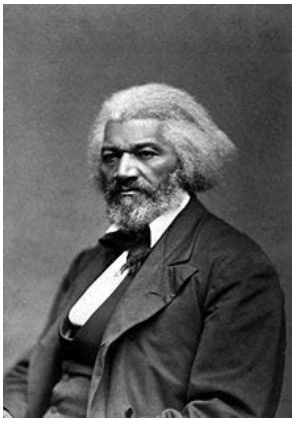
This module was developed and utilized in an eighth-grade American history class in order to meet state U.S. history standards on slavery and Reconstruction. However, the module is applicable to middle and high school American history courses elsewhere.

The inspiration for this module comes from a lecture by Peter Myers titled "Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King Jr., and Integration."

Estimated module length: Two and half hours



Frederick Douglass. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/pk5xljn.

Meeting of the Committee of Freedmen, Edisto Island. Source: *PBS Learning Media* at https://tinyurl.com/ybxwsh7w.

Objectives

Students will:
Predict and hypothesize factors that changed the status of a people who formally constituted a subservient group in American life.

Analyze a speech by abolitionist Frederick Douglass given at the end of the Civil War.

Investigate the ways in which restrictions were placed on freedmen during the Reconstruction era.

Prerequisite knowledge

This lesson assumes students have completed a unit of study on the causes of the Civil War and the war's subsequent course of events. Students should also have some prior knowledge of Frederick Douglass.

Module introduction

Note: All primary source material and accompanying questions are included in Appendix 1 and available at this link (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crchendersonm2materials.pdf).
Warmup/opener (estimated time, fifteen minutes)

Teachers should distribute (or project) the chart below showing population data of the South. Ask students:

What stands out about these figures?

Based on this data, what challenges and issues do you see the South will face during Reconstruction?

How do you think the U.S. government could implement laws to aid in the integration of the nearly four million former slaves in society after the Civil War?

Population of the South 1790-1860 by type

Year	White	Free Nonwhite	Slave
1790	1,240,454	32,523	654,121
1800	1,691,892	61,575	851,532
1810	2,118,144	97,284	1,103,700
1820	2,867,454	130,487	1,509,904
1830	3,614,600	175,074	1,983,860
1840	4,601,873	207,214	2,481,390
1850	6,184,477	235,821	3,200,364
1860	8,036,700	253,082	3,950,511

Source: ***Historical Statistics of the U.S.***, 1970, https://eh.net/encyclopedia/slavery-in-the-united-states/

Student primary source work

Students should read and analyze the four documents provided. The teacher may choose to have students write summary statements for each document or answer the analysis questions. As the first three documents are similar in length, teachers may choose to divide this task into three parts by putting students into reading groups of three. Then, all students will analyze the fourth document, which is a political cartoon (estimated time for reading and questions, fifty minutes minutes if completed individually or twenty minutes if assigned in groups).

Note: Original spelling is retained for this document and all that follow.

What the Black Man Wants, Frederick Douglass, 1865

Context: Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) was born a slave and became an eminent author, publisher, and antislavery advocate. Douglass became the first African-American to hold a high position in the federal government. For an excellent succinct documentary of the life of Douglass, visit https://www.biography.com/people/frederick-douglass-9278324.

What is freedom? It is the right to choose one's own employment. Certainly it means that, if it means anything; and when any individual or combination of individuals undertakes to decide for any man when he shall work, where he shall work, at what he shall work, and for what he shall work, he or they practically reduce him to slavery….

I have had but one idea for the last three years to present to the American people, and the phraseology in which I clothe it is the old abolition phraseology. I am for the "immediate, unconditional, and universal" enfranchisement of the black man, in every State in the Union. [Loud applause.] Without this, his liberty is a mockery; without this, you might as well almost retain the old name of slavery for his condition; for in fact, if he is not the slave of the individual master, he is the slave of society, and holds his liberty as a privilege, not as a right. He is at the mercy of the mob, and has no means of protecting himself….

It may be asked, "Why do you want it? Some men have got along very well without it. Women have not this right." Shall we justify one wrong by another? This is a sufficient answer. Shall we at this moment justify the deprivation of the Negro of the right to vote, because some one else is deprived of that privilege? I hold that women, as well as men, have the right to vote [applause.], and my heart and my voice go with the movement to extend suffrage to woman; but that question rests upon another basis than that on which our right rests. We may be asked, I say, why we want it. I will tell you why we want it. We want it because it is our right, first of all. No class of men can, without insulting their own nature, be content with any deprivation of their rights. We want it again, as a means for educating our race….

But if we know enough to be hung, we know enough to vote. If the Negro knows enough to pay taxes to support the government, he knows enough to vote; taxation and representation should go together. If he knows enough to shoulder a musket and fight for the flag, fight for the government, he knows enough to vote. If he knows as much when he is sober as an Irishman knows when drunk, he knows enough to vote, on good American principles. [Laughter and applause.]…

The American people have always been anxious to know what they shall do with us.…Everybody has asked the question, and they learned to ask it early of the abolitionists, "What shall we do with the Negro?" I have had but one answer from the beginning. Do nothing with us! Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us. Do nothing with us! If the apples will not remain on the tree of their own strength, if they are worm-eaten at the core, if they are early ripe and disposed to fall, let them fall! I am not for tying or fastening them on the tree in any way, except by nature's plan, and if they will not stay there, let them fall. And if the Negro cannot stand on his own legs, let him fall also. All I ask is, give him a chance to stand on his own legs! Let him alone! If you see him on his way to school, let him alone, don't disturb him! If you see him going to the dinner-table at a hotel, let him go! If you see him going to the ballot-box, let him alone, don't disturb him! [Applause.] If

you see him going into a work-shop, just let him alone,—your interference is doing him a positive injury….Let him live or die by that. If you will only untie his hands, and give him a chance, I think he will live. He will work as readily for himself as the white man. A great many delusions have been swept away by this war.

According to Douglass, what will be the status of "the black man" without voting rights?

What does Douglass say about the desire for voting rights among former slaves?

How does he answer the idea that newly freed slaves do not "know enough" to be allowed the vote?

Explain what you think Douglass means when he advises "do nothing with us." Detail his argument he lays out in the last paragraph.

Reference:
http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-the-black-man-wants/.

Committee of Freedmen on Edisto Island, South Carolina, to the Freedmen's Bureau Commissioner; the Commissioner's Reply; and the Committee to the President, Edisto Island, South Carolina, October 20 or 21, 1865

Context: A Freedmen's Bureau official had redistributed land from white owners to their former slaves earlier in 1865. President Andrew Johnson reversed this decision. General Oliver Howard, a supporter of the slaves' rights to keep their new land and head of the Freedmen's Bureau, was sent to the island to announce the president's reversal of the decision; the former slaves' petition failed and the previous white owners reclaimed their land. Students and instructors may want to watch the following educational video before or after discussing the primary source excerpt: http://tinyurl.com/ybxwsh7w.

General It Is with painfull Hearts that we the committe address you, we Have thorougholy considered the order which you wished us to Sighn, we wish we could do so but cannot feel our rights Safe If we do so,
General we want Homestead's; we were promised Homestead's by the government, If It does not carry out the promises Its agents made to us, If the government Haveing concluded to befriend Its late enemies and to neglect to observe the principles of common faith between Its self and us Its allies In the war you said was over, now takes away from them all right to the soil they stand upon save such as they can get by again working for *your* late and thier *all time ememies*.–If the government does so we are left In a more unpleasant condition than our former

we are at the mercy of those who are combined to prevent us from getting land enough to lay our Fathers bones upon. We Have property In Horses, cattle, carriages, & articles of furniture, but we are landless and Homeless, from the Homes we Have lived In In the past we can only do one of three things Step Into the public *road or the sea* or remain on them working as In former time and subject to thire will as then. We can not resist It In any way without being driven out Homeless upon the road.

You will see this Is not the condition of really freemen
You ask us to forgive the land owners of our Island, *You* only lost your right arm. In war and might forgive them. The man who tied me to a tree & gave me 39 lashes & who stripped and flogged my mother & my sister & who will not let me stay In His empty Hut except I will do His planting & be Satisfied with His price & who combines with others to keep away land from me well knowing I would not Have any thing to do with Him If I Had land of my own.–that man, I cannot well forgive. Does It look as If He Has forgiven me, seeing How He tries to keep me In a condition of Helplessness
General, we cannot remain Here In such condition and If the government permits them to come back we ask It to Help us to reach land where we shall not be slaves nor compelled to work for those who would treat us as such
we Have not been treacherous, we Have not for selfish motives allied to us those who suffered like us from a common enemy & then Haveing gained *our* purpose left our allies In thier Hands There Is no rights secured to us there Is no law likely to be made which our Hands can reach. The state will make laws that we shall not be able to Hold land even If we pay for It Landless, Homeless. Voteless. we can only pray to god & Hope for *His Help*, *your Infuence & assistance* With consideration of esteem your Obt Servts

In behalf of the people, Committee: Henry Bran, Ishmael Moultrie, yates Sampson

How do the authors of this document describe the conditions of freedmen?

What are the requests included in this petition?

What evidence does this document provide regarding the relationship between former slaves and former slave owners?

Reference: http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/Edisto%20petitions.htm.

Mississippi Black Codes (1865)

Context: The Black Codes were laws southern states passed shortly after the Civil War intended to restrict the civil rights and economic freedom of former slaves.

CIVIL RIGHTS OF FREEDMEN

Section 3: . . . [I]t shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto to intermarry with any white person; nor for any person to intermarry with any freedman, free negro or mulatto; and any person who shall so intermarry shall be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction thereof shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life; and those shall be deemed freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes who are of pure negro blood, and those descended from a negro to the third generation, inclusive, though one ancestor in each generation may have been a white person.
Section 5: . . . Every freedman, free negro and mulatto shall, on the second Monday of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment, and shall have written evidence thereof . . .
Section 6: . . . All contracts for labor made with freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes for a longer period than one month shall be in writing, and a duplicate, attested and read to said freedman, free negro or mulatto by a beat, city or county officer . . . and if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer before the expiration of his term of service, without good cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year up to the time of quitting.
Section 7: . . . Every civil officer shall, and every person may, arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause . . .

VAGRANT LAW

Section 1: . . . That all rogues and vagabonds, idle and dissipated persons, beggars, jugglers, or persons practicing unlawful games or plays, runaways, common drunkards, common night-walkers, pilferers, lewd, wanton, or lascivious persons, in speech or behavior, common railers and brawlers, persons who neglect their calling or employment, misspend what they earn, or do not provide for the support of themselves or their families, or dependents, and all other idle and disorderly persons, including all who neglect all lawful business, habitually misspend their time by frequenting houses of ill-fame, gaming-houses, or tippling shops, shall be deemed and considered vagrants, under the provisions of this act, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, with all accruing costs, and be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding ten days.
Section 2: . . . All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes in this State, over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawful assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons assembling themselves with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, or usually associating with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freed woman, freed negro or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding, in the case of a freedman, free negro or mulatto, fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars, and imprisonment at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days, and the white man not exceeding six months . . .

CERTAIN OFFENSES OF FREEDMEN

Section 1: . . . That no freedman, free negro or mulatto, not in the military service of the United States government, and not licensed so to do by the board of police of his or her county, shall keep or carry fire-arms of any kind, or any ammunition, dirk or bowie knife, and on conviction thereof in the county court shall be punished by fine . . .
Section 2: . . . Any freedman, free negro, or mulatto committing riots, routs, affrays, trespasses, malicious mischief, cruel treatment to animals, seditious speeches, insulting gestures, language, or acts, or assaults on any person, disturbance of the peace, exercising the function of a minister of the Gospel without a license from some regularly organized church, vending spirituous or intoxicating liquors, or committing any other misdemeanor, the punishment of which is not specifically provided for by law, shall, upon conviction thereof in the county court, be fined not less than ten dollars, and not more than one hundred dollars, and may be imprisoned at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty days.
Section 3: . . . If any white person shall sell, lend, or give to any freedman, free negro, or mulatto any fire-arms, dirk or bowie knife, or ammunition, or any spirituous or intoxicating liquors, such person or persons so offending, upon conviction thereof in the county court of his or her county, shall be fined not exceeding fifty dollars, and may be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty days . . .

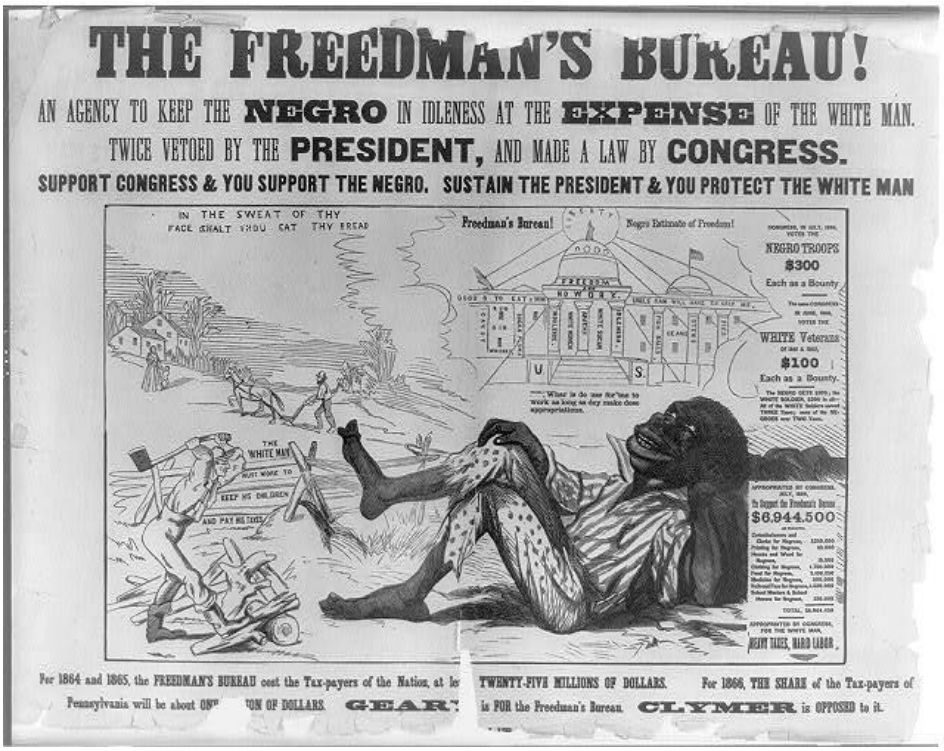
Make a list of the laws that you found surprising.

What do these laws indicate about the status of free African-Americans during the Reconstruction period?

How might lawmakers argue for the necessity of laws such as these during Reconstruction?

Reference: https://www.facinghistory.org/reconstruction-era/mississippi-black-codes-1865.

***The Freedman's Bureau!* political cartoon, 1866**



One in a series of racist posters attacking Radical Republicans on the issue of black suffrage, issued during the Pennsylvania gubernatorial election of 1866. (See also "The Constitutional Amendment!," no. 1866-5.) The series advocates the election of Hiester Clymer, who ran for governor on a white-supremacy platform, supporting President Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction policies. In this poster a black man lounges idly in the foreground as one white man ploughs his field and another chops wood. Accompanying labels are: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread," and "The white man must work to keep his children and pay his taxes." The black man wonders, "Whar is de use for me to work as long as dey make dese appropriations." Above in a cloud is an image of the "Freedman's Bureau! Negro Estimate of Freedom!" The bureau is pictured as a large domed building resembling the U.S. Capitol and is inscribed "Freedom and No Work." Its columns and walls are labeled, "Candy," "Rum, Gin, Whiskey," "Sugar Plums," "Indolence," "White Women," "Apathy," "White Sugar," "Idleness," "Fish Balls," "Clams," "Stews," and "Pies." At right is a table giving figures for the funds appropriated by Congress to support the bureau and information on the inequity of the bounties received by black and white veterans of the Civil War. (Source: *Library of Congress*)

Describe the opinion expressed in this political cartoon.

What was the view of *The Freedman's Bureau*?

What is the contrasting view of the black and white veterans of the Civil War as presented in this cartoon?
Reference: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2008661698/.

Discussion

Teacher should lead whole-class discussion based on responses to analysis questions (estimated time, thirty minutes).

Closing

Watch this 7 minute 28 seconds excerpt titled, "Slavery Without the Chain" available at https://youtu.be/vg7f-M_wNd4 from the longer PBS documentary "Reconstruction: The Second Civil War."

Students may write and/or discuss the following questions:

After watching this excerpt, paraphrase, based upon evidence from the video clip, the general attitude of northern and southern whites regarding freedmen.

Based upon the video clip, explain the new economic situation many freedmen faced.

(estimated time of video and discussion, twenty minutes)

Culminating task

Describe freedom for former slaves as described by Douglass. How does his vision compare to what happened in the years following the Civil War? Use evidence from primary sources and video (estimated time, thirty minutes).

Assessment

Teachers should feel free to use a rubric of their choice to assess the writing task, or they may use the one below from the University of North Carolina School of Education: https://tinyurl.com/yblpcdq3.

References and Resources

https://eh.net/encyclopedia/slavery-in-the-united-states/: This site contains data for warmup activity and discussion of slave population.

http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-the-black-man-wants/: Student handout No. 1, "What the Black Man Wants: by Frederick Douglass, is available here.

https://www.biography.com/people/frederick-douglass-9278324: This is the entry on Douglass from *Biography.com*.

https://tinyurl.com/ybxwsh7w: This is a video about the Committee of Freedmen on Edisto Island from *PBS Learning Media*'s "The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow."

http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/Edisto%20petitions.htm: Student handout No. 2, "Committee of Freedmen on Edisto Island, South Carolina, to the Freedmen's Bureau Commissioner; the Commissioner's Reply; and the Committee to the President," is available here.

https://www.facinghistory.org/reconstruction-era/mississippi-black-codes-1865: Student handout No. 3, "Mississippi Black Codes," is available here.

http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2008661698/: Student handout No. 4, *The Freedman's Bureau* political cartoon, is available here.

https://youtu.be/vg7f-M_wNd4: This is the PBS video on U.S. Reconstruction, available on *YouTube*.

https://tinyurl.com/yblpcdq3: History Essay Writing Rubric from UNC School of Education. Optional rubric for culminating task.

Note: The resources below were not directly used in the module but may be useful for teachers.

http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/exhibits/reconstruction/section1/section1_intro.html: This site contains excellent background readings on Reconstruction.

http://lincolnmullen.com/projects/slavery/: This is an interesting animated map showing the growth and spread of slavery using census data. It may complement discussion during warmup segment of lesson.

http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/maps-reveal-slavery-expanded-across-united-states-180951452/: This article elaborates and explains the animated map above.

Understanding the Complexities of War in American History: Select Case Studies

Michael Breakey
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Franklin Delano Roosevelt, World War II Infamy Speech. Source: *YouTube* at https://tinyurl.com/kpnb8my.

This module was developed and utilized in an introductory community college U.S. history course but can be utilized in standard or honors-level high school history courses.

While this module is chronological, it encompasses a series of events during separate periods of American history and thus may be most effectively used during various sections of a typical U.S. history course.

Estimated module length: Three hours (excluding enrichment/supplemental activities)

Overview

Article 1, Section 8 of the US Constitution grants the legislative branch the expressed power to declare war. Against the backdrop of unremitting war in Europe, the founders debated and decided the articulated power should rest with the U.S. Congress. Eleven times the U.S. Congress has approved formal declarations of war, with the last declaration occurring on June 4, 1942, against three European nations. Since World War II, the constitutional directive has not been followed.

The module is designed to first introduce students to the views of the Founding Fathers on armed conflict and government as they developed the US Constitution—specifically the process for the

formal declaration of war against an adversary. The module will use background information from European wars of the eighteenth century as a bridge to understanding the debate at both the Philadelphia Convention and the language and intent of the Constitution. The remainder of this module includes case studies of the contextual events and decisions that led to three armed conflicts and post-World War 11 developments that have increased executive disposition to involve the U.S. in military conflict.

It is impossible for students to consider either formal declarations of war or acts of war unaccompanied by formal declarations without basic knowledge of the issues that lead to particular wars and some understanding of military history. The latter field is now often neglected both in university history departments and in high school and college classrooms. This module includes resources that help students understand not only how knowledge of military history influenced the authors of the Constitution but also three influential wars in American history: The Mexican War, World War II (with an emphasis on the Pacific Theater), and the Korean Conflict.

Objectives

Students will:
Understand the relationship between eighteenth-century European conflict and the political reactions of the Founders to prevent the relentless warfare experienced in Europe.

Examine examples of positions of several delegates at the Philadelphia Convention as they developed the declaration of war against an adversary in the U.S. Constitution through critically analyzing selected primary source excerpts of delegates' written positions, and Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution.

Review the Mexican War and World War II (with specific focus on the events of December 1941) in order to understand the process of declaring war per the constitutional process.

Review and analyze post-World War II U.S. foreign policy—specifically the Truman Doctrine, the National Security Act of 1947, and National Security Council Resolution 68 (NSC-68)—to understand the changes in U.S. foreign policy related to the rising tensions of the Cold War.

Examine the U.S. and U.N. intervention in the Korean War with a focus on primary source documents and primary source excerpts.

Systematically study the interrelationships between diplomacy, armed conflicts, and utilization of the military in select examples from U.S. history.

Prerequisite knowledge

The module is designed to introduce students to the dominant view regarding war-making authority of the delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention and how the document reflects those views. The assumption is that students will have little to no prior knowledge or understanding of the constitutional process of declaring war. Basic understanding of historical documents that influenced the development of the Constitution and the failure of the Articles of the Confederation, necessitating the Philadelphia Convention, is assumed, since this content is taught earlier in U.S. history courses.

Section One: Formal and Informal War Making in American History/Eighteenth-Century European Warfare and the Constitutional Convention

Introduction:

The objective of this introduction is to have students think reflectively about the war-making powers of government. When I've used this introduction, most of my students, for various reasons, do not know that the Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war.

Instructors should introduce the topic by using these questions or similar ones:

According the U.S. Constitution, which branch of government has the power to declare war?

When was the last time the United States declared war as directed in the Constitution?

Have students share their answers and discuss what they know about the constitutional directive. It is important that the instructor provide correct answers, especially noting that Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war, before moving forward. In order to fully frame the context of much of the rest of the module, students should also be made aware that Article 2, Section 2 of the Constitution designates the president as the commander in chief of the nation's military.

Have students access the U.S. Senate website below or display it on a whiteboard. The site includes an easily understood chart of the eleven declarations of war passed by Congress: https://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/history/h_multi_sections_and_teasers/WarDeclarationsbyCongress.htm (estimated time, fifteen minutes).

Eighteenth-Century Wars, Context, and Influences on the Founders

The following segment will help students better understand how eighteenth-century European warfare affected the Constitutional Convention delegates' views of war and war-making authority. The Seven Years' War, better known as the French and Indian War in the U.S., is a particularly good example. It was a global war with a North American theater, and several delegates to the convention, including George Washington, were quite familiar with the war. Washington, president of the convention, had played an important role in touching off what would become the Seven Years' War.

This and other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European wars made the American Founders quite concerned about the abilities of monarchs to unilaterally drag nations into serious armed conflicts. Students can access other examples of the scope and loss of life of eighteenth-century European wars in Appendix 1 of this module.

Anglo-French warfare was nearly constant throughout the eighteenth century.

Use the French and Indian/Seven Years' War to demonstrate the loss of blood and treasure associated with relentless Anglo-French warfare. Specifically review the scale and scope of the 1754–1763 Seven Years' War in Europe and America, which had an estimated 853,000 to 992,000 casualties. Instructors and students who prefer a quite succinct but accurate site on the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War should access: http://www.history.com/news/10-things-you-may-not-know-about-the-french-and-indian-war.

French ships on fire off Quebec during the Battle of Quebec, September 13, 1759, in the French and Indian War. Source: *British Battles* at https://tinyurl.com/y79r42c2.

Discuss how the duration and death toll influenced the Founders to write what they did in the Constitution.

Students should be able to summarize the high cost in blood and treasure from eighteenth-century warfare after examining the Seven Years' War case study. This enables them to better realize why the Founders wrote Article 1, Section 8 after debates about formal government war-making policies.

Use American historian Arthur Schlesinger's quote as a transition to the next section on the Philadelphia Convention:

"With the war making propensity of absolute monarchs in mind, the framers took care to assign the vital foreign policy powers exclusively to Congress" (Schlesinger, 2004, 47)
(estimated time, ten to twenty minutes).

Enrichment/alternative activity

Editor's introduction: For a variety of reasons, the number of military history courses has precipitously declined in American colleges and universities in the past three decades. It is important for instructors and students to understand the value of learning military history. Classicist and syndicated columnist Victor Davis Hanson does a superb job of explaining why learning about war makes for a better understanding of history in "Why Study War?" from the summer 2007 *City Journal*.

Philadelphia Convention

Briefly discuss the context of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787—specifically why the delegates gathered in Philadelphia. Introduce or review the context of the Philadelphia 1787 Convention (e.g., the ineffectual Articles of Confederation, the Great Compromise-design of the national legislature, the three-fifths slavery compromise).

Discuss how and why (using the background of eighteenth-century bloodshed) the issue of the power to declare war was debated.

Display the following quotes from Philadelphia delegates on the screen or whiteboard and use them to facilitate a class discussion over the pros and cons of the legislative branch versus the executive branch retaining the power to declare war.

Pierce Butler (SC): "Vest the Executive with the power to take offensive military action" (9). (Inform students that Butler's convention motion to vest war-making power in executive branch received no second).

Roger Sherman (CT): "The Executive should be able to repel but not to commence war" (9).

George Mason (VA) [argued] "against giving the power of war to the Executive, because not safely to be trusted with it" (9).

Elbridge Gerry (MA) said he "never expected to hear in a republic a motion to empower the Executive alone to declare war." He also noted the Constitution should not limit the executive from the power "to repel sudden attacks" (8).
(Above excerpts from *Presidential War Power* by Louis Fisher, 2004)

Questions for student discussion:
What are specific arguments for and against vesting the power to declare war in a chief executive?

What are specific arguments for and against vesting the power to declare war in the legislative branch?

Summarize student discussion (collect student ideas on whiteboard) on the *proper* place for war powers.

Optional: Use the Picture of the Philadelphia Convention at: https://tinyurl.com/ya4u57xn as a segue into the actual language of the Constitution (estimated time, twenty minutes).

George Washington at the Philadelphia Convention. Source: *What Would The Founders Think?* at https://tinyurl.com/ya4u57xn.

Understanding War-Related Powers: The Constitution
The following brief overview utilizing the key passage in the Constitution should reinforce student understanding of the intent of the Constitution regarding Declaration of War.

Use the link or print copies of the Constitution to review Article 1, Section 8: http://www.annenbergclassroom.org/page/article-i-section-8**.**

Congress is vested with the power to declare war: The Congress shall have Power... To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal (see Appendix 1), and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water**.**

Editor's note: Article 1, Section 8 also contains other war-related congressional powers included below.

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress (estimated time, fifteen minutes).

Section Two: The Mexican War and the War against Japan (Formal Declarations of War)

The Battle of Cerro Gordo during the Mexican War. Source: *Descendants of Mexican War* website at https://tinyurl.com/y7qzfa9a**.**

Section Two is designed to have students more closely examine the specific historical circumstances that led to two formal- declared U.S. wars.

Editor's introduction: Because most students are likely to know little to nothing about events surrounding the Mexican War—and the fact that once basic knowledge is obtained, students can better understand the impact of this often-neglected war on the U.S. and North America—more comprehensive information is included in this segment of the module than is the case with the events that led to the December 8, 1941, Declaration of War against Japan.

U.S. Declaration of War, Mexican War (1846)

Students can access an accurate History Channel digital article that incorporates multimedia for a comprehensive homework introductory overview of the war at http://www.history.com/topics/mexican-american-war.

Instructors can also use the following key points to provide students with contextual information concerning the events that precipitated the war.

The Mexican War (1846–1848) was the first war fought primarily outside the U.S.

U.S.–Mexican relations had been strained ever since 1821, when Mexico won independence from Spain. Mexico was a republic in name only, and dictators, frequent revolutions, and unstable government were the norm. The U.S., France, and Great Britain frequently lodged claims against the Mexican government for damages to their nationals and property.

One of the issues of the U.S. 1844 presidential election was the American annexation of Texas—or "reannexation," as President James K. Polk called it. Parts of what is now in the state of Texas were included in the original 1803 French sale of a vast amount of territory to the U.S. in the Louisiana Purchase that almost doubled the size of the U.S. but Spain, not France, owned most of what is now Texas.

After Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the new nation welcomed American settlers into sparsely populated Texas.

Thousands of Americans flooded into Texas, and it became a republic in 1836, but the intent of most American settlers was for Texas to become an American state. Mexico never recognized Texas's independence and made plans to recapture it when Congress annexed Texas March 3, 1845, the day before Polk became president.

Mexico recalled its minister and ended diplomatic relations with the U.S.; Polk sent American troops under the command of General Zachary Taylor into disputed areas of Texas to protect American lives and property. Mexico sent an army to the south bank of the Rio Grande, the alleged boundary of Texas that Americans had claimed since the early part of the 1800s.

American diplomatic efforts in Mexico City to negotiate a settlement of the Texas dispute and buy California and New Mexico failed. The pro-negotiation Mexican president was overthrown and replaced by an officer who promised to retake Texas and make diplomatic overtures to European powers to succeed.

Following the admission of Texas in December 1845 as a state, Polk ordered Taylor to move troops to the Rio Grande River. The Mexican Army received orders to cross the river and attack American forces, and two battles—Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in the disputed territory north of the Rio Grande River—occurred in early May 1846.

On May 11, Polk, citing Mexico's refusal to negotiate and accounts of American losses along the Rio Grande, asked Congress to declare war on Mexico. On May 13, the resolution passed with only token opposition.

The hard-fought war took place in-then Mexican territory but now American: New Mexico and California, as well as an American campaign further into Mexcio that resulted in the victorious occupation of the capital, Mexico City, on September 14, 1848. Almost 13,000 American military lost their lives in the war.

The treaty that ended the war was signed in early February 1848. Mexico ceded New Mexico and California to the U.S. and recognized the loss of Texas. The U.S. assumed the claims of Americans against Mexico and paid Mexico $15 million to help the nation achieve much-needed fiscal stability.

The war, as Democrat Senator John C. Calhoun presciently predicted, increased sectional tensions because of the question of slavery in Texas. Some Whigs, including Illinois Congressman Abraham Lincoln, who considered the war immoral, unconstitutional, and pro-slavery, were opponents, as were the few abolitionists in Congress. However, most Americans supported the war because they believed it confirmed the superiority of democratic republics and the need to promote democracy far outside the boundaries of the U.S.

Supporters of the latter ideal included poet Walt Whitman and novelist James Fenimore Cooper.

Sources: Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History*, and http://www.history.com/topics/mexican-american-war.

Questions for student discussion:

Magazine editor, John L. O'Sullivan first used the term "Manifest Destiny" defined as the U.S. in an article on the U.S. annexation of Texas published in the summer of 1845: http://www.history.com/topics/manifest-destiny.
Believers in Manifest Destiny asserted that the U.S. should and *was destined* to stretch from coast to coast. Who do you think "destined" this national outcome? What does the term "manifest" mean? Students can learn more about the concept at the cited website.

After gaining independence from Spain, the Mexican government was often unstable and unable to protect Americans and Europeans who lived in Mexico or their property. The Mexican government promised to pay the U.S. government $2 million as compensation for damages but did not honor their commitment. Were these actions by the Mexican government reasonable grounds for U.S. military action? Why or why not?

Throughout U.S. history, a sentiment that surfaces and resurfaces strongly (and has substantial opposition as well) is the idea that freedom and democracy are the right of every human and it is the role of the U.S. to promote these values globally. Defend and/or critique these two assertions, using

historical evidence in supporting or critiquing either position (estimated time, thirty to forty minutes).

Enrichment/alternative activity

The Mexican War proved to be a training ground for some of the most prominent officers on both sides during the American Civil War. Students might wish to learn more about this topic by accessing the following link: https://www.thoughtco.com/generals-who-served-mexican-american-war-2136198.

U.S. Declaration of War, World War II

After the 1868 internal revolution that ended the rule of shoguns in Japan, the U.S. and an industrializing and increasingly powerful Imperial Japan enjoyed generally cordial relations—until the early 1930s, when military officers displaced civilian politicians and assumed de facto and, at times, de jure control of the national government. The Japanese Empire, already controlling Taiwan and Korea, established a puppet government in Manchuria, started a 1937 war with China for control of that nation, and became a formal ally of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. In July 1941, tensions between Japan and the U.S. (as well as several Western European nations) escalated. The U.S., the Netherlands, and the U.K. economically punished Japan because of the empire's expansionist policies that by 1940 included an incursion into French Indochina (now Vietnam). Japan was not allowed to purchase oil, steel, or military equipment, and Japanese assets in the U.S. were frozen. Japan continued diplomatic relations with the U.S. but secretly determined by fall 1941 that in order to acquire much-needed natural resources, Southeast Asia would be the next target, and this meant defeating Western powers, notably the U.S. and the U.K., in Asia. A surprise attack on American naval forces in Pearl Harbor in Hawaii with coordinated attacks in a few days on American and British forces in Asia was planned, and executed.

On December 8, 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed Congress and requested and received a declaration of war against Imperial Japan. Distribute copies or have students access the full text of the declaration request, which is available here: http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/fdr-infamy.htm The particular advantage of this link is that instructors have the option of having students read and listen to a radio broadcast of the speech that is easily utilized at *The History Place* site.

Instructors might also want to have students view a video clip of the speech to Congress, available on *YouTube*: http://youtu.be/YhtuMrMVJDk.

Reading or viewing the speech takes approximately seven to eight minutes, although teachers should encourage a more careful read.

Both houses of Congress approved the declaration the same day, and only one Congresswoman, pacifist Representative Jeannette Rankin, voted against the war with Japan. Germany and Italy, honoring their treaty obligations to Japan, both declared war against the U.S. on December 11, and the U.S. Congress reciprocated by declarations of war against Japan's two Axis allies.

Questions for student discussion:

Given what you know about the events that led to Pearl Harbor, did the U.S. have any other options regarding war with Japan? Please include a rationale for your position based on logic or evidence,

Now that you've reviewed two historical case studies where the U.S. has declared war utilizing constitutional procedures, can you think of any meaningful advantages of pursuing this course of action?

Reactions of students will vary when this topic is discussed, but many will most probably see no advantages. Instructors should encourage students to reconsider the question by accessing the following succinct argument for formal war declaration by historian David Kenneth, available at http://classroom.synonym.com/advantages-congress-declaring-war-7107.html (estimated time, thirty minutes).

Enrichment/alternative activity

Editor's introduction: Often, students only learn about Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima in studying the Pacific Theater in World War II. The following short resources essay appeared in the fall 2015 issue (20, no. 2) of *Education About Asia.* Interested instructors and students can gain a much more comprehensive understanding of World War II in the Pacific through reading and accessing some or all sources in the essay.

Teaching About World War II in the Pacific: Recommended Resources

It is important for history students to learn about World War II in the Pacific. Haruko and Theodore Cook's Japan at War: An Oral History (The New Press, 1992; reprint 2008) contains the accounts of sixty-eight men and women about their experiences in World War II. The book, which was published four years before the inaugural issue of *Education About Asia*, offers a balanced examination of highly readable stories about the war by Japanese (and Korean subjects of Imperial Japan), which will appeal to students.

A number of articles and essays about World War II in the Pacific have appeared in Education About Asia throughout the years. Michael A. Schneider's "Pearl Harbor and Pan-Asianism: Teaching Ideology as History" assists students to understand the interplay between ideology and military action. Daniel A. Metraux's "Teaching Pearl Harbor: A New Japanese Perspective" makes key insights of Japanese scholar Takeo Iguchi ("Demystifying Pearl Harbor: A New Japanese Perspective") accessible to instructors and students. Military historian Eric Bergerud in "Japan, the US, and the Asian-Pacific War" provides an accurate description of the objectives of Japanese Imperial forces in World War II and dispels widespread but erroneous stereotypes about the Asia-Pacific Theater. Bergerud also includes a short but compelling description of the war in China, which is often overlooked in history classes. Yasuko Sato in "Pacific Heart of Darkness: Remembering World War II Combat Experiences" utilizes American and Japanese memoirs and film, all of which can be used in class to portray vivid and accurate impressions for students of what life was like for both sides. All four of these articles appeared in the winter 2012 issue (17, no. 3). Richard Rice's "Thank God for the Atom Bomb?" and George P. Brown's "Learning from Truman's Decision: The Atomic Bomb and Japan's Surrender" offer perspectives on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings that differ on crucial points but accurately describe scholarly arguments for and against the American decision to use atomic weapons. The two articles appeared in the spring 2006 issue (11, no. 1). The *EAA* articles described here, as well as many more World War II-related

articles and essays, including interviews with Pulitzer Prize-winning historians Herbert Bix and John Dower, are available in the online *EAA* archives at http://aas2.asian-studies.org/EAA/TOC/index.asp.

Section Three: Key Cold War Policies—The Truman Doctrine, National Security Act of 1947, and NSC-68

Editor's introduction: Instructors and students who need a broader context for understanding the Cold War should access Lucien Ellington's "Teaching the Cold War: Economics, Ideology, and Morality" from *The Foreign Policy Research Institute* (October 2016).

U.S. foreign policy developed to counter Soviet expansion early in the Cold War. The Truman Doctrine became the foundation of American Cold War policy and led to the 1949 formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), still an active military alliance.

The Truman Doctrine

President Harry S. Truman announced the plan to Congress early in 1947. A key statement in the Truman congressional message: "I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes."

Though not overtly stated, the Truman Doctrine implied that the U.S. would support nations threatened by Soviet Communism. Instructors or students interested in accessing the Truman speech can use this link: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp.

Historian Eric Foner (2008) contends the Truman Doctrine "set a precedent for American assistance to anticommunist regimes throughout the world, no matter how undemocratic, and for the creation of a set of global military alliances directed against the Soviet Union" (892).

In what specific ways did the Truman Doctrine expand U.S. international economic, diplomatic, and military power? (estimated time, ten minutes)

The National Security Act of 1947

The National Security Act of 1947 contained several changes to U.S. policy. One of the key components of the act was the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The CIA primarily focused on gathering foreign intelligence. This in turn increased the possibility of covert, including covert hostile, foreign actions.

For further information about the creation of the CIA, visit http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/truman-signs-the-national-security-act.

Possible additional discussion topics on several additional elements of the National Security Act of 1947 are included in Appendix 1. (estimated time, ten minutes)

National Security Council Report 68 (NSC-68)

The document was a top secret-policy paper the National Security Council presented to Truman on April 14, 1950: National Security Council Report 68.

By 1950, the Soviet Union had unsuccessfully tried to block Western powers from access to Berlin, the USSR had successfully detonated a nuclear bomb, Korea had been split into two nations—one supported by the U.S. and the other by the USSR—and the largest nation in the world, China, had become a Communist nation.

Use the following quote to introduce NSC-68: "The issues that face us are momentous, involving the fulfillment or destruction not only of this Republic but of civilization itself" (NSC-68, para. 6).

As a class, read page 4 of the PDF linked above, titled "Background of the Present World Crisis." (Note the first page 4 in the primary source link was voided—students should proceed to the next page.)

Have students summarize the section "Background of the Present World Crisis" and discuss how the post-World War II international climate affected the development of NSC-68. Focus on the significant changes in world order/power and the threat of nuclear war in this section of NSC-68.

Instructors can reference the following excerpts from NSC-68 in assisting students to understand the perspectives and policy recommendations of the authors of the report.

With the destruction of German and Japanese power and decline of Britain and France, dominant world power was now bipolar—between the U.S. and USSR.

The USSR's top priority was establishing absolute power over the homeland and Eastern Europe.

Communism was a "new fanatic faith" that "seeks to impose its absolute authority over the rest of the world" (NSC-68, para. 4).

Conflict between the two superpowers was probable, and due to the growing number of nuclear weapons, everyone faced the threat of annihilation.

Since Soviets relied on military power to advance their priorities, they could therefore be checked by U.S. military power.

If this military power worked, then there was hope, because Soviets' weak link was relations with the Soviet people who, once the U.S. showed it could contain and drive back Soviets, would foster internal seeds of destruction.

Suggested Questions and Discussion topics for students based upon key NSC-68 contentions.

How did containment work in a Cold War when both sides possessed atomic weapons?

How does it work in a post-Cold War world when nations with atomic weapons have opposing global interests?

Discuss the consequences of NSC-68. Based on assumptions in NSC-68, Secretary of State Dean Acheson favored:

A rapid, massive military buildup capable of defending the Western Hemisphere and essential Allied areas

Strengthening nascent alliances—NATO (April 1949)

Creation of large-standing military to lessen reliance on nuclear weapons

Providing and protecting mobilization bases

Conducting offensive operations to destroy vital elements of the Soviet war-making capacity

Defending and maintaining the lines of communication and bases areas necessary to the execution of the above tasks

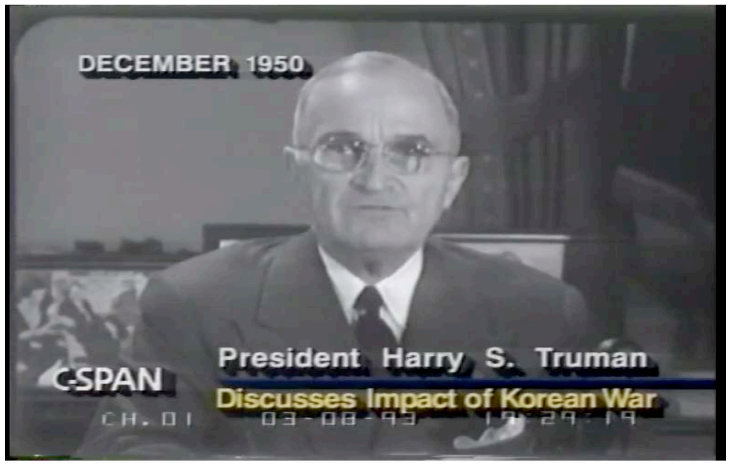
The Cold War ended in 1991 with the internal collapse of the Communist government in Russia.

Culminating student discussion question:

Has this collapse resulted in contraction of the extensive U.S. diplomatic and military presence globally? Have students provide rationales for their answers

(estimated time, twenty minutes).

Section Four: Korean Conflict, an Undeclared War, 1950–1953



Truman addresses the nation on why the U.S. must intervene in the Korean War. Source: *C-Span* at http://tinyurl.com/yalo9cfk.

Enrichment/alternative activities

Editor's introduction: Instructors and students who are interested in a comprehensive but succinct article on the Korean War should access James I. Matray's article "The Korean War 101: Causes, Course, and Conclusion of the Conflict" from the winter 2012 issue (17, no. 3) of *Education About Asia.*

Instructors or students may also use this brief backgrounder on the creation of two Koreas and the Korean War, excerpted from Lucien Ellington and Tawni Ferrari's "Why Do Some Nations Prosper? The Case of North and South Korea," from *The Foreign Policy Research Institute*, April 26, 2017.

As the war with Japan was ending, in August 1945, the U.S. State Department charged two American officers with the task of dividing the peninsula into an American and a Soviet occupation zone. They chose the 38th parallel. This decision gave control of Seoul to the Americans, and to everyone's surprise, the Soviets agreed In 1948, under a United States–Soviet trusteeship, South and North Korea officially became two countries governed by two different political systems—the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), respectively.

War erupted on the peninsula only two years after country separation and less than five years after being released from Japan's hostile grip. On June 25th, 1950, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, after assurances of Soviet and Chinese support, invaded the South. In reaction, with the Soviet member absent and unable to vote, the UN Security Council created an international force led by the U.S. to wage war against the North. At first, North Korean military forces were able to control most of the ROK, but a successful landing of U.S.-led UN forces at Inchon paved the way for a counterattack that destroyed most of the North Korean army and resulted in UN forces occupying much of North Korea. In November 1950, forces from the People's Republic of China authorized by Mao Zedong intervened in the war and helped North Korea push U.S. forces south of the 38thparallel. The subsequent fighting over the next two years produced no decisive victor.

The Korean Armistice Agreement ended the Korean War on July 27, 1953. In an "Agreement between Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, the Korean Demilitarized Zone was established. This agreement created a two-kilometer buffer on each side of the 38th parallel. North of the buffer zone, the use of air, ground, and sea military support would be permitted under the leadership of Kim Il-sung on behalf of North Korea as long as the support was not deemed hostile. Likewise, in the South, similar military efforts could advance in tandem with efforts to govern democratically.

The Korean War devastated both economies. North Korea was the target of extensive aerial bombardment, and the South was engulfed by the land war. Additionally, Seoul, the capital of the South, changed hands four times as the opposing sides took and were then forced out of the city.

Over one million people in the ROK alone were killed. According to estimates prepared for the United Nations, the devastation to the South Korean economy during the war years was approximately 3.03 billion USD, an amount almost equal to the combined value of all final goods and services the ROK produced in 1952 and 1953.

Chronology of Events leading to a U.S.-led UN Armed Response in Korea:
June 25th 1950 DPRK forces attack the ROK and President Truman refers matter to the UN Security Council (UNSC) who passes a resolution calling for a cease fire and DPRK withdrawal from the South.

June 27th and July 7th With the USSR, who had the power to veto a Security Council resolution, boycotting the UN because of American refusal to recognize the new Chinese Communist Government, the UNSC passes a resolution calling for a United Nations armed forces response and, in a July 7th resolution designated that the U.S. designate the commander of UN forces.

July 19th President Truman informed Congress, and later addressed the nation via radio and television regarding UN and U.S. military actions in Korea.

Instructors who wish to allocate time for all or some analyses of relevant primary source documents may access the following U.N. documents and accompanying video clip.

Link to UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 83, 84, and 85 (Designation of responsibility for relief of South Korean civilians to U.S. command in Korea)
Link: UN Security Council Resolutions 83, 84, 85

UNSCR 83 released June 27th 1950
Discuss the UNSCR recommendations and its implications for war

UNSCR 84 released July 7th 1950

Read UNSCR 84 and focus upon paragraphs three, four, and six.

Play at least the first three or four minutes of Truman addressing the nation on the Situation in Korea July 19th, 1950: https://tinyurl.com/ybrgoghk. Audio clip and transcript are the full speech (estimated time, twenty minutes).

U.S. Reaction to Invasion of South Korea (Estimated time 15 minutes)

Post the following quote on a whiteboard and have students read the excerpt:

President Truman stated, "Communism was acting in Korea, just as Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese had ten, fifteen, and twenty years earlier. I felt certain that if South Korea was allowed to fall, Communist leaders would be emboldened to override nations closer to our own shores. If the Communists were permitted to force their way into the Republic of Korea without opposition from the free world, no small nation would have the courage to resist threat and aggression by stronger

Communist neighbors." (Ferrell, *The Autobiography of Harry S. Truman.* Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1980.)

Use the quote and perhaps the video of Truman's national address to discuss the U.S. position on Korea and how this position tended to confirm the tenants of NSC-68 addressed in Section Three of the module.

With the aforementioned U.N. resolutions and U.S. policies, did Truman actually seek congressional approval to declare war in Korea? (estimated time, fifteen minutes)

Further Analysis of Truman's Decision to Avoid a Declaration of War and Congressional Response

Excerpts from president's news conference of June 29, 1950:

Q. Mr. President, could you elaborate on this statement that–I believe the direct quote was, "We are not at war." And could we use that quote in quotes?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I will allow you to use that. We are not at war.

Question: Mr. President, would it be correct, against your explanation, to call this a police action under the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That is exactly what it amounts to

From *Teaching U.S. History*, 2015, pars. 47-50.

Discuss how the president avoided a declaration of war per the Constitution

Truman described the conflict as a "police action" since it was an undeclared war

Police action was fought under the auspices of the United Nations and the UNSCR 84

Since Truman specifically stated we were "not at war," congressional approval was not necessary

Despite the "police action" moniker, Truman committed U.S. troops in support of UNSCR 84 without consulting Congress (Fisher, 1997)

Congressional Response to the U.N. Resolution

Use congressional responses to conclude the section on Korea.

President Truman used the authority he believed the U.N. and the NATO treaty gave him as justifications for engaging in war in Korea without receiving the prior approval of Congress.

Senator Robert Taft (R-OH) did not support the use of U.S. forces in Korea and noted that when Congress ratified the U.N. charter "American troops would be committed to the UN only after a Special Military Agreement had been negotiated with the UN Security Council AND such agreement was approved by Congress." Excerpts from Jacob Javits, Who Makes War, 1973.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations also noted (with respect to the U.S. joining NATO), "The treaty in no way affects the basic division of authority between the President and the Congress as defined in the Constitution. In particular, it does not increase, decrease, or change the power of the President as Commander in Chief of the armed forces or impair full authority of the Congress to declare war (Javits, p. 146).

Finally, Congress was concerned over the "growing power of the President to make undeclared war and the tendency of Congress to surrender is prerogative" (Javitz. 240)

Culminating Questions

In your opinion, did Truman exceed his constitutional authority in committing U.S. troops to a "war" without congressional approval? Why or why not?

Given the situation in Korea, if you indicated that Truman did exceed his constitutional authority, did the circumstances justify Truman's decision? Why or why not?

What can we discern about Truman's rationale to avoid a declaration of war? (estimated time, ten minutes)

APPENDIX 1
Additional Information Eighteenth-Century Wars, Context, and Influences on the Founders

This can be assigned as homework to help students understand the scale and scope of eighteenth-century warfare or can be used in class as supplementary information as desired.

Additional examples of Anglo-French wars to be used if desired:
Anglo-French War (1702–1713)—part of War of the Spanish Succession
Anglo-French War (1740–1748)—part of the War of Austrian Secession
Anglo-French War (1778–1783)—linked to the American Revolutionary War

Note on Letters of Marque and Reprisal, excerpts from *Presidential War Power* by Louis Fisher (2004):

"Sovereigns were able to authorize private citizens to wage war on other countries"
"Quickly augment their armies and navies and respond more quickly and with greater force"
"Privately owned vessels were authorized to prey on foreign vessels and take plunder"
"The phrase 'letters of marque and reprisal' came to refer to any use of force short of war"

Optional Activity: The National Security Act

Unified the nation's military (which now included a separate Air Force) under a new Department of Defense.

Established the National Security Council (NSC) to coordinate between agencies and scrutinize intelligence.

Established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) replacing the post-war Central Intelligence Group—CIA was now a distinct agency for intelligence gathering and covert operations outside the U.S.

Contrasting areas of emphasis: CIA (external intelligence and security) versus the FBI (internal intelligence and security).

Questions for student discussion:

What did the National Security Act convey regarding emerging Cold War relationships between the USA and USSR?

What did the passage of the act, only two years removed from tenuous allies victorious in World War II, demonstrate about the lack of trust between the two superpowers—U.S. and USSR?

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Executive Decision-Making during Times of Crisis: Woodrow Wilson and World War I

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Woodrow Wilson. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/yaxtcdcj.

This module was developed and utilized for an eleventh and twelfth-grade advanced placement United States government class to address the AP syllabus topic "Presidential Powers." However, the module could easily be adapted for use in a standard or AP United States history class, a world history class, a twentieth-century U.S. foreign policy class, or a number of other elective semester courses offered at the high school level.

Estimated module length: Four forty-five minute classes, or a total of three hours

Background information

When the assassination of Austria-Hungary's Archduke Franz Ferdinand occurred in 1914 and triggered the implementation of a previously negotiated series of mutual support alliances among the European nations, President Woodrow Wilson, who believed in American neutrality, saw the U.S. role as the "peace broker." The 1914–1918 Great War (known today as World War I) developed into a war unlike any the belligerent nations had ever experienced, and Europe became a horrific battlefield. While the United States philosophically and fiscally supported the Triple Entente in the beginning years of the conflict, Wilson was determined to keep the nation out of armed conflict. However, by 1917, it looked as though both Russia and France would pull out of the war, leaving Great Britain alone to withstand the onslaught of German forces and a possible German victory. That outcome was simply not acceptable to Wilson.

This module is designed to introduce students to the series of events that precipitated the U.S. entry into World War I and the steps by which Wilson moved his perception of America's role from "peace broker" to "war ally." The process used in this module can be applied to other executive decision-making scenarios as varied as Truman's decision to remove General Douglas MacArthur from command during the Korean Conflict to President George W. Bush's decision to announce a war against terrorism.

Objectives
Students will:
Identify the most significant military actions of 1914–1917, leading to the attrition among Allied forces and the expansion of aggressive actions toward the United States.

Analyze these situations and explore what alternative actions might have been considered by Wilson and his chief advisers.

Explain the significance of unrestrictive submarine warfare, the Zimmerman telegram, the belligerent communications from Germany, and the numerous sinking of ships in driving the United States toward a declaration of war, and Wilson's choice of language for the "Proclamation of War."

4. Analyze and critique excerpts from Wilson's April 3, 1917, Congressional War Message.

5. Identify key opposition to the war and the Wilson administration's reactions by applying analytical skills to understand significant events such as *Schenck v. United States*, Eugene Debs's speeches, and other writings.

Prerequisite knowledge

This module was designed to assist students in moving from a broad perception of the role of the president in the decision-making process to a view grounded in experience with actual events and the connecting subsequent presidential actions. The assumption is that students will possess only general knowledge related to World War I and very little specific content knowledge.

Module, day one: Why We Fight

As students enter the classroom, each will be given a sheet of paper upon which the following is written:

"The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting." Sun Tzu

"War must be, while we defend our lives against a destroyer who would devour all; but I do not love the bright sword for its sharpness, nor the arrow for its swiftness, nor the warrior for his glory. I love only that which they defend." J. R. R. Tolkien

Questions for students:

While war is never desired, throughout history, humans have engaged in armed conflict because they believed they were fighting for a purpose and to preserve a way of life. As we begin to analyze World War I and Wilson's decision to bring the United States into the conflict in order to "make the world safe for democracy," it is important that we understand his particular perception of the American legacy as the "shining city on a hill."

In your own words, what did Wilson mean when he used the phrase, "make the world safe for democracy?"

After fifteen-twenty minutes, students will be asked to form groups of four and "round-robin" answers, adding descriptors to their own list of phrases. After five minutes, a spokesperson from each group will share with the class.

After the brief discussion, instructors might ask these two questions:
For many people, the idea of war is unsettling, and diplomacy is offered as an alternative to combat. Unfortunately, diplomacy often works only among honorable people. How might you deal with the "dishonorable" leader? Does evil exist?

If evil exists and there are some ideals worth fighting to preserve, what would you be willing to fight for as an individual or as part of a group?

Teachers should encourage students to discuss the questions (estimated time, ten to fifteen minutes).

Module, day two: World War I Prior to 1917

Pose this question and allow time for brief discussion: Why did war break out in Europe in 1914? (estimated time, two to three minutes)

To further answer this question, divide the class into six groups, with each assigned one of six causes that together can be recalled as MAIMIN:

Group 1: Militarism and military plans
Group 2: Alliance system
Group 3: Imperialism
Group 4: Mass politics
Group 5: Intellectual context
Group 6: Nationalism

Students use their text, internet, and other sources to create a general summary of their category (estimated time, fifteen minutes).

Each group (utilizing a spokesperson) is given three minutes to summarize the significance of their cause on the outbreak of war.

Have students view the eight-minute video clip at http://youtu.be/ZmHxq28440c, which explains the significance of the assassination of Ferdinand.

Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/hy2r2jh.

Debriefing questions:

How did the heir to the throne of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire view the Serbians? The Slavs?

What was the significance of the Black Hand?

What was the reaction of the Serbians to Ferdinand's visit?

Note: The ensuing primary source excerpts and background reading assignments are included in the Appendix 1 of this module. They also can be individually downloaded at (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crcminesm1materials.pdf).

Students then read the German Proclamations of War against Russia and France and identify Germany's justification for war (primary source document Nos. 1 and 2). A brief discussion of these documents will conclude activities for the day.

Homework for day three:

V Beach at Cape Helles, Gallipoli, May 6, 1915. View is from the bow of the collier SS River Clyde. Taken by Photographer Lt. Wilfred Park RNVR (Photographic Section) accompanying 3rd WR Royal Navy Thomas McNamee. Source: Wikipedia at https://tinyurl.com/y8u88uvc.

Reading assignment: Background document No. 3, "Who Declared War and When," and background document, No. 4, "Significant Battles of the First World War: 1914–1916." Indicate to students they should be prepared to discuss these questions during the next class.

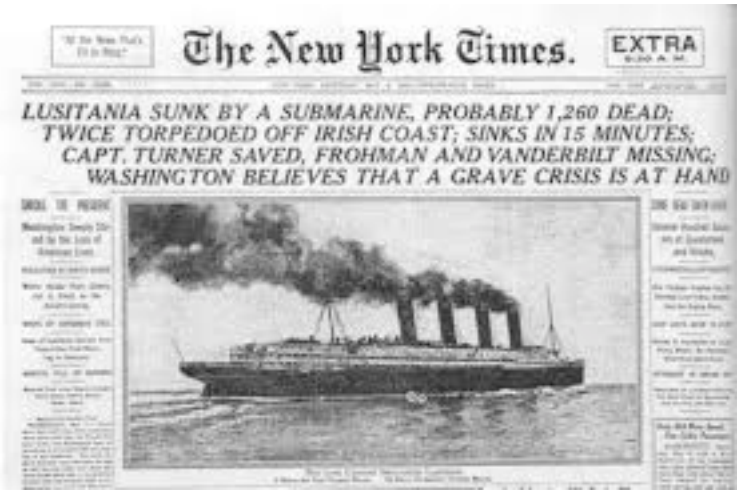
Were you surprised to see some of the nations listed as either "Allies" or "Central Powers"? Why might they choose to join in this conflict?

Based on these brief summaries of the six most significant early battles of World War I, how were the Allied forces (Great Britain, France, and Russia) faring? If casualty rates can be used as a part of that analysis, what are your thoughts?

How different were the techniques used during World War I from those of earlier conflicts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

What might you predict as an outcome of the war based only on the early battles?

Module day three: Wilson and World War I: Making "the World Safe for Democracy"



The New York Times. EXTRA

LUSITANIA SUNK BY A SUBMARINE, PROBABLY 1,260 DEAD; TWICE TORPEDOED OFF IRISH COAST; SINKS IN 15 MINUTES; CAPT. TURNER SAVED, FROHMAN AND VANDERBILT MISSING; WASHINGTON BELIEVES THAT A GRAVE CRISIS IS AT HAND

The New York Times front-page story of the sinking of the *Lusitania.* Source: *Spartacus Educational* at https://tinyurl.com/yd7tpuym.

Make an opening commentary similar to what follows: We've spent the last two days examining the causes and several of the actions of World War I. You may have noticed that while Cuba and Haiti joined the Allied forces, the United States had chosen to remain neutral, although the nation did support Great Britain and France through the selling of arms and munitions. However, by 1917, Wilson, who had deliberately kept the U.S. neutral, felt compelled to ask the U.S. Congress for a "Proclamation of War." Today, we're going to examine the "whys" of Wilson's decision to enter the war on the side of the Triple Entente.

Distribute or have students access three handouts: background reading and video No. 5: "The Sinking of the *Lusitania*"; primary source document No. 6: "The Zimmerman Telegram"; and background reading No. 7: "Unrestricted Submarine Warfare."

Ask students to read the short background information and view "The Sinking of the *Lusitania*" (estimated time, four to five minutes).

Discuss the following questions:

How did the citizens of the U.S. react to the news of the *Lusitania*?

How did the German action conflict with U.S. values?

Have students read the Zimmerman telegram (estimated time, five to ten minutes).

Discuss the following questions:

What kind of deal was the German government attempting to negotiate with Mexico?

What did the German government hope Japan, allied with the Triple Entente against the Central Powers, would do to further Germany's and possibly Mexico's interests?

Students are asked to read "Unrestricted Submarine Warfare" (estimated time, five to seven minutes).

Discuss the following questions:

How does this article relate to our earlier discussion of the *Lusitania*?

Following the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the international outcry, Germany pulled back its U-2s and pledged to allow passenger liners free navigation of the waters. If Germany knew that returning to submarine warfare would anger the U.S. and Germany did not want the U.S. entering the Great War, why would they return to this policy?

Students should, through analysis of the Zimmerman telegram and the contextual background reading on Germany's 1917 Unrestricted Submarine Warfare Policy, understand two critical events that caused the U.S. to enter World War I, effective April 6, 1917. Students, because of possible confusion caused by the fact that Japan would instigate World War II twenty-four years later with the bombing of Pearl Harbor, should be reminded that when learning about the Zimmerman telegram, the Japanese government pointedly repudiated Germany.

Other events that caused America to eventually enter the war were, despite having a significant number of German-American citizens and immigrants, the cultural and political affinity felt by many Americans for the British and French due to the common language shared by the U.S. and most of the U.K., and liberal democratic traditions all three nations shared. Although in the beginning of the war American business traded with both sides, the British blockade quickly caused a 90 percent drop in U.S.-German trade. U.S. private companies supplied their British and French allies with a vast array of goods both before and after the U.S. entered World War I.

Analyzing Wilson's War Message

Have students digitally access or distribute primary source document and reading No. 8, "Excerpts: Woodrow Wilson's War Message to Congress, April 2nd, 1917 and Historians' Reactions to Woodrow Wilson's War Message."

Students should then read the three excerpts of Wilson's War Message and answer all questions. The instructor should then conduct a whole-class discussion on the student answers. Instructors might want to read the speech in its entirety in Appendix 2 (http://tinyurl.com/y8jc22x4) before class so as to briefly reiterate the specific causes of America's entry into war that students have already considered (estimated time, twenty minutes).

Questions for excerpt 1

What is an autocratic government? Is Wilson asking Congress to declare war on all autocratic governments worldwide?

Is Wilson asking the U.S. to fight for the freedom of all of the world's people? Was/is such an effort possible?

Questions for excerpt 2

Has a nation in world history ever successfully won a war that resulted in world peace? Defend your answer with evidence if possible.

Interpret what you think Wilson specifically meant in his sentence, "The world must be made safe for democracy."

Questions for excerpt 3

Is it possible for any nation to achieve all the above objectives in one war? Defend your answer with evidence.

Should the U.S. make war until all nations are democracies? Why or why not?

Historians' Reactions to Woodrow Wilson's War Message

Introduce the critique of Wilson's speech by informing students that a number of historians think the speech set dangerous precedents in the U.S. that negatively impacted U.S. and world history. This perspective is shared by some historians who favored America's entry into World War I but not some of the broader goals Wilson used to justify the address.

Have students read the excerpt in primary source document and reading No. 8 from Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Walter McDougall https://www.fpri.org/?p=14654).

Discuss the following questions:

In your own words, explain what you think the differences were in the three choices McDougall asserts Wilson could have made.

What does McDougall mean when he argues, "Wilson declared America the world's messiah"? Should the U.S. be the world's messiah? Why or why not?

Homework for day four:

Instructors should introduce homework by making these or similar comments: Although Congress overwhelmingly supported Wilson's request for a declaration of war, not all U.S. citizens agreed with their nation's direct involvement in World War I. Tonight, you will spend some time acquainting yourself with the opposing viewpoints and the federal government's reaction to dissent at home.

Visit http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/capitalism/landmark_schenck.html and read the summary provided *for Schenck .v United States*. Now visit https://www.oyez.org/cases/1900-1940/249us47 and read this brief summary.

Eugene Debs was undoubtedly the most vocal opponent of the U.S. involvement in World War I and ultimately was sentenced to prison for statements made during a speech in Canton, Ohio. A frequent candidate for president, Debs based his opposition on his Socialist ideology. Debs's imprisonment was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. To understand more about his opposition to the war and his imprisonment, visit http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/Eugene_Debs.

Be prepared to discuss the Schenck and Debs cases.

Module, day four: Domestic Dissent against World War I and General Reflections on Wilson's Decision
Class begins with a discussion of the court's distinction in Schenck between "free speech" and "free speech during time of war."
Discuss the following questions:

Why might the court have reacted to Schenck's actions as it did?

What are the critical lines in the decision? Debs's speech in Canton occurred in 1918, after the U.S. was already involved in the war. Does that timing have any impact on the court's decision? How might the general public and the government's reaction to his speech been impacted by events occurring in other nations? Does our freedom of speech guarantee individuals a right to "petition" for grievances? Assemble in opposition? Under what conditions?

Teachers might also consider having students do a summary writing exercise and ensuing discussion.

You have now examined the historical record of controversial issues related to U.S. involvement in World War I. In 200 words, assess the validity of this statement: The United States had ample reasons for entering the Great War in 1917, and the fight to "make the world safe for democracy" was a continuation of our quest to bring liberty, equality, and justice to the world (estimated time, twenty minutes).

Students speak based on their short free-response essays, and the instructor assists students to reflect upon their thoughts through a discussion involving a reexamination of the introduction to the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the Constitution, and the first eight amendments of the Bill of Rights.

Final module questions:

How difficult must it have been for Wilson to move beyond his background as a historian and university president to making a decision that would directly impact the lives of two million U.S. armed forces members?

Let's circle back to our original question: Are there values still worth fighting for when diplomacy fails?

How difficult is that decision for a president? How might the public be encouraged to engage in civil discourse about political and military courses of action?

Enrichment/alternative activities

Editor's note: World War I

Instructors may wish to share this document with students and ask them to reflect on what points that follow probably apply to most wars, what points are specifically applicable to World War I, and how World War I helped change the course of American and world history.

Ten Points for Reflection: The U.S. and World War I

1. Although American deaths in World War I pale in significance to allies, opponents, and a substantial number of U.S. military personnel that died from disease, the 116,516 U.S. soldiers who died make the war the third leading costly war involving loss of American lives in U.S. history. Only the American Civil War (Confederate and Union deaths combined) and World War II rank higher (Department of Defense). American forces were instrumental in turning the tide of the war as Germany and its allies were defeated. However, World War I did not succeed in making the world safe for democracy: Germany and the Western Powers were at war again twenty years later.

2. World War I helped spawn the growth of Fascism and Communism in Europe, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of millions of people. In contrast to the former destructive belief systems, Wilson's liberal internationalism committed future U.S. presidents in words and sometimes actions to global promotion of democracy, capitalism, and freedom. This U.S. stance has been evidentially liberating for a massive amount of people globally but has caused unintended domestic and foreign negative consequences as well.

3. World War I was the first conflict where a president orchestrated a massive national government propaganda campaign using mass media, such as more effective print technology and movies previously unavailable. Wilson created the Federal Committee on Public Information that recruited 75,000 speakers ("Four Minute Men") to give short war aims talks in theater intermissions and other similar events, and printed 100 million pamphlets in several languages, as well as promoted movies supporting the war.

4. Once the U.S. was in the war, the event created some government-initiated, and private discrimination against German-Americans, then and now, the largest ethnic group in the U.S.* "Hamburger" was replaced by "liberty sandwich" and sauerkraut was replaced by "liberty cabbage." Public schools in German-American-dominated cities like St. Louis, Missouri, had to stop using

German as their primary language, and many German-American families changed their names from German to English.

5. World War I was by far the most expensive conflict in American history at the time. World War I cost the federal government ten times more than the Civil War. Americans, because of World War I, faced much higher federal taxes than any time since the Internal Revenue was created during the Civil War.

6. Although both because of the relatively short time the U.S. was in the war, and strong cultural pro-freedom attitudes, the federal government cajoled and persuaded citizens, rather than commanded them, to make economic sacrifices and mobilize for various war efforts. Federal Food Commissioner Herbert Hoover exhorted housewives to be patriotic and observe "Meatless Mondays" and "Wheatless Wednesdays," and Secretary of the Treasury William McAdoo sponsored massive rallies to promote the purchase of war bonds. Nevertheless, the Wilson administration took over the railroads in late 1917 so precedents were set regarding central government control of the economy that would be expanded during World War II.

7. The federal government initially had relatively low numbers of volunteers for World War I. The Selective Service Act of May 18, 1917, enabled the size of the American army to increase from 200,000 in May 1917 to nearly four million by war's end in 1918. About two million Americans served overseas.

8. Government also, through the 1917 Espionage Act and the 1918 Sedition Act, was able to prosecute pacifists, left-wing political groups, and unions that opposed the war.

9 World War I planted the seeds for improvement in the lives of women and African-Americans in that industrial jobs opened to these groups because of a shortage of manpower due to the war. Although these gains were short-lived when returning soldiers reclaimed jobs, the precedent was set for future social change.

10. New technology often emerges as a result of war. In addition to new military technology such as the tank, examples of World War I technology that now have widespread use include the zipper, the wristwatch, radio communications technology, daylight saving time, stainless steel, sun lamps, and tea bags.

Sources for this extension:

Evans, Stephen. "10 Inventions That Owe Their Success to World War One." *BBC*. April 13, 2014. http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-26935867.

Foner, Eric, and John A. Garraty. *The Reader's Companion to American History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.

Johnson, Paul. *A History of the American People*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1999.

Neiberg, Michael. "What Students Need to Know about WWI." *Foreign Policy Research Institute*. August 29, 2008. http://www.fpri.org/article/2008/08/what-students-need-to-know-about-wwi/.

Norman, Geoffrey. "Woodrow Wilson's War." *The Weekly Standard.* April 3, 2017.

Editor's note:
Literature, America, and World War I: Willa Cather

Often, reading good literature offers deeper insights at many levels about understanding human feelings, action, and interactions than focusing exclusively on the study of more objective subjects such as political science, history, and economics. Although European authors in several nations produced an impressive body of fiction, poetry, and essays on the war, this was less true in the case of American authors.

Willa Cather is a memorable exception. A native Midwesterner who spent considerable time both in New York City and her home state of Nebraska during the war, Cather penned an essay titled "Roll Call on the Prairies" in The *Red Cross Magazine* (July 1919) that is available at the link below: http://cather.unl.edu/nf007.html.

The short, well-written essay is a gem for students since it contrasts the markedly different levels of enthusiasm for the war exhibited by what pundits might label today as "Red States" and "Blue States."

Cather also won a 1923 Pulitzer Prize for her superb World War I novel, *One of Ours* (1922). Cather tells the story of Nebraskan Claude Wheeler, who felt trapped by family and fate that the young, intelligent, and educated man considered boring and mind-numbing. World War I gave Claude a cause greater than himself, and his life changed forever because of the war. The novel also illustrates the ethnic conflicts between Anglo-Nebraskans and their Central European neighbors that intensely escalated as the war progressed, especially after the U.S. entered the conflict. The 337-page book is inexpensive and available at http://amzn.com/143828456X.

References and Resources

http://youtu.be/ZmHxq28440c: "A Shot that Changed the World—The Assassination of Franz Ferdinand" is an eight-minute segment on Franz Ferdinand's assassination by *The Great War Project* on *YouTube*.

http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/world-war-i-history/videos/u-boats-sink-the-lusitania-in-1915. This *History.com* three minute video provides primary source footage of this important event.

http://tinyurl.com/y8jc22x4: This is a link to Woodrow Wilson's War Message to Congress in 1917.

https://www.fpri.org/?p=14654: This is a link to Walter A. McDougall's article "The Great War's Impact on American Foreign Policy and Civic Religion" for the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/capitalism/landmark_schenck.html: This is a short essay on *Schenck v. U.S.* by Alex McBride for the "Capitalism and Conflict" section of *The Supreme Court Series* by PBS for Classrooms.

https://www.oyez.org/cases/1900-1940/249us47: This is a brief overview of *Schenck v. United States* from the website *Oyez*.

http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/Eugene_Debs: This is the entry on Eugene Debs from the *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*.

http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-woodrow-wilsons-war-speech-congress-changed-him-and-nation-180962755/: This *Smithsonian.com* by journalist Eric Trickey that appeared on April 3rd 2017 offers an accessible story of the politics and repercussions of Wilson's change to war president.

http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65366: This is Wilson's request for war against Germany.

Source for Germany's declarations of war: Horne, Charles F. *Source Records of the Great War*. Vol. 2. New York: National Alumni, 1923.

Source for "Who Declared War and When": *Funk & Wagnalls New Encyclopedia*. Vol. 27, 1983.

Excerpts from "10 Significant Battles of the First World War": http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/10-significant-battles-of-the-first-world-war

Transcript of the Zimmerman telegram: https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Zimmerman_Note

Background for the Zimmerman telegram: Alexander, Mary, and Marilyn Childress. "The Zimmerman Telegram." *Social Education* 45, no. 4 (1981): 266.

Source for "Unrestricted Submarine Warfare" primary source document: www.historylearningsite.co.uk.

Note: Original spelling is retained for this document and all that follow.

Appendix 1: Primary source and background documents

Document No. 1: Germany's Declaration of War with Russia, August 1, 1914

Presented by the German Ambassador to St. Petersburg

The Imperial German Government have used every effort since the beginning of the crisis to bring about a peaceful settlement. In compliance with a wish expressed to him by His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, the German Emperor had undertaken, in concert with Great Britain, the part of mediator between the Cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg; but Russia, without waiting for any result, proceeded to a general mobilisation of her forces both on land and sea.

In consequence of this threatening step, which was not justified by any military proceedings on the part of Germany, the German Empire was faced by a grave and imminent danger. If the German Government had failed to guard against this peril, they would have compromised the safety and the very existence of Germany.

The German Government were, therefore, obliged to make representations to the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias and to insist upon a cessation of the aforesaid military acts. Russia having refused to comply with this demand, and having shown by this refusal that her action was directed against Germany, I have the honour, on the instructions of my Government, to inform your Excellency as follows:

His Majesty the Emperor, my august Sovereign, in the name of the German Empire, accepts the challenge, and considers himself at war with Russia.

Several of these have openly violated the neutrality of Belgium by flying over the territory of that country; one has attempted to destroy buildings near Wesel; others have been seen in the district of the Eifel; one has thrown bombs on the railway near Carlsruhe and Nuremberg.

I am instructed, and I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that in the presence of these acts of aggression the German Empire considers itself in a state of war with France in consequence of the acts of this latter Power.

At the same time, I have the honour to bring to the knowledge of your Excellency that the German authorities will retain French mercantile vessels in German ports, but they will release them if, within forty- eight hours, they are assured of complete reciprocity.

My diplomatic mission having thus come to an end, it only remains for me to request your Excellency to be good enough to furnish me with my passports, and to take the steps you consider suitable to assure my return to Germany, with the staff of the Embassy, as well as, with the Staff of the Bavarian Legation and of the German Consulate General in Paris.

Be good enough, M. le President, to receive the assurances of my deepest respect.
(Signed) SCIIOEN.

Document No. 2: Germany's Declaration of War with France, August 3, 1914

Presented by the German Ambassador to Paris

Several of these have openly violated the neutrality of Belgium by flying over the territory of that country; one has attempted to destroy buildings near Wesel; others have been seen in the district of the Eifel; one has thrown bombs on the railway near Carlsruhe and Nuremberg.

I am instructed, and I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that in the presence of these acts of aggression the German Empire considers itself in a state of war with France in consequence of the acts of this latter Power.

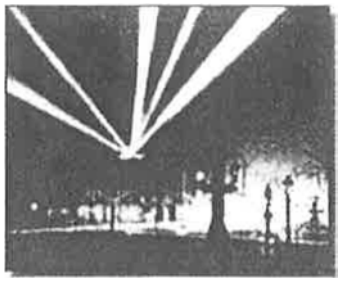
At the same time, I have the honour to bring to the knowledge of your Excellency that the German authorities will retain French mercantile vessels in German ports, but they will release them if, within forty-eight hours, they are assured of complete reciprocity.

My diplomatic mission having thus come to an end, it only remains for me to request your Excellency to be good enough to furnish me with my passports, and to take the steps you consider suitable to assure my return to Germany, with the staff of the Embassy, as well as, with the Staff of the Bavarian Legation and of the German Consulate General in Paris.

Be good enough, M. le President, to receive the assurances of my deepest respect.

(Signed) SCIIOEN.

Document No. 3: "Who Declared War and When"



The 'Great War', which began on July 28, 1914 with Austria-Hungary's declaration of war with Serbia, was the first truly global war. It began in Europe but quickly spread throughout the world. Many countries became embroiled within the war's first month; others joined in the ensuing four years, with Honduras announcing hostilities with Germany as late as July 19, 1918 (with the record going to Romania, who entered the war—albeit for the second time- one day before it finished, on November 10, 1918).
Detailed below is a list of the nations who formally declared hostilities during World War One, along with their date of entrance. Nations of the British Empire, e.g. Australia, Canada and New Zealand, automatically entered the war with Britain's decision to enter the fray on 4 August 1914.
Note that on numerous occasions hostilities were assumed without a formal declaration, e.g. Russia with Germany and Austria-Hungary in August 1914.

Australia
Entered war together with Britain on August 4, 1914
Austria-Hungary
Declared war with Serbia on July 28, 1914
Declared war with Russia on August 6, 1914
Declared war with Belgium on August 28, 1914
Declared war with Portugal on March 15, 1916
Belgium
Invaded by Germany on August 3, 1914
Bulgaria
Declared war with Serbia on October 14, 1915
Declared war with Romania on September 1, 1916
Canada
Entered war together with Britain on August 4, 1914
China
Severed relations with Germany on March 14, 1917
Declared war with Germany on August 14, 1917
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on August 14, 1917
Costa Rica
Severed relations with Germany on September 21, 1917
Declared war with Germany on May 23, 1918
Cuba
Declared war with Germany on April 7, 1917
Ecuador
Severed relations with Germany on December 8, 1917

France
Invaded by Germany on August 2, 1914
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on August 12, 1914
Declared war with Turkey on November 5, 1914
Declared war with Bulgaria on October 16, 1915
Germany
Declared war with Russia on August 1, 1914
Declared war with France on August 3, 1914
Declared war with Belgium on August 4, 1914
Declared war with Portugal on March 9, 1916
Greece
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on June 27, 1917
Declared war with Bulgaria on June 27, 1917
Declared war with Germany on June 27, 1917
Declared war with Turkey on June 27, 1917
Guatemala
Declared war with Germany on April 23, 1918
Haiti
Declared war with Germany on July 12, 1918
Honduras
Declared war with Germany on July 19, 1918
Italy
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on May 23, 1915
Declared war with Turkey on August, 21 1915
Declared war with Germany on August 28, 1915
Declared war with Bulgaria on October 19, 1915
Japan
Declared war with Germany on August 23, 1914
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on August 25, 1914
Liberia
Declared war with Germany on August 4, 1914
Montenegro
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on August 5, 1914
Declared war with Germany on August 8, 1914
Declared war with Bulgaria on October 15, 1915
New Zealand
Entered war together with Britain on August 4, 1914
Nicaragua
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on May 8, 1918
Declared war with Germany on May 8, 1918
Panama
Declared war with Germany on April 7, 1917
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on December 10, 1917
Peru
Severed relations with Germany on October 6, 1917
Portugal
Entered war against Germany on March 9, 1916
Entered war against Austria-Hungary on March 15, 1916

Romania
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on August 27, 1916
Exited war with Treaty of Bucharest on May 7, 1918
Re-entered the war on November 10, 1918
Russia
Declared war with Turkey on November 2, 1914
Declared war with Bulgaria on October 19, 1915
San Marino
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on June 3, 1915
Serbia
Declared war with Germany on August 6, 1914
Declared war with Turkey on November 2, 1914
Siam
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on July 22, 1917
Declared war with Germany on July 22, 1917
Turkey
Declared war with Romania on August 30, 1916
Severed relations with United States on April 23, 1917
United Kingdom
Declared war with Germany on August 4, 1914
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on August 12, 1914
Declared war with Turkey on November 5, 1914
Declared war with Bulgaria on October 15, 1915
United States of America
Declared war with Germany on April 6, 1917
Declared war with Austria-Hungary on December 7, 1917
Uruguay
Severed relations with Germany on October 7, 1917

Document No. 4: Significant Battles of the First World War: 1914–1916

All images in this document are from http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/10-significant-battles-of-the-first-world-war.

Soldiers of the 1st Battalion, Middlesex Regiment under shrapnel fire, September 8, 1914.

The Battle of the Marne

At the start of the First World War, Germany hoped to avoid fighting on two fronts by knocking out France before turning to Russia, France's ally. The initial German offensive had some early success, but there were not enough reinforcements immediately available to sustain momentum. The French and British launched a counter-offensive at the Marne (6-10 September 1914) and after several days of bitter fighting the Germans retreated.

Germany's failure to defeat the French and the British at the Marne also had important strategic implications. The Russians had mobilised more quickly than the Germans had anticipated and launched their first offensive within two weeks of the war's outbreak. The Battle of Tannenberg in August 1914 ended in German victory, but the combination of German victory in the east and defeat in the west meant the war would not be quick, but protracted and extended across several fronts.

The Battle of the Marne also marked the end of mobile warfare on the Western Front. Following their retreat, the Germans re-engaged Allied forces on the Aisne, where fighting began to stagnate into trench warfare.

The opening months of the war caused profound shock due to the huge casualties caused by modern weapons. Losses on all fronts for the year 1914 topped five million, with a million men killed. This was a scale of violence unknown in any previous war. The terrible casualties sustained in open warfare meant that soldiers on all fronts had begun to protect themselves by digging trenches, which would dominate the Western Front until 1918

The Battle of Gallipoli

The Gallipoli campaign (April 25, 1915- January 9, 1916) was the land-based element of a strategy intended to allow Allied ships to pass through the Dardanelles, capture Constantinople (now Istanbul) and ultimately knock Ottoman Turkey out of the war. But Allied plans were based on the mistaken belief that the Ottomans could be easily overcome.

At dawn on April 25, 1915, Allied troops landed on the Gallipoli peninsula in Ottoman Turkey. General Sir lan Hamilton decided to make two landings, placing the British 29th Division at Cape Helies and the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) north of Gaba Tepe in an area later dubbed Anzac Cove. Both landings were quickly contained by determined Ottoman troops and neither the British nor the Anzacs were able to advance.

Trench warfare quickly took hold, mirroring the fighting of the Western Front. Casualties mounted heavily and in the summer heat conditions rapidly deteriorated. Sickness was rampant, food quickly became inedible and there were vast swarms of black corpse flies. In August a new assault was launched north of Anzac Cove. This attack, along with a fresh landing at Suvla Bay, quickly failed and stalemate returned.

In December, it was decided to evacuate- first Anzac and Suvla, and then Helles in January 1916. Gallipoli became a defining moment in the history of both Australia and New Zealand, revealing characteristics that both countries have used to define their soldiers: endurance, determination, initiative and 'mateship'. For the Ottomans, it was a brief respite in the decline of their empire. But through the emergence of Mustafa Kemal (later known as Ataturk) as one of the campaign's leading figures, it also led to the foundation of modern Turkey.

Damage to the deck of *HMS Chester* sustained during the Battle of Jutland.

The Battle of Jutland

The Battle of Jutland (May 31- June 1, 1916) was the largest naval battle of the First World War. It was the only time that the British and German fleets of 'dreadnought' battleships actually came to blows.

The German High Seas Fleet hoped to weaken the Royal Navy by launching an ambush on the British Grand Fleet in the North Sea. German Admiral Reinhard Scheer planned to lure out both Admiral Sir David Beatty's Battlecruiser Force and Admiral Sir John Jellicoe's Grand Fleet. Scheer hoped to destroy Beatty's force before Jellicoe's arrived, but the British were warned by their codebreakers and put both forces to sea early.

Jutland was a confused and bloody action involving 250 ships and around 100,000 men. Initial encounters between Beatty's force and the High Seas Fleet resulted in the loss of several ships. The Germans damaged Beatty's flagship, HMS Lion, and sank HMS Indefatigable and HMS Queen Mary, both of which blew up when German shells penetrated their ammunition magazines.

Beatty withdrew until Jellicoe arrived with the main fleet. The Germans, now outgunned, turned for home. Although it failed to achieve the decisive victory each side hoped for, the battle confirmed British naval dominance and secured its control of shipping lanes, allowing Britain to implement the blockade that would contribute to German defeat in 1918.

The British lost 14 ships and over 6,000 men, but were ready for action again the next day. The Germans, who had lost 11ships and over 2,500 men, avoided complete destruction but never again seriously challenged British control of the North Sea.

French troops manning a captured German Maxim gun at Fort Douaumont, Verdun, 1916.

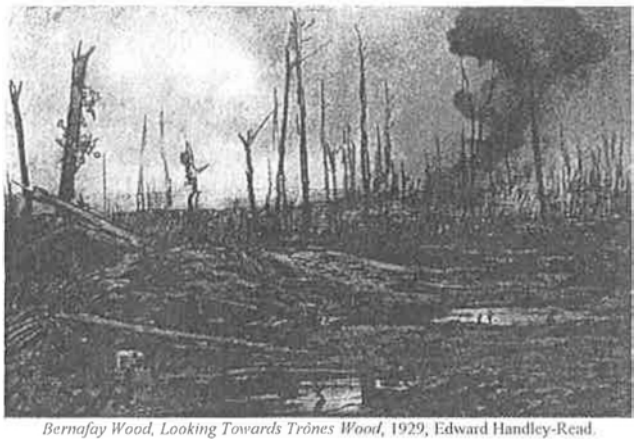
The Battle of Verdun

The Battle of Verdun (February 21–December 18, 1916) was the longest battle of the First World War. It was also one of the costliest. It began in February 1916 with a German attack on the fortified French town of Verdun, where bitter fighting would continue for most of the year.
The ten-hour opening bombardment saw an unprecedented concentration of firepower and although the French were forced back they did not break. In the summer, the Germans were forced to reduce their strength at Verdun after the British and Russians launched their own offensives elsewhere.

The French retook lost ground in the autumn and through careful management of their army, efficient logistics and the resilience of the troops fighting for their homeland, the French secured a defensive victory before the year's end.

The Germans had lost over 430,000 men killed or wounded and the French approximately 550,000. The trauma of this loss not only affected French political and military decision-making during and after the war, it had a lasting effect on French national consciousness.

Verdun also had serious strategic implications for the rest of the war. The Allies had planned to defeat Germany through a series of large co-ordinated offensives, but the German attack at Verdun drastically reduced the number of French troops available. Britain and its Empire would have to lead the 'Big Push' on the Western Front.



Bernafay Wood, Looking Towards Trônes Wood, 1929, Edward Handley-Read.

The Battle of the Somme

The Battle of the Somme (July 1-November 1, 1916) was a joint operation between British and French forces intended to achieve a decisive victory over the Germans on the Western Front. For many in Britain, the resulting battle remains the most painful and infamous episode of the First World War.

In December 1915, Allied commanders had met to discuss strategies for the upcoming year and agreed to launch a joint French and British attack in the region of the River Somme in the summer of 1916. Intense German pressure on the French at Verdun throughout 1916 made action on the Somme increasingly urgent and meant the British would take on the main role in the offensive.

They were faced with German defences that had been carefully laid out over many months. Despite a seven-day bombardment prior to the attack on 1 July, the British did not achieve the quick breakthrough their military leadership had planned for and the Somme became a deadlocked battle of attrition.

Over the next 141 days, the British advanced a maximum of seven miles. More than one million men from all sides were killed, wounded or captured. British casualties on the first day- numbering over 57,000, of which 19,240 were killed - make it the bloodiest day in British military history.

The Somme, like Verdun for the French, has a prominent place in British history and popular memory and has come to represent the loss and apparent futility of the war. But the Allied offensive on the Somme was a strategic necessity fought to meet the needs of an international alliance. British commanders learned difficult but important lessons on the Somme that would contribute to eventual Allied victory in 1918.

Russian troops resting in captured Austro-Hungarian trenches during the offensive, summer 1916.

The Brusilov Offense

The Russian Army had suffered a series of crushing defeats in the first year of the war, but the Brusilov Offensive (June 4–September 20, 1916) would be the most successful Russian offensive - and one of the most successful breakthrough operations- of the First World War.

Named after the Russian commander Aleksei Brusilov who led it, the offensive used tactics that were to also prove successful on the Western Front. Brusilov used a short, sharp artillery bombardment and shock troops to exploit weak points, helping to return an element of surprise to the attack.

The offensive coincided with the British attack on the Somme and was part of the effort to relieve pressure not only on the French at Verdun, but on the Western Front as a whole. The Russian attack also drew Austro-Hungarian forces away from the Italian Front and put increased pressure on the already strained and increasingly demoralized Austro-Hungarian Army.

Germany was forced to redirect troops to the Eastern Front in support of its ally. This was part of an emerging pattern of Austria-Hungary's growing dependence on Germany, which in tum would create a strain on German resources.

The Russians were never able to duplicate Brusilov's success. It was their last major offensive of the war and led to an overall weakening- both militarily and politically- of both Russia and Austria-Hungary. The war stoked political and social unrest, leading to revolution and eventually the total collapse of the Russian Army.

Background reading and video No. 5: "The Sinking of the *Lusitania*"

On May 7, 1915, less than a year after World War I (1914–1918) erupted across Europe, a German U-boat torpedoed and sank the *RMS Lusitania*, a British ocean liner en route from New York to Liverpool, England. Of the more than 1,900 passengers and crewmembers on board, more than 1,100 perished, including more than 120 Americans.

Nearly two years would pass before the United States formally entered World War I, but the sinking of the *Lusitania* played a significant role in turning public opinion against Germany, both in the United States and abroad.

View video of *Lusitania* leaving the harbor in New York City at https://www.c-span.org/video/?325864-1/rms-lusitania-departing-york-city-final-voyage.

Document No. 6: "The Zimmerman Telegram"

This English translation of the cipher telegram—from Arthur Zimmerman, German foreign secretary, to Heinrich von Eckardt, the German ambassador in Mexico—is transcribed from a telegram of Walter H. Page, American ambassador in Great Britain, to Robert Lansing, American secretary of state (File No. 862,20212/69) and mirrors a typescript discovered in October 2005 in British archives (assumed to be the actual copy shown to the American ambassador in 1917).

The telegram was sent January 16, 1917.

We intend to begin on the 1st of February unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States of America neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. The settlement in detail is left to you. You will inform the President of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States of America is certain and add the suggestion that he should, on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves. Please call the President's attention to the fact that the ruthless employment of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England in a few months to make peace. Signed, Zimmermann.

Background

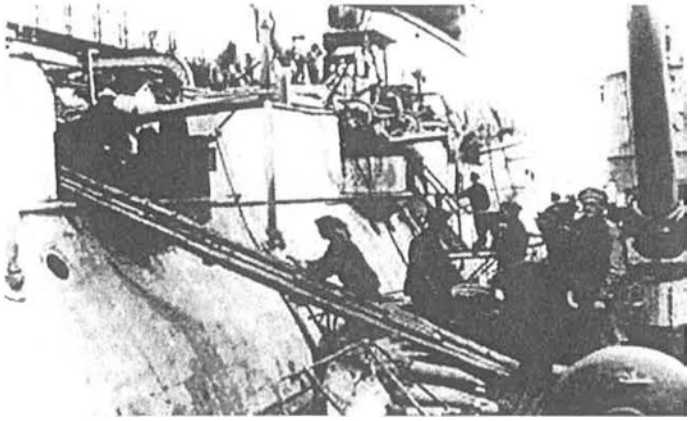
Between 1914 and the spring of 1917, the European nations engaged in a conflict that became known as World War I. While armies moved across the face of Europe, the United States remained neutral. In 1916, Wilson was elected president for a second term, largely because of the slogan "He kept us out of war." Events in early 1917 would change that hope. In frustration over the effective British naval blockade, in February, Germany broke its pledge to limit submarine warfare. In response to the breaking of the Sussex pledge, the United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

In January 1917, British cryptographers deciphered a telegram from German Foreign Minister Zimmerman to the German minister to Mexico, von Eckhardt, offering United States territory to Mexico in return for joining the German cause. This message helped draw the United States into the war and thus changed the course of history. The telegram had such an impact on American opinion that, according to David Kahn, author of *The Codebreakers*, "No other single cryptanalysis has had such enormous consequences." It is his opinion that "never before or since has so much turned upon the solution of a secret message." In an effort to protect their intelligence from detection and to capitalize on growing anti-German sentiment in the United States, the British waited until February 24 to present the telegram to Wilson. The American press published news of the telegram on March 1. On April 6, 1917, the United States Congress formally declared war on Germany and its allies.

The story of British intelligence efforts to decipher the German code is fascinating and complicated. *The Zimmerman Telegram* by Barbara Tuchman recounts that story in all of its exciting detail. It is an excellent historical account for high school students.

Background reading no. 7: "Unrestricted Submarine Warfare"

The use of unrestricted submarine warfare was announced by Germany on January 9th, 1917. The use of unrestricted submarine warfare was to have a major impact on World War One as it was one of the main reasons why America joined the war.



When the German Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg announced Germany's intention to use unrestricted submarine warfare, his one major concern and fear was that it would provoke an American response- in this he was to be correct.

Why did Germany resort to such a tactic that was likely to provoke such a response from America? By 1917, the war was not going well for Germany on the Western Front. Unrestricted submarine warfare was a result of desperation and the belief that the ferocity of such a tactic might just keep America out of the war if the results were spectacular and shocking enough. The Battle of Jutland showed that the German Navy was not strong enough to defeat the Royal Navy. Therefore any attempt by the German surface fleet to attack British merchant ships was not tenable as any fleet leaving bases like Kiel would have been met with a considerable fleet from the Royal Navy. Therefore, any attacks on Britain's lifeline of shipping from America would have to be done by submarines. Rather than do this piecemeal, Bethmann Hollweg decided on a policy of wholesale unrestricted attack.

The impact of U-boats was overestimated in Germany. At the start of the war, the German submarine service had a couple of high profile successes against British naval targets but after this, successes became rare. However, the public in Germany had a high opinion as to the ability of the submarine to turn a campaign.

U-boats first attacked commercial targets as early as February 1915 but it was a piecemeal campaign. This ended in January 1917 when Bethmann Hollweg, persuaded by senior offic ers in the German Imperial Navy, ordered unrestricted attacks as part of policy. The one issue that had held Bethmann Hollweg back was the sinking of neutral ships. At that time America was a neutral state whose ships frequently and legally crossed the Atlantic with supplies for the Allies. Bethmann Hollweg's views seem to have been based on a political perspective- the thought of angering America. The only person who was known to have expressed humanitarian views was the Kaiser who stated that the drowning of innocent civilians was "a dreadful thought".

Document and reading No. 8: Excerpts: Woodrow Wilson's War Message to Congress, April 2nd, 1917 and Historians' Reactions to Woodrow Wilson's War Message

Background: After the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, Wilson called Congress into an extraordinary session to ask for a declaration of war against Germany. Within four days, both the Senate and the House voted overwhelmingly to support the president. Source: Address delivered at Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, April 2, 1917; U.S. 65th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 5.

Excerpt 1

Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people.

Excerpt 2

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.

Excerpt 3

….we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the fights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Walter A. McDougall:

Twenty-five years before FDR coined the phrase, therefore, Wilson made "all aid short of war" the American policy toward Britain. He doubtless expected that U.S. economic support would enable the Allies to prevail or at least force Germany to negotiate. That expectation enabled him to seek – and barely win – re-election in 1916 on the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War." As late as January 1917 Wilson stated categorically, "This country does not intend to become involved in war. We are the only one of the great White nations that is free from war today, and it would be a crime against civilization for us to go into it." So he instead he issued his grand appeal for a Peace Without Victory because punitive settlements would only prolong the cycle of vengeance.

Wilson must have been sorely disappointed when, over that same winter, the British war cabinet, now led by David Lloyd George, quietly confessed that its cupboards were bare

and credit exhausted. That forced the president to make a fateful choice independent of Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare and provocative Zimmermann telegram to Mexico. Wilson's choice was either to cling to neutrality and accept the risk of a German victory – or to explain to the nation that technology and geopolitics obliged the U.S. to enter the war for its own security, Monroe Doctrine notwithstanding – or to preach a universal crusade on behalf of a Progressive new world order.

Scholars such as Niall Ferguson have speculated that the first choice might have been best. This was not Hitler's Germany, after all, and after their sacrifices in a total war the Germans themselves would likely have demanded democratic reforms. Moreover, a German victory in the Great War might well have meant no fascism, no communism, no World War II, no Holocaust, and no Cold War.

Scholars such as Henry Kissinger have speculated that the second choice – Teddy Roosevelt's choice – might have been best, with the U.S. waging war to restore a balance of power on terms the Allies, Germans, and American Senate could have lived with.

But Wilson made the third choice, because he believed God was now calling his nation to wage holy war – and, possibly, because he judged the American people could be unified and incited to wage total war on no other basis. But the ominous outcome was that Wilson had to imagine himself a new Martin Luther making a Reformation that turned Washington's civil religion on its head and declared America the world's messiah.

Appendix 2: Wilson's War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917

Background: Wilson's reelection in 1916 owed a great deal to the campaign slogan "He kept us out of war." But the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare by Germany in 1917 significantly changed the international situation. Several U.S. merchant ships were sunk in March by German U-boats. That April, Wilson called Congress into extraordinary session to ask for a declaration of war against Germany. Within four days, both the Senate and the House voted overwhelmingly to support the president. Source: Address delivered at Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, April 2, 1917; U.S. 65th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 5.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world.…This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds an scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for, the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no-discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the Nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools.…

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of

its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the fights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

Executive Rhetoric and the American Presidency

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This module was developed and utilized for an eleventh- to twelfth-grade advanced placement United States Government and Politics class to address the AP syllabus topic "Presidential Powers." However, the module could easily be adapted or used in a standard or AP United States history class, U.S. foreign policy class, or twentieth-century U.S. history class.

Estimated module length: Two sixty-minute classes (or two hours) and potentially a third sixty-minute class. Individual components of the module may also be utilized in history courses when the event that precipitated the speech occurs chronologically in the syllabus.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and George W. Bush. Sources: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/qg596om and *American Rhetoric* at https://tinyurl.com/qdwsm7.

Overview

Current high school juniors and seniors were born post-2000 and have little or no memory of a political world without social media postings on Twitter and Instagram. The nature of today's social media and the immediacy of the varied news media's responses, analyses, and evaluations are vastly different from the past media coverage provided by newspapers, other print media, radio, and early television. Although political speeches today are still carefully scripted, twenty-first-century presidents and other elected officials are often asked to comment on issues in an unscripted and media-controlled forum and, at times (see the final example in the module), provide instant commentary in ways that are different than the past. Still, in some ways, presidential use of rhetoric as a political tool has not changed.

This module is designed to introduce students to four (and an optional fifth) important historical speeches and provide a method for analyzing word choice and the subtle messages in each speech. As Johann Wolfgang von Goethe so ably noted, "If you wish to know the mind of a man, listen to his words." Even with rapid media coverage today, presidential use of rhetoric to achieve political objectives remains highly important and worthy of attention in civic and history classrooms.

Objectives

Students will:
Learn the classical meaning of the term "rhetoric" through application and analysis of select presidential addresses.

Identify the key statements in the following historical speeches: Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Infamy Speech," Harry S. Truman's Speech on Korea, John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, Lyndon B. Johnson's "Why Vietnam?" speech, and George W. Bush's Evening Address, September 11, 2001.

Analyze each speech to determine specific phrases that conveyed to U.S. citizens and to the "enemy" or potential aggressor the proposed course of action, and the fundamental principles governing the U.S. response in the particular situations that constituted the causes of the presidential addresses.

Discuss and critique why specific phrases were carefully constructed for each speech and how a substantially different meaning might have been conveyed through different word usage.

Prerequisite knowledge

This module was developed with an awareness that many contemporary students understand the power of rhetoric, whether used in the realm of politics, intellectual thought, or consumer marketing. Although it is assumed that AP-level students will have some general knowledge of the four or five presidents whose rhetoric is being analyzed, it is also assumed that most will have little specific knowledge of the international context for each of the speeches and, in many cases, the effects of the presidential policies these speeches helped create. Before using any of the speeches with students, instructors are advised to introduce basic contextual information regarding events that preceded each selection chosen for the classroom. More

interesting analysis and subsequent discussion of presidential rhetoric on the part of students will probably be more likely to happen without too much prior discussion of subsequent presidential policies called for or implemented as a result of the speeches.

Module introduction: Words Make the Man (day one)

Editor's note: This activity is recommended before both instructors who teach a self-contained version of the module and teachers who integrate specific speeches and accompanying rhetorical analyses into chronologically organized history classes utilize any presidential primary source materials.

Immediately after entering class, provide students with a definition of the term "rhetoric": *The art of effective or persuasive speaking or writing, especially the exploitation of figures of speech and other compositional techniques* (from *Oxford Living Dictionaries*).

Then, ask students to respond to the following situation: Imagine that you have been elected president.

What is your first priority in responding to current challenges posed against the United States? Articulate that priority in no more than two sentences.

Subsequent discussion questions:
How did you select your first priority?

Did you choose your priority based on a perceived threat against the United States? Internal or external threat?

What words or phrases did you select in an attempt to communicate clearly that priority?

Did you attempt to use an emotionally based connection? Purely reason? A combination?

As you developed your statement, did you reflect on speeches you have studied or have personally observed?

Did you develop your statement to be delivered for television or print media? Did you consider both options? How might your choice of words have been different for these two distinctly different forms of communication with the general public?

Students will be grouped into small discussion forums and asked to discuss the questions. After five to eight minutes, a spokesperson from each group will share the major points of discussion.

The instructor will then show a short scene from the movie *Independence Day* (http://youtu.be/9t1IK_9apWs). In the two-minute, forty-one-second-long scene, actor Bill Pullman as the U.S. president reacts to an alien threat by addressing the assembled military and civilians charged with thwarting an immediate threat to international security and survival.

Bill Pullman as fictional U.S. President Thomas J. Whitmore in the film *Independence Day* delivering a speech to assembled troops before a battle. Source: *Technology Tell* at https://tinyurl.com/y7svxv6o.

Ask students to identify the verbal and nonverbal components of the speech and the response garnered from the audience.

How did the president "connect" himself with the assembled multitude?

What specific words or phrases were used to create a desired outcome/response from the audience?

How did tone and nonverbal elements impact the desired outcome?

Would the speech have had the same effect had it been printed and distributed instead of delivered orally?

Students will then be divided into four (or five) groups, with each group assigned (if the complete module is taught in consecutive class periods) an American presidential speech to analyze, through first reading, and then (as a homework assignment) reading, viewing, and listening again. Instructors should first provide brief contextual background information for all assigned speeches.

Aftermath of the Attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. Roosevelt's "Infamy Speech" occurred one day later. Source: *History.com* at https://tinyurl.com/ybw6rvd7.

If five or six speeches are introduced in one class period, the class should end with each student having the opportunity to have read the speech and briefly discussed it with other small group members.

Instructors should have individual group members watch and listen to the specific speech they are assigned and analyze the speech using the "Speech Analysis Guide" (attachment 6), responding to the questions in the guide.

Day two: Words and Policy—Connecting the Presidency with the People
Students will reassemble in groups upon entering the classroom. All students will be provided with online access to all four or five speeches.

FDR: http://youtu.be/YhtuMrMVJDk (full speech)
Truman: https://tinyurl.com/ybrgoghk. (full speech)
JFK: http://youtu.be/PEC1C4p0k3E (full speech)
LBJ: http://tinyurl.com/yavzb8na (excerpt of speech)
G.W. Bush: http://youtu.be/2K9mG7EIuyo (full speech)

After seven or eight minutes of group discussions for members to reach consensus or near-consensus, a spokesperson for each group (different from day one) will summarize the most significant phrases in each assigned speech.

Then, each group will provide either a video or audio excerpt of the key segment of the speech from a website such as www.youtube.com or http://www.americanrhetoric.com/.

Groups should limit the time for each critical speech excerpt to three to five minutes.

After a discussion of key questions focused on the specific president's desired outcome, the class will evaluate the effectiveness of the speech (on a scale of 1–10).

President John F. Kennedy delivering his inaugural address on January 20, 1961. Source: *YouTube* at http://youtu.be/PEC1C4p0k3E.

In the final activity, students will be asked to respond to each of these two questions with a well-written paragraph of six–eight sentences:

Using at least two examples from the U.S. historical record, how important is the use of rhetoric in conveying the goals and objectives of the modern American presidency?

How has the immediacy of twenty-first-century media and/or social media impacted the importance of presidential communication of goals and objectives?

The instructor will then ask each student to create a Twitter feed identifying the takeaway knowledge from this assignment. Tweets will be written and displayed on a board for analysis.

Note: Text of the five presidential speeches with links to video and audio can downloaded at https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crcminesm2materials.pdf.

Attachment 1: President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Infamy Speech," December 8, 1941

http://youtu.be/YhtuMrMVJDk
Clip Length: seven minutes, forty-two seconds
Video clip and transcript are the full speech.

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives:

Yesterday, December 7th, 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 peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, 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 the American island of Oahu, the Japanese ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or 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 even 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 the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition, American ships have been reported 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 Hong Kong.

Last night, Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night, Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night, the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning, the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area.

The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense. But always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us.

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 believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost, but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7th, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese empire.

Source: *American Rhetoric* at
http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrpearlharbor.htm/.

Attachment 2: President Harry S. Truman's Speech on Korea, July 19th, 1950

https://tinyurl.com/ybrgoghk
Audio Clip Length: twenty-three minutes, forty-eight seconds
Audio clip and transcript are the complete speech

At noon today I sent a message to the Congress about the situation in Korea. I want to talk to you tonight about that situation, and about what it means to the security of the United States and to our hopes for peace in the world.

Korea is a small country, thousands of miles away, but what is happening there is important to every American.

On Sunday, June 25th, Communist forces attacked the Republic of Korea.

This attack has made it clear, beyond all doubt, that the international Communist movement is willing to use armed invasion to conquer independent nations. An act of aggression such as this creates a very real danger to the security of all free nations.

The attack upon Korea was an outright breach of the peace and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. By their actions in Korea, Communist leaders have demonstrated their contempt for the basic moral principles on which the United Nations is founded. This is a direct challenge to the efforts of the free nations to build the kind of world in which men can live in freedom and peace.

This challenge has been presented squarely. We must meet it squarely. . . .

The Communist invasion was launched in great force, with planes, tanks, and artillery. The size of the attack, and the speed with which it was followed up, make it perfectly plain that it had been plotted long in advance.

As soon as word of the attack was received, Secretary of State [Dean] Acheson called me at Independence, Mo., and informed me that, with my approval, he would ask for an immediate meeting of the United Nations Security Council. The Security Council met just 24 hours after the Communist invasion began.

One of the main reasons the Security Council was set up was to act in such cases as this–to stop outbreaks of aggression in a hurry before they develop into general conflicts. In this case the Council passed a resolution which called for the invaders of Korea to stop fighting, and to withdraw. The Council called on all members of the United Nations to help carry out this resolution. The Communist invaders ignored the action of the Security Council and kept right on with their attack.

The Security Council then met again. It recommended that members of the United Nations help the Republic of Korea repel the attack and help restore peace and security in that area.

Fifty-two of the 59 countries which are members of the United Nations have given their support to the action taken by the Security Council to restore peace in Korea.

These actions by the United Nations and its members are of great importance. The free nations have now made it clear that lawless aggression will be met with force. The free nations have learned the fateful lesson of the 1930's. That lesson is that aggression must be met firmly. Appeasement leads only to further aggression and ultimately to war.

The principal effort to help the Koreans preserve their independence, and to help the United Nations restore peace, has been made by the United States. We have sent land, sea, and air forces to assist in these operations. We have done this because we know that what is at stake here is nothing less than our own national security and the peace of the world.

So far, two other nations–Australia and Great Britain–have sent planes to Korea; and six other nations–Australia, Canada, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and New Zealand–have made naval forces available.

Under the flag of the United Nations a unified command has been established for all forces of the members of the United Nations fighting in Korea. Gen. Douglas MacArthur is the commander of this combined force.

The prompt action of the United Nations to put down lawless aggression, and the prompt response to this action by free peoples all over the world, will stand as a landmark in mankind's long search for a rule of law among nations.

Only a few countries have failed to endorse the efforts of the United Nations to stop the fighting in Korea. The most important of these is the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has boycotted the meetings of the United Nations Security Council. It has refused to support the actions of the United Nations with respect to Korea.

The United States requested the Soviet Government, 2 days after the fighting started, to use its influence with the North Koreans to have them withdraw. The Soviet Government refused.
The Soviet Government has said many times that it wants peace in the world, but its attitude toward this act of aggression against the Republic of Korea is in direct contradiction of its statements.

For our part, we shall continue to support the United Nations action to restore peace in the world.

We know that it will take a hard, tough fight to halt the invasion, and to drive the Communists back. The invaders have been provided with enough equipment and supplies for a long campaign. They overwhelmed the lightly armed defense forces of the Korean Republic in the first few days and drove southward.

Now, however, the Korean defenders have reorganized and are making a brave fight for their liberty, and an increasing number of American troops have joined them. Our forces have

fought a skillful, rearguard delaying action, pending the arrival of reinforcements. Some of these reinforcements are now arriving; others are on the way from the United States . . . .

Furthermore, the fact that Communist forces have invaded Korea is a warning that there may be similar acts of aggression in other parts of the world. The free nations must be on their guard, more than ever before, against this kind of sneak attack . . . .

When we have worked out with other free countries an increased program for our common defense, I shall recommend to the Congress that additional funds be provided for this purpose. This is of great importance. The free nations face a worldwide threat. It must be met with a worldwide defense. The United States and other free nations can multiply their strength by joining with one another in a common effort to provide this defense. This is our best hope for peace.

The things we need to do to build up our military defense will require considerable adjustment in our domestic economy. We have a tremendously rich and productive economy, and it is expanding every year.

Our job now is to divert to defense purposes more of that tremendous productive capacity–more steel, more aluminum, more of a good many things.

Some of the additional production for military purposes can come from making fuller use of plants which are not operating at capacity. But many of our industries are already going full tilt, and until we can add new capacity, some of the resources we need for the national defense will have to be taken from civilian uses.

This requires us to take certain steps to make sure that we obtain the things we need for national defense, and at the same time guard against inflationary price rises.
The steps that are needed now must be taken promptly.

In the message which I sent to the Congress today, I described the economic measures which are required at this time.

First, we need laws which will insure prompt and adequate supplies for military and essential civilian use. I have therefore recommended that the Congress give the Government power to guide the flow of materials into essential uses, to restrict their use for nonessential purposes, and to prevent the accumulation of unnecessary inventories.

Second, we must adopt measures to prevent inflation and to keep our Government in a sound financial condition. One of the major causes of inflation is the excessive use of credit. I have recommended that the Congress authorize the Government to set limits on installment buying and to curb speculation in agricultural commodities. In the housing field, where Government credit is an important factor, I have already directed that credit restraints be applied, and I have recommended that the Congress authorize further controls.

As an additional safeguard against inflation, and to help finance our defense needs, it will be necessary to make substantial increases in taxes. This is a contribution to our national security that every one of us should stand ready to make. As soon as a balanced and fair tax

program can be worked out, I shall lay it before the Congress. This tax program will have as a major aim the elimination of profiteering.

Third, we should increase the production of goods needed for national defense. We must plan to enlarge our defense production, not just for the immediate future, but for the next several years. This will be primarily a task for our businessmen and workers. However, to help obtain the necessary increases, the Government should be authorized to provide certain types of financial assistance to private industry to increase defense production.

Our military needs are large, and to meet them will require hard work and steady effort. I know that we can produce what we need if each of us does his part–each man, each woman, each soldier, each civilian. This is a time for all of us to pitch in and work together. . . .

We have the resources to meet our needs. Far more important, the American people are unified in their belief in democratic freedom. We are united in detesting Communist slavery.

We know that the cost of freedom is high. But we are determined to preserve our freedom-no matter what the cost.

I know that our people are willing to do their part to support our soldiers and sailors and airmen who are fighting in Korea. I know that our fighting men can count on each and every one of you.

Our country stands before the world as an example of how free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all.

That is the goal we seek not only for ourselves, but for all people. We believe that freedom and peace are essential if men are to live as our Creator intended us to live. It is this faith that has guided us in the past, and it is this faith that will fortify us in the stern days ahead.

Source: Paul F. Boller Jr., and Ronald Story, *A More Perfect Union: Documents in U.S. History*, Vol. 2, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984).

Attachment 3: President John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961

http://youtu.be/PEC1C4p0k3E
Clip Length: fifteen minutes, thirty-six seconds
Video clip and transcript are the full speech.

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens:

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom--symbolizing an end as well as a beginning--signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe--the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans--born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage--and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge--and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do--for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom-and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required--not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge--to convert our good words into good deeds--in a new alliance for progress--to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support--to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective--to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak--and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course--both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew--remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms--and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah--to "undo the heavy burdens . . . (and) let the oppressed go free."

And if a beach-head of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again-not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need--not as a call to battle, though embattled we are--but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"--a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility--I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it--and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

Editor's note: The president spoke at 12:52 p.m. from a platform erected at the east front of the Capitol. Immediately before the address, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Earl Warren.

The president's opening words "Reverend Clergy" referred to His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, archbishop of Boston; His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, head of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America; the Reverend Dr. John Barclay, pastor of the Central Christian Church, Austin, Texas; and Rabbi Dr. Nelson Glueck, president of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Source: *The American Presidency Project* at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8032.

Attachment 4: President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Why Vietnam?" speech, April 7, 1965

http://tinyurl.com/yavzb8na
Clip Length: ten minutes, twenty-three seconds
Video clip and transcript are excerpts from full speech.

. . . Over this war [Vietnam], and all Asia, is the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking.

This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, attacked India, and been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Vietnam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purpose.

Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Vietnam?

We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Vietnam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Vietnam defend its independence. And I intend to keep our promise.

To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemy, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong. We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of American commitment, the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war.

We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Vietnam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another.

The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield means only to prepare for the next.

We must say in Southeast Asia, as we did in Europe, in the words of the Bible: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." There are those who say that all our effort there will be futile, that China's power is such it is bound to dominate all Southeast Asia. But there is no end to that argument until all the nations of Asia are swallowed up.

There are those who wonder why we have a responsibility there. We have it for the same reason we have a responsibility for the defense of freedom in Europe. World War II was fought in both Europe and Asia, and when it ended we found ourselves with continued responsibility for the defense of freedom.

Our objective is the independence of South Vietnam, and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves, only that the people of South Vietnam be allowed to guide their own country in their own way. We will do everything necessary to reach that objective. And we will do only what is absolutely necessary.

In recent months, attacks on South Vietnam were stepped up. Thus it became necessary to increase our response and to make attacks by air.

This is not a change of purpose.

It is a change in what we believe that purpose requires.
We do this in order to slow down aggression.
We do this to increase the confidence of the brave people of South Vietnam who have bravely borne this brutal battle for so many years and with so many casualties.
And we do this to convince the leaders of North Vietnam, and all who seek to share their conquest, of a very simple fact: We will not be defeated.
We will not grow tired.
We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement. . . .

Once this is clear, then it should also be clear that the only path for reasonable men is the path of peaceful settlement.

Such peace demands an independent South Vietnam securely guaranteed and able to shape its own relationships to all others, free from outside interference, tied to no alliance, a military base for no other country.

These are the essentials of any final settlement. We will never be second in the search for such a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

There may be many ways to this kind of peace: in discussion or negotiation with the governments concerned; in large groups or in small ones; in the reaffirmation of old agreements or their strengthening with new ones. We have stated this position over and over again fifty times and more, to friend and foe alike. And we remain ready, with this purpose, for unconditional discussions.

And until that bright and necessary day of peace we will try to keep conflict from spreading.

We have no desire to see thousands die in battle, Asians or Americans.
We have no desire to devastate that which the people of North Vietnam have built with toil and sacrifice.
We will use our power with restraint and with all the wisdom we can command.
But we will use it. . . .

We will always oppose the effort of one nation to conquer another nation. We will do this because our own security is at stake.

But there is more to it than that.

For our generation has a dream. It is a very old dream. But we have the power and now we have the opportunity to make it come true. For centuries, nations have struggled among each other.
But we dream of a world where disputes are settled by law and reason. And we will try to make it so.

For most of history men have hated and killed one another in battle. But we dream of an end to war. And we will try to make it so.

For all existence most men have lived in poverty, threatened by hunger. But we dream of a world where all are fed and charged with hope. And we will help to make it so.

The ordinary men and women of North Vietnam and South Vietnam—of China and India—of Russia and America—are brave people. They are filled with the same proportions of hate and fear, of love and hope.

Most of them want the same things for themselves and their families.
Most of them do not want their sons ever to die in battle, or see the homes of others destroyed. . . .

Every night before I turn out the lights to sleep, I ask myself this question;
Have I done everything that I can do to unite this country? Have I done everything I can to help unite the world, to try to bring peace and hope to all the peoples of the world? Have I done enough?

Ask yourself that question in your homes and in this hall tonight.
Have we done all we could?
Have we done enough? . . .

Source: *University of Tennessee* at http://web.utk.edu/~mfitzge1/docs/374/SOV1965.pdf.

Attachment 5: President George W. Bush's Evening Address, September 11, 2001

http://youtu.be/2K9mG7EIuyo
Clip Length: four minutes, forty-two seconds
Video clip and transcript are the full speech

Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes or in their offices: secretaries, business men and women, military and federal workers, moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge -- huge structures collapsing have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed. Our country is strong.

A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve. America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining. Today, our nation saw evil -- the very worst of human nature -- and we responded with the best of America. With the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington D.C. to help with local rescue efforts. Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks. The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business as well.

The search is underway for those who were behind these evil acts. I have directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance. America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.

Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a Power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23:

Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil for you are with me.

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day, yet we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night. And God bless America.

Source: *American Rhetoric* at
http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gwbush911addresstothenation.htm.

Attachment 6: Speech Analysis Guide

1. Identify the speech and speaker:

2. Create a quick bullet list of facts you know about this individual:

3. After having read the speech, how would you summarize the speaker's theme in no more than two sentences?

4. How does the speaker use rhetorical devices to communicate his ideas?
For example, does the speaker use a repetition of phrase to enhance his message, e.g., a time for sadness, a time for gladness, a time for reconciliation . . .?

Does he use contrasting pairs, e.g., love and joy, today and tomorrow, past and Present . . .?

Does he repeat words or grammatical structure, e,g., we stand on the line . . . we stand on the line . . . ?

Does he ask rhetorical questions, e,g., why do we do what we do?, and then answer the question?

Does he use metaphors to create images that transcend just words, e.g., "shining city on the hill," "morning in America" ...?

What do you think we was the most effective rhetorical device used in the speech? Why?

5. What do you think is the most effective phrase or phrases in the speech? Why?

6. Are there elements of the speech that you find difficult to understand in a historical context?

How might you obtain more information about the significance of this speech?

Any final thoughts?

References and Resources

http://youtu.be/9t1IK_9apWs: This is the scene of the president's speech from the movie *Independence Day*.

http://youtu.be/YhtuMrMVJDk: This is FDR's "A Day that will Live in Infamy" speech.

http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrpearlharbor.htm: This site contains the full text of FDR's speech.

https://tinyurl.com/ybrgoghk: This is Truman's July 1950 Korean address.

Boller, Paul F. Jr., and Ronald Story. *A More Perfect Union: Documents in U.S. History*, Vol. 2. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.: This text contains Truman's July 1950 Korean address.

http://youtu.be/PEC1C4p0k3E: This link is to JFK's 1961 inaugural address.

http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8032: This is the full text of JFK's 1961 inaugural address from *The American Presidency Project*.

http://tinyurl.com/yavzb8na: This link is for LBJ's "Why Vietnam?" speech from *C-Span*.

http://web.utk.edu/~mfitzge1/docs/374/SOV1965.pdf: This is an excerpt from LBJ's "Why Vietnam?" speech from a University of Tennessee faculty page.

http://youtu.be/2K9mG7EIuyo: This link is for G. W. Bush's September 11, 2001, evening address on *YouTube*.

http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gwbush911addresstothenation.htm: This is the full text of Bush's address from *American Rhetoric*.

The US Constitutional and Legal Basis for a Declaration of War

Michael Breakey
Georgia Northwestern Technical College
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Clockwise, from top left: U.S. combat operations in Ia Drang, ARVN Rangers defending Saigon during the 1968 Tet Offensive, two A-4C Skyhawks after the Gulf of Tonkin incident, ARVN recapture Quảng Trị during the 1972 Easter Offensive, civilians fleeing the 1972 Battle of Quảng Trị, and burial of 300 victims of the 1968 Huế Massacre. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/y984pbqc.

This module was developed and utilized in an introductory technical college U.S. history course but can be utilized in standard or honors-level high school history courses. It is the second module of a two-part series with the same title and can be used separately or in conjunction with all or a portion of Understanding the Complexities of War in American History: Select Case Studies, Part 1.

Estimated module length: Approximately three hours (excluding homework/ enrichment/supplemental activities)

Overview

Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution grants the legislative branch the expressed power to declare war. Over the last 75 years, since the congressional declaration of war against Japan propelled the United States into World War II (although presidents in their capacity as commander and chief of the U.S. military informed Congress of their decisions to use military force and, at times, sought and obtained congressional approval for use of military

force), the original constitutional process has not been followed. The U.S. has not formally declared war against an adversary since World War II, specifically June 4, 1942, against the Axis powers of Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. Three post-Korean War case studies that relate to U.S. initiation of military force—the Vietnam War, the 1973 War Powers Congressional Resolution, and the 1991 First Gulf War—are included in the module. The purpose of the module is not to influence students to either favor or oppose strict adherence to Article 1, Section 8 but to give them the basic knowledge to think more reflectively about both changes in the processes American presidents and Congress employ to use military force, as well as gain a better sense of the politics, diplomacy, and military considerations that have been prominent in more recent U.S. armed conflicts.

Objectives

Students will:
Understand the Cold War Domino Theory and its relationship to the origins of the American war with Vietnam.

Understand the Tonkin Gulf Incident and subsequent congressional decisions to allow increased presidential power to use force.

Learn the context that led to President George H. W. Bush's successful request to Congress for the use of force against Iraq in the 1991 first Gulf War.

Analyze the War Powers Act of 1973. Understand the rationale behind the act, the unintended consequences of the legislation, and that debates still occur in Congress today about the legislation's ramifications for the U.S.

Discuss and debate the costs and benefits associated with increased executive power to commit U.S. troops to combat without seeking a formal declaration of war from Congress.

Systematically study the interrelationships between diplomacy, armed conflicts, and utilization of the military.

Prerequisite knowledge

Basic understanding of historical documents that influenced the development of the present Constitution is assumed, since this content is taught earlier in U.S. history courses. If students are not specifically familiar with Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution, they should be assigned the introduction in Understanding the Complexities of War in American History, Part 1. Those instructors who are teaching post-World War II U.S. history might consider using sections three (Key Cold War Policies) and four (The Korean Conflict) either in class or for homework so that students might have a more comprehensive understanding of historical events relating to use of military force in the years after 1945.

Module Introduction: Who Has the Power to Declare War? (estimated time fifteen minutes)

If resources and activities from the first Complexities of War module are not utilized, provide students with a didactic, concise introduction that includes relevant constitutional statutes on the declaration of war.

Have students answer the following questions orally or in writing:

How does the congressional power to declare war work with or against the presidential responsibility as commander in chief?

(If applicable at this point, ask) Did the United States officially declare war against North Vietnam?

Have students share their answers and conjectures regarding the final listed questions.

Instructors should make students aware that Article 1, Section 8 has not been the process for American use of military force since 1945.

In order to provide context for the remainder of the content in this module, instructors should make sure students understand that Article 2 (or II), Section 2 of the Constitution designates the president as the commander in chief of the nation's military).

Section One: Context for U.S. in Vietnam: Domino Theory (estimated time twenty minutes)

Introduce the Domino Theory to students by informing them that although there is some dispute over who first used the term "Domino Theory," President Dwight Eisenhower used a variant of the term in a famous 1954 news conference in reference to the international advancement of Communism:

"Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the 'falling domino' principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences" (Eisenhower, 1954, p. 23).

Have students view the following four-minute, fifty-second basic introductory video clip, *A Brief History of the Domino Theory*, which explains the concept of the Domino Theory through exposition of the theory and illustrative summaries of how adherence to the theory among policymakers is an important explanation of U.S. policy actions in the Cold War, including Vietnam: http://youtu.be/zUn39VzSBms.

Immediately after they view the short video, have students in two to three sentences define Domino Theory and indicate how they think the concept influenced U.S. strategy in the Cold War in general and Vietnam in particular.

This introductory question provides instructors with the chance to clarify basic student understanding of the concept and the two historical events.
The U.S. in Vietnam (estimated time thirty minutes)

What follows are options for introducing students to the war and, more specifically the run-up to the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution—when Congress granted President Lyndon Johnson administration permission to use substantial additional force (the American military was already providing assistance to the South Vietnamese government) in not only Vietnam but Southeast Asia to prevent Communist aggression.

Instructors can assign the following 2014 lecture as homework: *National Security Strategy: The Vietnam War 1954–1975*, by University of California–San Diego Professor Branislev Slantchev, The reading focuses on the U.S. in Vietnam, has the narrative power of a published article, and is a comprehensive overview complete with color maps and a timeline: http://slantchev.ucsd.edu/courses/ps142j/lectures/vietnam-war.pdf.

Some highlights from the Slantchev reading, organized chronologically, include:

The 1954 Geneva Accords formulated by nine nations and polities, after Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh had defeated the French who in the late 19th century colonized the territory that is now Vietnam. The Geneva conferees that included France, the U.S. The USSR, and two separate Vietnamese governments (one Communist, and the territory containing the remaining French forces) divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel. With the division of the country, Ho Chi Minh's Communist Government, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam controlled North Vietnam and Emperor Bao Dai declared the southern portion of the country as the State of Vietnam. The 17th parallel division stipulated by the Geneva Conference was only meant as a temporary measure as national elections were to be held in 1956.

The U.S. and South Vietnam ignored 1954 agreements (no nations signed the Final Declaration-*Encyclopedia Britannica*) and the U.S Government worked to support a non-Communist government in South Vietnam through installing the Catholic anti-Communist Ngo Dinh Diem in the South. Diem took control of what was to become the Republic of Vietnam in a referendum vote in 1955.

Late in 1955, President Eisenhower deployed the Military Assistance Advisory Group to train South Vietnamese soldiers. U.S. involvement continued through the Eisenhower administration with Diem asking for increased U.S. support to fight Communist forces in the Republic of Vietnam.

In May 1961 President Kennedy sent 400 Special Forces to Vietnam to increase special operations training of South Vietnamese soldiers. In October 1962 the U.S. begins defoliation efforts (Operation Ranch Hand using Agent Orange) to deprive communist guerrilla fighters (Viet Cong) both food and cover.

Diem's harsh style of governing and favoritism of Catholic to Buddhist Vietnamese, along with the growth of political opposition to his regime undermined U.S. support. The Kennedy administration, aware of a potential coup, did not inform Diem. In November 1963, a military coup ousted Diem, who was assassinated. Just prior to his own death three weeks later, Kennedy increased U.S. military personnel in South Vietnam to 16,000. In the ensuing power struggles following the coup, Nguyen Van Thieu became president of South Vietnam in 1965.

The decisions to support various South Vietnamese leaders and increase U.S. troop strength were based on overall U.S. policy in the region. Slantchev describes early U.S. policy and rationale in Vietnam (p.7):

"Vietnam had become vital to US interests. Support of the South Vietnamese government was meant to defend against Communist expansion and reflected the concept of the domino theory."

American foreign policy analysts believed that the USSR was chastened by the Cuban crisis and thus would not directly intervene in Vietnam. China was believed to have withdrawn from the border with India due to the arrival of a US carrier force and American experts incorrectly concluded that China backed down because of the US threat/show of force.

"These conclusions dragged the US further into the Vietnamese conflict." (Slantchev p. 7).

Discussion question: In what ways does the convergence of the Cold War, the Domino Theory, and the precedent of undeclared, presidential war in Korea affect U.S. involvement in Vietnam?

Define "Vital National Interest" (estimated time ten minutes)

Review the concept of "vital national interest" with students.

National interest is defined as a "nation's perceived needs and aspirations in relation to its international environment. U.S. national interests determine our involvement in the rest of the world" (Yarger & Barber, 1997, p. 1).

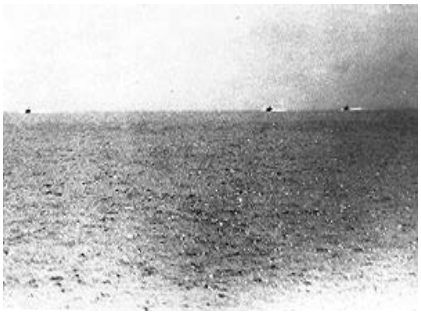
Vital interest is defined as something that "if unfulfilled, will have immediate consequence for critical national interests" (Yarger & Barber, 1997, p. 2).

Have students discuss the meaning of vital national interest—what might be considered a vital national interest and how they understand/interpret the term. Put key points on board.

Ask students if they believe U.S. vital national interest was at stake in World War II and provide position rationales.

Ask students if they believe U.S. vital national interest was at stake in Vietnam. Summarize student answers before moving to the Gulf of Tonkin Incident. Instructors might want to ask the same question about Afghanistan if time permits.

The Gulf of Tonkin Incident (estimated time twenty-five minutes)



The USS *Maddox* and a photo taken from it during the incident, showing three North Vietnamese motor torpedo boats. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/ozhdcv6.

Have the students watch the four-minute History.com video on the Gulf of Tonkin Incident: http://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/gulf-of-tonkin-resolution/videos/lbj-gulf-of-tonkin-incident.

President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Source: *U.S. National Archives*

Use the History.com link or the key points below to summarize Johnson's response to the incident and his ambiguity:

http://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/gulf-of-tonkin-resolution.

Following the Gulf of Tonkin Incident, Johnson gathered congressional leaders and, without divulging specific details about what occurred off the coast of Vietnam, accused the North Vietnamese of open aggression on the high seas. Johnson submitted a resolution to both houses of Congress that authorized him to take "all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and *to prevent further aggression*" (Javits, 1973, p. 258).

The resolution was quickly approved by Congress, with only two dissenting votes, but after more information about the Tonkin incident became available, many in Congress concluded that Johnson and his advisers had misled them into supporting the expansion of the war.

Instructors might want students to watch as homework the video of Johnson's address to the American public concerning the results of the Gulf of Tonkin Incident: https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/august-4-1964-report-gulf-tonkin-incident.

Note: Brief summaries of the Gulf of Tonkin Incident and U.S. escalation in Vietnam are available at the State Department's website: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/gulf-of-tonkin.
(This site asks for a user name and password but if the box is closed the site still appears)

Joint Resolution of Congress H.J. RES 1145 August 7, 1964—The Tonkin Gulf Resolution

Use the following link to the text of the Congressional resolution. Focus on the section starting with "resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives" and section three (bottom): https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon3/ps12.htm.

Instructors should follow up by asking why Congress approved the presidential use of military action?

Does the wording of "This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured" amount to a *blank check* for Johnson in conducting military action?

Does the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution run counter to the U.S. Constitution, specifically Article 1, Section 8? (estimated time, fifteen minutes)

Use this question for student discussion as a culminating in class discuss or as a short homework writing assignment:

What were the differences in the Gulf of Tonkin Incident as it occurred in contrast to how President Johnson described it to Congress and the American people?

Editor's note: Vietnam and the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution Extension/Enrichment Activities

The extent that instructors might wish to teach or students might wish to learn about Vietnam could vary dramatically. Because of the potential interest in this war, several resources are included here. To date, the most critically acclaimed video history of the war is the twenty-three-part PBS documentary Vietnam: A Television History. Readers can access a 1983 New York Times review at:
http://nyti.ms/2yt9jOz.

Most of the episodes are on YouTube, including episode three, *"America's Mandarin: 1954–1963"*—
http://youtu.be/Q5TNwVIhcQk
—and episode four, "LBJ Goes to War: 1964–1965"—
http://youtu.be/fD5Sek4snmw .

These two segments in particular illustrate the gradual but steady level of American involvement that then escalated relatively quickly.

Section Two: The Intended and Unintended Consequences of the 1973 War Powers Resolution (estimated time forty minutes for entire section)

President Nixon speaks with US combat infantrymen during the Vietnam War. President Nixon speaks with US combat infantrymen during the Vietnam War. Source: *Business Insider* at https://tinyurl.com/y8gt4ju5.

Introduce the War Powers Act by having students read "Nixon and the War Powers Resolution," available through the *Bill of Rights Institute* (BORI) at https://billofrightsinstitute.org/educate/educator-resources/lessons-plans/presidents-constitution/war-powers-resolution/.

This excellent teaching resource offers a succinct description of the context for the passage of the resolution, direct access to the primary source document, and follow-up questions. Allow time for students to read the narrative and the primary source document that are available at the above link. Delay having students discuss the questions or extension activities when they've completed the readings.

Then, introduce students to the following quotations concerning the War Powers Resolution:

"After decades of intense debate, congress passed legislation in 1973 in an effort to limit presidential war power" (Fisher, 2004, p. 144).

"The statute calls for the 'collective judgment' of congress and the president before committing troops to combat." (Fisher, 2004, p. 145).

“The War Powers Resolution has had the effect of allowing the president to make war unilaterally for up to 90 days” (Fisher, 2004, p. 145).

After the above quotations are introduced, instructors might want to introduce students to the following summary of the key points of the War Powers Resolution, I utilized in my classroom:

First, in order to "insure that the collective judgment of both the congress and the president will apply to the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities" the President's powers as commander in chief are exercised only pursuant to a declaration of war, specific statutory authorization from Congress, or a national emergency created by an attack upon the United States (50 USC Section 1541).

Second, it requires the President to consult with Congress before introducing U.S. forces into hostilities or situations where hostilities are imminent, and to continue consultations as long as U.S. armed forces remain in such situations (50 USC Section 1542).

Third, reporting requirements maintain that the president must comply any time he introduces U.S. armed forces into existing or imminent hostilities (50 USC Section 1543); Section 1543(a)(1) is particularly significant because it can trigger a sixty-day time limit on the use of U.S. forces under Section 1544(b).

Fourth, concerning congressional actions and procedures, Section 1544(b) requires that U.S. forces be withdrawn from hostilities within sixty days of the time a report is submitted or is required to be submitted under Section 1543(a)(1), with the following exceptions:

Unless Congress acts to approve continued military action
Is physically unable to meet as a result of an armed attack upon the United States

Section 1544(c) requires the president to remove U.S. armed forces engaged in hostilities "without a declaration of war or specific statutory authorization" at any time if Congress so directs by a concurrent resolution (50 USC 1544).

Instructors can choose (depending upon the time they have to allocate to the War Powers Resolution and their assessment of student understanding of Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution) to refer students back to the Constitution’s language and to perspectives of a prominent architect of the Constitution, a well-known American historian, and a senator who was one of the authors of the War Powers Resolution.

Use the following material and quotes to set the discussion on the power to declare war: U.S. Constitution Article 1, Section 8.

Alexander Hamilton from Federalist 8: “It is the nature of war to increase the executive at the expense of legislative authority” (Hamilton, Madison, & Jay, 1961, p. 62).

American historian Arthur Schlesinger: “The chronic international crisis known as the Cold War at last gave presidents the opportunity for sustained exercise of almost royal prerogatives. What began as emergency powers temporarily confided to presidents soon

hardened into authority claimed by presidents as constitutionally inherent in the office: thus, the imperial presidency" (p. 47).

One of the authors of the bill that would become the War Powers Act, Senator Jacob Javits: "The [war powers] bill I introduced…was designed to make sure that the democratic process protects us from one man decision making" (Javits, 1973, p. 268).

Constitutional Scholar Louis Fisher: "The War Powers Resolution is usually described as a concerted effort to 'reassert' congressional prerogatives. In fact, by recognizing that the President may use armed force for up to 90 days without seeking or obtaining legislative authority, the resolution legalizes a scope for independent presidential power that would have astonished the framers" (Fisher, 2004, p. 145).

Discussion Options
After (if time permits) considering the BORI reading, the War Powers Resolution primary source, and the related quotations, Instructors should have students discuss the BORI questions and extension suggestions that appear below or assign a short writing assignment based upon the questions:

How does the Constitution distribute war powers between the president and Congress, and why did the Founders decide on this arrangement?

What was the War Powers Resolution of 1973?

Why did President Richard Nixon veto it (Congress overrode the veto)?

Keeping in mind the constitutional war powers of Congress and the president, how would you assess the constitutionality of the War Powers Resolution?

Why do you think there has been no declared war since World War II, yet the U.S. has been almost constantly engaged in military action? What is the difference between Congress "authorizing the president to use force" and declaring war? Who bears more responsibility in each case? Which, if any, seems to lead to better outcomes for the U.S.?

Instructors are encouraged to conclude the discussion or have students in their written homework assignments if this options is used, to direct student attention to the BORI summation included below of the ongoing debate about the War Powers Act and getting final comments from the class.

Debate over the War Powers Act continues today. Critics want the law repealed for apparently contradictory constitutional reasons—some argue it takes too much power away from the President and gives too much to Congress, while others believe the President retains too much power at the expense of Congress. Have students work in groups to research arguments on both sides and answer the following questions:

What are the strongest arguments on each side?

How do the different arguments against the War Powers Act reveal different ways of interpreting the Constitution?

Section Three: Conflict in the Persian Gulf Region: The 1991 First Gulf War (estimated time fifty minutes for entire section)

President George H. W. Bush. Source: *History.com* at https://tinyurl.com/yagrza77

Introduction: The Carter Doctrine
To understand U.S. involvement in the Gulf region, it is important to familiarize students with the Carter Doctrine. The Carter Doctrine was articulated in his January 23, 1980, State of the Union address. In it, President Jimmy Carter abandoned the policy of détente and reiterated the principle of the Truman Doctrine of containment but, in recognizance of the international geopolitics of energy resources, applied it in this case to deter possible USSR expansion in the Persian Gulf.

Specifically, Carter (1980) stated: "Let our position be absolutely clear: An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force" (para. 27).

Link to full text of Carter's State of the Union address:
http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=33079.

Instructors can either succinctly summarize the events that led Carter to move away from détente or have them read the above summary and related paragraphs in the inauguration address and answer the following questions.

Discussion Options
What precipitated the development of the Carter Doctrine?

What was another important factor that caused President Carter to mention the Persian Gulf region as being especially vital to U.S. interests?

Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and Military Buildup (Desert Shield)

In July 1990, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein delivered a speech in which he accused the neighboring nation Kuwait of siphoning crude oil from the Ar-Rumaylah oil fields in southern Iraq, located along their common border. Moreover, Hussein insisted that Kuwait and Saudi Arabia cancel $30 billion of Iraq's debt to both nations, primarily generated in the eight-year Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988).

In August 1990, Hussein invaded Kuwait. Alarmed, two-thirds of the twenty-one members of the Arab League condemned Iraq's act of aggression, and both Saudi Arabia's King Fahd and Kuwait's government-in-exile turned to the U.S. and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for support.

In response, the U.N. Security Council (UNSC) condemned the invasion and drafted UNSCR 660 (August 2, 1990). In a second meeting about the situation in Kuwait, the UNSC again condemned the invasion and vowed to end the occupation with UNSCR 661 (August 6, 1990).

On August 8, 1990, President George H. W Bush, in an eleven-minute, eighteen-second speech to the nation, announced a buildup of American military personnel and equipment to defend Saudi Arabia from further Iraqi aggression. Have students listen to the speech and/or read the transcript at the following link:
https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/august-8-1990-address-iraqs-invasion-kuwait.

Despite mounting pressure, Hussein defied UNSC demands to withdraw from Kuwait by mid-January 1991.

Instructors may wish to assign as homework all or parts of
http://www.history.com/topics/persian-gulf-war . (Excerpts from this link appear above).

The Coalition

In response to Iraq ignoring UNSCR demands, the Bush administration successfully worked to build an international coalition made up of thirty-nine countries: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, Kuwait, Morocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United Arab Emirates, and the United States (CNN). While not all allies supplied both troops and equipment, ultimately the coalition numbered 670,000 troops from twenty-eight countries. About 425,000 of the troops deployed in Desert Shield were from the U.S. (CNN). With the coalition in place and the UNSCR deadline to leave Kuwait expired, Operation Desert Storm commenced January 17, 1991, and lasted forty-two days. Students can watch t Bush's two most critical war messages below.
Bush's televised announcement of commencement of hostilities in a nine-minute, fifty-nine-second speech on January 16, 1991, at http://youtu.be/IFrnQHaQWoA.

Bush's televised six-minute, fifty-two-second speech announcing the end of the Gulf War February 27, 1991, at https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/february-27-1991-address-end-gulf-war

Presidential Deployment and Use of U.S. Forces

U.S. troops deployed during Operation Desert Shield. Source: *Stars and Stripes* at https://tinyurl.com/yd8b45z4.

Specific to U.S. involvement in Desert Storm, Bush had deployed over 500,000 U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia in the five months after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The U.S. countermeasure, was named Operation Desert Shield. Bush announced this was a defensive measure but "made no effort to seek authority from Congress" (Fisher, 2004,169).

Instead, Bush sought to create a "multinational alliance and encouraged the Security Council to 'authorize' the use of military force" (Fisher, 2004, 169).

"I think in a lot of actions … there seemed to be efforts to get things wrapped up by the sixty-day limit" (Fisher, 2004, 145).

As the UNSC deadline loomed, Bush requested a congressional joint resolution on January 8, 1991, one week before the January 15 deadline issued to Iraq in UNSCR 678. In response, Congress authorized the use of U.S. military force in the Gulf War on January 14, 1991. The Joint Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq is available at https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021002-2.html.

Questions for student discussion:

Did Bush exceed his authority in deploying troops to Saudi Arabia under Operation Desert Shield? Defend your position.

Was the congressional Use of Force Resolution sufficient to commit U.S. troops to combat? Defend your position.

Does U.N. support obviate the need for congressional approval to commit U.S. troops to combat? Defend your position.

Concluding Questions that may discussed orally or assigned as written homework:

Post the following questions and have the students spend a few minutes thinking about the answers. Have the class share their answers and discuss the why behind their answers.

Do changes in technology (both communications and military weaponry) make the formal Constitutional War

Making Powers archaic and even dangerous to national security? Put another way, is time so precious that the laborious process of congressional declarations of war not sufficient to meet the current threats?

Does the president's inherent power of acting in defense of national security preclude the necessity of seeking congressional approval to declare war?

Does the Constitution need to be amended to meet the emerging threats of the twenty-first century?

Do the students know of any examples where the declaration of war was a *fait accompli* (something already done and beyond alteration)?

Time permitting—is an act of terrorism an act of war?

Resources and References

http://youtu.be/zUn39VzSBms: A video from the "Brief History Of…" series on YouTube on the Domino Theory used by the US Government through the Cold War.

https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/august-8-1990-address-iraqs-invasion-kuwait: Video of President George H. W. Bush's August 8, 1990 address on Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait hosted by the University of Virginia Miller Center.

http://www.historyonthenet.com/authentichistory/1946-1960/2-korea/1-overview/: Overview of the Korean War by Michael Barnes from *History on the Net*.

http://www.annenbergclassroom.org/page/article-i-section-8: Text of Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution from *Annenberg Classroom*.

https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/50/chapter-33: Text of 50 U.S. Code Chapter 33: War Powers Resolution available on the Legal Information Institute website.

http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10202: Transcript of President Eisenhower's 34th news conference on April 7, 1954 from *The American Presidency Project*.

Louis Fisher, *Presidential War Power* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008).

https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/february-27-1991-address-end-gulf-war: Video of President George H. W. Bush's February 27, 1991 address on the end of the Gulf War hosted by the University of Virginia Miller Center.

http://youtu.be/IFrnQHaQWoA: Video of George H. W. Bush's declaration of war against Iraq from January 16, 1991.

http://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/gulf-of-tonkin-resolution: Entry of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution from *History.com*.

http://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/gulf-of-tonkin-resolution/videos/lbj-gulf-of-tonkin-incident: Videos section of *History.com's* entry on the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*.

Jacob Javits, *Who Makes War: The President Versus Congress* (New York: Morrow, 1973).

https://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/assets/documents/speeches/su80jec.phtml:Text of President Carter's State of the Union Address from 1980 at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum website.

https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021002-2.html: Press release from The White House during the George W. Bush administration, "Joint Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq," from October 2, 2002.

http://billofrightsinstitute.org/educate/educator-resources/lessons-plans/presidents-constitution/war-powers-resolution/: Lesson plan “Nixon and the War Powers Resolution." from the Bill of Rights Institute.

http://www.history.com/topics/persian-gulf-war: Entry on the Persian Gulf War from *History.com*.

https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/august-4-1964-report-gulf-tonkin-incident: Video of President Lyndon B. Johnson's August 4, 1964 report on the Gulf of Tonkin incident hosted by the University of Virginia Miller Center.

Arthur Schlesinger, *War and the American Presidency* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005).

Branislav Slantchev, *National Security Strategy: The Vietnam War, 1954–1975* (San Diego: University of California, 2014).

http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/truman-signs-the-national-security-act: Brief entry on President Truman signing the National Security Act on July 26, 1947 from *History.com's* "This Day in History" series.

https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon3/ps12.htm: Text of Joint Resolution (The Tonkin Gulf Resolution), August 7, Department of State Bulletin, August 24, 1964 from *the Pentagon Papers*, Gravel Edition, Volume 3.

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp: President Harry S. Truman's Address Before A Joint Session Of Congress, March 12, 1947 (The Truman Doctrine) from the Yale Law School *Avalon Project*.

http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/660: Text of the 1990 UN Security Council Resolution 660 from The United Nations website.

http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/661: Text of the 1990 UN Security Council Resolution 661 from The United Nations website.

https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/gulf-of-tonkin: Article "U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War: the Gulf of Tonkin and Escalation, 1964" from the U.S. government Office of the Historian website.

Richard Yarger and George F. Barber, "The U.S. Army War College Methodology for Determining Interests and Levels of Intensity." *U. S. Army War College*. 1997. 118–126.

http://youtu.be/Dx8-ffiYyzA: Clip of President Johnson's Report on the Gulf of Tonkin Incident, August 4, 1964 from The University of Virginia Miller Center YouTube page.

http://nyti.ms/2ytvS5A: Review of PBS's *Vietnam: A Television History* from *The New York Times.*

Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation: Democracy in Action

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This module was developed and utilized for a ninth-grade advanced placement U.S. government class to teach the AP syllabus topic "Political Beliefs and Behaviors: Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation."

Estimated module length: Ninety minutes

Conventional political participation: The signing of the U.S. Constitution. Source: *Teaching American History* at https://tinyurl.com/ycy8r933.

Unconventional political participation: Boston Tea Party. Source: *Wikipedia* at https://tinyurl.com/y9g9gua5.

Overview

The United States is a democratic republic. This system of governance allows U.S. citizens to engage directly in political life through attempting to influence the public policies of their government. This allows different individuals and groups to choose various forms of action for different purposes. Conventional strategies like voting, running for office, making donations to candidates, or writing members of Congress are common and widely accepted. Unconventional participation is less widely accepted and often controversial. It involves using strategies like marching, boycotting, refusing to obey laws, or protesting in general. At different times in the nation's history, individuals and groups have succeeded or failed using both forms of participation.

Objectives

Students will:
Explain that in a democratic republic, citizens participate in the political system through their actions that can be conventional or, at times, unconventional.

Learn the concepts of conventional and unconventional political participation and study the civil rights movement as an example of a successful use of unconventional political participation.

Better understand the categories of conventional and unconventional political participation and types of actions associated with each category through applying knowledge to three political scenarios.

Prerequisite knowledge

In my course, this lesson is embedded in a unit on political beliefs and behaviors of U.S. citizens. It stands alone and requires no formal prerequisites, though students should have a general understanding of democracy as a form of government. It follows lessons about political beliefs and anticipates future lessons about voting and elections, civil liberties, and civil rights.

Module introduction:

Rosa Parks with Martin Luther King Jr. in the background. Source: *Wikimedia Commons* at https://tinyurl.com/b4wuyon.

Students are first asked to access and read the Constitutional Rights Foundation web page titled "Social Protests" at http://www.crf-usa.org/black-history-month/social-protests. This student reading with accompanying questions is a case study of the 1950s and 1960s civil rights protest movements. The reading is available for download at the following link (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crcmloganappendix1.pdf) and is also included in Appendix I of this module. If laptops aren't available, students can use their smartphones or the page can be printed and distributed. Students should read the accurate, concise, and objective overview of the protest movement and answer the two accompanying questions at the end of the reading. After completing the reading and questions, students are randomly asked to share their answers aloud. After hearing from two or three students, the teacher should then introduce the two core generalizations of the lesson by offering introductory comments similar to these:

First, although sometimes people in a democratic republic choose to participate in politics in an unconventional manner, including protesting, boycotting, and refusing to abide by certain laws, most people choose to participate conventionally, by voting, donating money to candidates for political office, or even running for office.

Second, people involved in the civil rights movement often chose the unconventional means of protest (as the students have possibly already discerned) because they were unable to have their voices heard through more conventional means, since as a racial/political minority, particularly in the South, established laws and generally accepted customs of the white majority denied African-Americans conventional access.

As students learn more about conventional and unconventional political participation, they should realize that different situations and individual and group interests mean that there is no standardized formula for choosing or not choosing actions from either or both categories that work in every situation (estimated time, forty minutes).

The basics of political participation: Understanding and applications

Students then receive the handout "Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation." The handout clarifies and specifies types of political participation, as well as provides students with scenarios that give them opportunities to apply what they've learned. The handout is available for download at the following link (https://www.utc.edu/center-reflective-citizenship/pdfs/crcmloganappendix2.pdf) and is also included in Appendix II of this module. The document breaks down political participation into two categories: (1) conventional participation including voting, donating money, writing letters, joining an interest group, and more; and (2) unconventional participation including protesting, boycotting, rioting, and more. Randomly ask students to read the categories in the handout aloud.

Students then read the three short scenarios included in the handout and imagine themselves as the individual involved in each scenario: (a student concerned about low voter turnout among young people, a business owner who battles government bureaucracy, and a citizen concerned about poor local governance). They then are asked to choose one or more of the two categories of political participation, as well as specific actions from one or more of the categories they choose, that might assist the individual in changing the problematic situation he/she encounters in each scenario. Students then write brief scenarios of their choices and why they chose to act as they did for each type's effectiveness.

Next, students will work in groups of four. Predetermined mixed-ability groups work well for this assignment to encourage thoughtful discussion and multiple perspectives. Each group should try to find consensus about what type of action would work best in each scenario. The groups need not produce a document, but they should formally agree upon the best course of action for each scenario. During this process, it is suggested that the teacher circulate in the classroom, checking for understanding, answering any questions that may arise, and trying to help create consensus within each group **(estimated time, sixty-five minutes).**

Conclusion/summary

After all groups have shared and discussed their thoughts with each other, the teacher will take up each student's written responses to the individual writing assignment and then address the class and summarize comments from different groups. Students will have disagreed on many finer points, but have mostly all agreed that some types of actions were required and, further, agreed that each situation called for a different response geared specifically to each scenario. The teacher may summarize the lesson with a brief statement like the following:

As we saw, participation in the civil rights movement took extraordinary courage. Everyday citizens used what little political power they had to fight for the changes that they wanted to see. The citizens who worked with the movement sometimes behaved conventionally by voting or helping political campaigns with time or money, and sometimes they behaved unconventionally through protests, boycotts, or civil disobedience. While most political situations don't call for the level of effort the civil rights movement did, political participation is still an effective way to try to use the power that you, as a citizen, have in a democracy,

whether that's through the most popular form of participation—voting—or through protest and other less common methods. We may disagree about how to achieve our goals, but we can all agree that we should use our power to represent ourselves politically and that the methods we choose should not cause harm.

Day two: Reinforcement activity/summative assessment

As an introduction to the next day's lesson concerning voting (turnout, trends, demographics, and laws/amendments that impact voting), students will be prompted to list the two general types of political participation and give two specific examples of each. The assignment will be collected and graded to assess concept attainment in students.

References and Resources

O'Connor, Karen, and Larry Sabato. *American Government: Roots and Reform*. 10th ed. Hoboken, New Jersey: Pearson, 2009. This source is a textbook that is recommended for AP U.S. government and politics classes. It provides a general overview of government.

Thorson, Esther, et al. "A Hierarchy of Political Participation Activities in Pre-Voting-Age Youth." University of Missouri, 2010. http://www.newshare.com/mdp/mdp-participation.pdf. This paper from the University of Missouri discusses youth participation in politics. It provides teachers with useful, specific background on political participation as it relates to young people.

"Voter Turnout Demographics." *United States Election Project*. Last modified 2016. http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/demographics. This source from the University of Florida's United States Election Project provides current data on turnout rates, trends in voting, and useful graphs to illustrate political participation levels.

http://www.crf-usa.org/black-history-month/social-protests: This resource is used to introduce students to a historical example of unconventional political participation, the civil rights movement. Specific events from the time period are discussed, and students are exposed to many of the strategies that were used.

Matt Logan, "Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation," May 15, 2017.

Appendix I

Social protests

The modern civil rights movement grew out of a long history of social protest. In the South, any protest risked violent retaliation. Even so, between 1900 and 1950, community leaders in many Southern cities protested segregation. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the leading civil rights organization of this era, battled racism by lobbying for federal anti-lynching legislation and challenging segregation laws in court.

Following World War II, a great push to end segregation began. The NAACP grew from 50,000 to half a million members. The walls of segregation that existed outside the South started crumbling. In 1947, Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in Major League Baseball, and soon, black athletes participated in all professional sports. In 1948, President Harry S. Truman ordered the integration of the armed forces.

The greatest victory occurred in 1954. In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled separate schools for blacks and whites unconstitutional. This deeply shocked many Southern whites. White citizens councils, joined by prominent citizens, sprouted throughout the South. They vowed that integration would never take place. In this atmosphere, the social protests of the civil rights movement were born.

The Montgomery bus boycott

American civil rights leader Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.(1929–1968) stands in front of a bus at the end of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott on December 26, 1956. Source: *History.com* at https://tinyurl.com/qc9rqd9.

In December 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama, one of the first major protests began. Rosa Parks, a black woman, refused to give her bus seat to a white passenger, as required by the city's segregation laws. Although often depicted as a weary older woman too tired to get up and move, Parks was actually a longtime, active member of the NAACP. A committed civil rights activist, she decided that she was not going to move. She was arrested and jailed for her defiant and courageous act.

The NAACP saw Parks's arrest as an opportunity to challenge segregation laws in a major Southern city. The NAACP called on Montgomery's black political and religious leaders to

advocate a one-day boycott protesting her arrest. More than 75 percent of Montgomery's black residents regularly used the bus system. On the day of the boycott, only eight blacks rode Montgomery's buses.

The success of the one-day boycott inspired black leaders to organize a long-term boycott. They demanded an end to segregation on the city's buses. Until this demand was met, blacks would refuse to ride Montgomery's buses. A young Baptist minister named Martin Luther King Jr. led the boycott.

Carpools were organized to get black participants to work. Many walked where they needed to go. After a month, Montgomery's businesses were beginning to feel the boycott's effects. Some segregationists retaliated. Blacks were arrested for walking on public sidewalks. Bombs exploded in four black churches. King's home was firebombed.

King conceived of a strategy of nonviolence and civil disobedience to resist the violent opposition to the boycott. In school, Henry David Thoreau's writings on civil disobedience had deeply impressed King. But King did not believe the Christian idea of "turning the other cheek" applied to social action until he studied the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, who introduced the "weapon" of nonviolence during India's struggle for independence from Great Britain.

"We decided to raise up only with the weapon of protest," King said. "It is one of the greatest glories of America ... Don't let anyone pull you so low as to hate them. We must use the weapon of love."

The tactic of nonviolence proved effective in hundreds of civil rights protests in the racially segregated South.

The Montgomery bus boycott lasted 382 days. It ended when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation on the city's buses was unconstitutional.

The success of the boycott propelled King to national prominence and to leadership in the civil rights movement. When some Southern black ministers established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957, they chose King as its leader. The SCLC continued to lead nonviolent boycotts, demonstrations, and marches protesting segregation throughout the South.

The sit-ins

In February 1960, four black college freshmen sat down at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, and politely asked to be served. They were ignored but remained seated until the counter closed. The next day, they returned with more students, who sat peacefully at the counter waiting to be served. They, like the protesters in Montgomery, were practicing nonviolent civil disobedience. The Greensboro lunch counter demonstrations were called "sit-ins." As word of them spread, other students in cities throughout the South started staging sit-ins. By April 1960, more than 50,000 students had joined sit-ins.

The tactic called for well-dressed and perfectly behaved students to enter a lunch counter and ask for service. They would not move until they were served. If they were arrested, other students would take their places.

Students in many cities endured taunts, arrests, and even beatings. But their persistence paid off. Many targeted businesses began to integrate.

In October 1960, black students across the nation formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC—pronounced "snick") to carry on the work that students had begun in the Greensboro sit-ins. SNCC operated throughout the Deep South, organizing demonstrations, teaching in "Freedom Schools," and registering voters.

The Freedom Ride

Some of the most dangerous and dramatic episodes of the civil rights movement took place on the Freedom Ride. This was organized in 1961 by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a civil rights group committed to direct, nonviolent action. More than a decade earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court had declared segregation on interstate buses and in interstate terminals unconstitutional. Despite this decision, the buses and stations remained rigidly segregated.

In May 1961, black and white freedom riders boarded buses bound for Southern states. At each stop, they planned to enter the segregated areas.

CORE Director James Farmer said: "We felt we could count on the racists of the South to create a crisis so that the federal government would be compelled to enforce the law."

At first, the riders met little resistance. But in Alabama, white supremacists surrounded one of the freedom riders' buses, set it afire, and attacked the riders as they exited. Outside Birmingham, Alabama, a second bus was stopped. Eight white men boarded the bus and savagely beat the nonviolent freedom riders with sticks and chains.

When he heard about the violence, President John F. Kennedy sent federal agents to protect the freedom riders. Although the president urged the freedom riders to stop, they refused. Regularly met by mob violence and police brutality, hundreds of freedom riders were beaten and jailed. Although the Freedom Ride never reached its planned destination, New Orleans, Louisiana, it achieved its purpose. At the prodding of the Kennedy administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission ordered the integration of all interstate bus, train, and air terminals. Signs indicating "colored" and "white" sections came down in more than 300 Southern stations.

Birmingham

In 1963, King announced that the SCLC would travel to Birmingham, Alabama, to integrate public and commercial facilities. In defiance of Supreme Court orders, Birmingham had closed its public parks, swimming pools, and golf courses rather than integrate them. Its restaurants and lunch counters remained segregated.

Peaceful demonstrators singing "We Shall Overcome" met an enraged white populace and an irate police chief named Eugene "Bull" Connor. Day after day, more demonstrators, including King, were thrown in jail. After a month, African-American youth, aged six to eighteen, started demonstrating. They too were jailed, and when the jails filled, they were held in school buses and vans. As demonstrations continued, Connor had no place left to house prisoners. Americans watched the evening news in horror as Connor used police dogs, billy clubs, and high-pressure fire hoses to get the children demonstrators off the streets. As tension mounted, city and business leaders gave in. They agreed to desegregate public facilities, hire black employees, and release all the people in jail.

March on Washington

1963 March on Washington. Source: *Zinn Education Project* at https://tinyurl.com/y8mot8co.

The violence in Birmingham and elsewhere in the South prompted the Kennedy administration to act. It proposed a civil rights bill outlawing segregation in public facilities and discrimination in employment. The bill faced solid opposition from Southern members of Congress. In response, civil rights leaders organized a massive march on Washington, D.C. On August 28, 1963, hundreds of thousands of Americans traveled to the nation's capital to demonstrate for civil rights. The peaceful march culminated in a rally where civil rights leaders demanded equal opportunity for jobs and the full implementation of constitutional rights for racial minorities. King delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. It inspired thousands of people to increase their efforts and thousands of others to join the civil rights movement for the first time. Full press and television coverage brought the March on Washington to international attention.

Mississippi Freedom Summer

Much of the civil rights movement focused on voting rights. Since Reconstruction, Southern states had systematically denied African-Americans the right to vote. Perhaps the worst example was Mississippi, the poorest state in the nation. Many Mississippi counties had no registered black voters. Blacks lived under the constant threat of violence. Medgar Evers, a major civil rights leader in Mississippi, was murdered outside his home in 1963.

In 1964, SNCC and other civil rights organizations turned their attention to Mississippi. They planned to register Mississippi blacks to vote, organize a "Freedom Democratic Party" to challenge the whites-only Mississippi Democratic Party, establish freedom schools, and open community centers where blacks could obtain legal and medical assistance.

In June, only days after arriving in Mississippi, three Freedom Summer workers disappeared. They had been arrested for speeding and then released. On August 4, their bodies were found buried on a farm. The discovery directed the media's attention to Mississippi, just two weeks before the Democratic National Convention was scheduled to begin.

A major dispute over the Mississippi delegation was brewing. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had elected delegates to attend the convention. They demanded to be seated in place of the segregationist Mississippi Democrats. Ultimately, a compromise was struck, but the power struggle at the convention raised the issue of voting rights before the entire nation.

Selma

In December 1964, the SCLC started a voter registration campaign in Selma, Alabama. Although blacks outnumbered whites in Selma, few were registered to vote. For almost two months, King led marches to the courthouse to register voters. The sheriff responded by jailing the demonstrators, including King. The SCLC got a federal court order to stop the sheriff from interfering, but election officials still refused to register any blacks.

King decided to organize a march from Selma to Montgomery, the state capital. As marchers crossed the Edmund Pettis Bridge out of Selma, state police attacked. A national television audience watched police beat men, women, and children mercilessly. This brutal attack shocked the nation and galvanized support for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which would put elections in Southern states under federal control.

Two weeks later, the march resumed under federal protection. More than 20,000 people celebrated when the marchers reached Montgomery, the site of the bus boycott ten years earlier.

The North

Civil rights demonstrations also took place in the North. Although legal segregation existed primarily in the South, Northern blacks endured discrimination in employment and housing. Most lived in poverty in urban ghettos. King led demonstrations in Chicago, Illinois, which the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights called the "most residentially segregated large city in the nation." Complaints of police brutality mobilized many African-Americans and their supporters. They organized street rallies, picket lines, and other forms of nonviolent protests that had dominated the civil rights movement in the South. Like their counterparts in the South, many of these protesters encountered hostility among the white population.

Until the 1960s, the civil rights movement had been integrated and nonviolent. As the decade continued, however, the mood of confrontation intensified, reflecting the growing frustration of millions of African-Americans. Major riots broke out in American cities, including

Newark, New Jersey; Detroit, Michigan; and Los Angeles, California. Thousands of injuries and arrests intensified the social conflicts. The 1968 assassination of King sparked more violence, forcing the United States to confront its most troubling domestic crisis since the Civil War.

A "black power" movement emerged, challenging the philosophies of nonviolence and integration. Like the nonviolent movement, this development had powerful historical roots. It originated in the violent resistance against slavery and continued in the outlook of major black spokespersons throughout the twentieth century. In the late 1960s, SNCC and CORE adopted black power. Activists argued that legal gains alone without corresponding economic and political power would deny millions of African-Americans equal opportunity.

By the end of the decade, with the Vietnam War escalating, the entire nation was in turmoil. Antiwar protests crossed paths with unrest in the cities. Black power took many forms. The Nation of Islam preached black separatism. Members of the Black Panther Party set up breakfast programs for children and published a daily newspaper while they armed themselves for a revolution. The media shifted focus from nonviolent black leaders to the most radical black spokespersons. These new, more militant philosophies created considerable anxiety in mainstream America. By the mid-1970s, however, the Vietnam War had ended and the protests had subsided.

But the civil rights movement left a lasting legacy, forever changing the face of America. It pushed America toward its stated ideal of equality under the law. Blacks now vote freely throughout the country. The injustices and indignities of racially segregated restaurants, bathrooms, and theaters have become a regrettable relic of the past. The civil rights movement did not end America's racial problems, but it showed that great changes are possible.

For discussion and writing

What do you think were the most effective strategies used during the civil rights movement? Why?

During the civil rights movement, King stressed the involvement of many groups and reached out to people of all colors in the struggle for equality. The black power movement focused on organizing blacks, sometimes to the exclusion of other groups. What are the strengths and weaknesses of each approach? Which do you think is more effective? Why?

For further reading

Bullard, Sara. *Free at Last: A History of the Civil Rights Movement and Those Who Died in the Struggle.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Dierenfield, Bruce J. *The Civil Rights Movement.* United Kingdom: Pearson Education Limited, 2008.

Appendix II: Conventional and unconventional political participation

In the United States, citizens are allowed to participate in the political system in many ways. Some ways are common, or conventional, and some are rare, or unconventional. Common examples of types of participation are detailed below. Read the summaries and complete the assignment at the end of the worksheet.

Conventional political participation: Voting

Voting is the most prominent form of political participation, a method by which people interact with their government. It is considered "conventional participation," or a common and widely accepted way to interact with government. To participate in voting in the United States, citizens must be registered to vote. Requirements to register include being eighteen years old or above, a non-felon (in some states), and a legal resident of the state in which you wish to vote. At our nation's founding, only white, property-owning men could vote in most states, but after reforms such as the Fifteenth Amendment (allowing black men to vote), the Nineteenth Amendment (allowing women to vote), and the Twenty-Sixth Amendment (allowing eighteen-year-olds to vote), the electorate, or the people who are able to vote, has immensely increased in size.

The United States is one of the few democracies that requires citizens to register themselves rather than having the government take responsibility for automatically registering them. This, along with other factors like voter apathy and lack of education about the issues, has led to generally low voter turnout in the United States compared to turnout in other nations. Steps have been taken to improve turnout, including same-day registration (in some states, you may register and vote on the same day), "motor voter" laws (allowing people to register to vote at the Department of Motor Vehicles where they get a driver's license), and early/absentee voting (allowing people to vote before Election Day or to vote on a mail-in ballot).

Conventional political participation: Contacting public officials

Expressing opinions to leaders is one avenue of political participation. It's becoming easier and easier to contact officials today because of the availability of information and the ease of contact through the internet. Many people still write and post letters to public officials through the Postal Service, and often, people call the offices of their congressmen as well.

Conventional political participation: Donating money, time, or running yourself

During campaigns, people work for political parties and their candidates, organize campaign events, and discuss issues with friends and family. New medias offer additional opportunities for people to engage in campaigns, as people can blog or participate in message boards related to an election. They can use social media sites like Facebook or Twitter to gain supporters, advertise campaign events, or encourage friends to donate money to a campaign. Another avenue for political participation is running for office yourself.

Conventional political participation: Joining a group or association

People sometimes choose to join civic groups like the Rotary Club or interest groups like the American Civil Liberties Union, National Rifle Association, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, or the Sierra Club, as well as business and professional associations and private and government labor unions. Joining these groups allows citizens to become active in their communities and educate themselves and others about issues that matter to the membership.

Unconventional political participation: Protesting

Political protest is another type of political participation. Protests are unconventional, and often unpopular and controversial, actions that are utilized to gain attention from the public, government, and media. Protests can take different forms, but a commonality is that these group actions have political objectives. Common examples of protests include opposing or supporting an elected official or advocating for or demonstrating against a proposed law. This tactic was used during the 1960s civil rights movement and has been employed in the past by women's movements, labor movements, environmental movements, and more recently by various groups such as the Women's March, Black Lives Matter, and the Dakota pipeline protesters. Social media may be making protest behavior easier today. Typical types of protests include marches, demonstrations, and carrying signs in public. Extreme forms of protest behavior include illegal acts that cause harm, like rioting. These types of behavior are typically counterproductive because they are so widely unpopular with the public and so often cause harm to people, property, and the integrity of the movement. States and the federal government allow but regulate protests to ensure they do not break laws or disrupt civil order.

Unconventional political participation: Civil disobedience

People sometimes choose to engage in nonviolent acts of civil disobedience where they deliberately break a law they consider to be unjust or prejudiced. This tactic was used to great success during the civil rights movement with sit-ins, marches, and other tactics.

Unconventional political participation: Boycotting

Boycotting may also be used by some groups to try to achieve a desired goal. Boycotting is an activity where people refuse to support or purchase goods or services from certain companies, groups, or people. In the last few years, boycotts of many businesses have been undertaken with varying degrees of success.

Assignment: What would you do?

Imagine yourself in each of the three scenarios below. Consider each of the two general categories and specific types of political participation under each category explained in the handout. On a separate sheet of paper, (1) choose one or more types of conventional and/or unconventional participation you would use to remedy the situation and list your specific types of participation choice(s); and (2) justify your choice(s) by explaining why you selected a given method of participation for the particular circumstance and why you think it would be effective at creating the desired change.

Scenario No. 1: Young voters

You are a college student considering a major in political science. One issue, above all others, has grabbed your interest: low voter turnout among young people. Your research indicates that eighteen- to twenty-nine-year-olds have lower turnout rates than any other age group. You know that politics turn off many young people, but you also know that political engagement through voting is one of the surest ways to have your preferences as an individual or as a group member represented in government. You decide to do something, but you don't know what, exactly. What would you do?

Scenario No. 2: Business owner vs. bureaucracy

You are a business owner who has enjoyed great success recently. However, the product that you manufacture has a competitor in another state that is rapidly growing and starting to expand into your region. To keep up your businesses growth and to beat your competitor, you decide you will open a new manufacturing plant. You immediately begin the building permit approval process with the state and local government, only to find that it's expected to take over three months to complete all the required paperwork. Your competitor's local and state government has a much more streamlined process and the competitor is able to open multiple plants in the time it takes you to receive your permit. Your business takes a hit. You're angry and you want to do something about the bureaucratic "red tape" so that this doesn't happen again. What would you do?

Scenario No. 3: Missing local government

You are the resident of a small town. You enjoy many aspects of living in a small town, but recently, you've noticed that the local government isn't very active. The mayor shows up to meetings, but, from what you can see, nothing else. City Council members don't attend parades, grant interviews, or go to local civic club meetings, and they don't make appearances in public for ribbon-cutting ceremonies, building dedications, or graduations at the local schools. People keep voting the same council and mayor into office, though. You're in a tough spot. You know many people seem to like the town government because they keep returning officials to office, but you also know that very few people vote in local elections. You believe that local government is important and that your local government isn't representing you well, but you know that being too "loud" about your concerns might offend some people from your town. What would you do?

2017 University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
Faculty Fellows' Recommended American History and Government Teaching Websites

Editor's note:
As we all worked on the development of American Civic and History digital teaching resources this past year, the twenty entries below gradually were compiled, primarily because our superb group of teachers used them in their instructional modules development or incorporated a given site on a regular basis in their classroom instruction. I also added some sights that have been particularly useful for teachers and students. There are many excellent history and civics websites (including sites CRC Fellows included in the digital teaching resources they authored) on the Internet and the sites in this document are far from inclusive or even a representative sample of what is available. However, some of the best teachers I've ever known recommended them for quite good reasons. In some cases, registrations are required but there is no charge for access to any of the sites. We encourage all readers who aren't familiar with the sites featured in this document to explore the entries.

American Rhetoric
http://www.americanrhetoric.com/

This award-winning website contains free access to famous speeches and essays on rhetoric. The site includes a bank of 5,000 speeches, audios of some of the greatest political speeches since the invention of sound recording, famous movie speeches (especially movies focusing upon history and politics, and a top 100 list of the most significant U.S. political speeches of the 20th century that two professors compiled based upon feedback from 137 scholars. The site also is a superb introduction to the concept of rhetoric and offers example speeches for aspiring orators.

Bill of Rights Institute
https://www.billofrightsinstitute.org/

Established in September 1999, the Bill of Rights Institute is a 501c3 non-profit educational organization that works to engage, educate, and empower individuals with a passion for the freedom and opportunity that exist in a free society. The Institute develops educational resources and programs for a network of more than 50,000 educators and 30,000 students nationwide. Although the site contains a number of classroom-related resources and professional development and student programs, *Voices of History* is one of many features in the site recommended. This site component includes key themes in American history and numerous lesson options for each theme.

Bill of Rights in Action: The Constitutional Rights Foundation
http://www.crf-usa.org/bill-of-rights-in-action/

The Constitutional Rights Foundation has been providing high quality programs for social studies teachers for decades but the *Bill of Rights in Action (BORIA)* digital publication (also available for no charge in hard copy) is arguably the jewel in the organization's crown. *BORIA's* are published quarterly and each issue contains short, accurate, informative, and interesting student readings on U.S. History, Government, and World History topics. The

reading level of this curricular newsletter is high school and teachers who use *BORIA* often comment upon how much they learn from the publication.

Center for Civic Education
http://www.civiced.org/

The Center for Civic Education is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization based in California. The principal goals of the Center's programs are to help students develop (1) an increased understanding of the institutions of constitutional democracy and the fundamental principles and values upon which they are founded, (2) the skills necessary to participate as competent and responsible citizens, and (3) the willingness to use democratic procedures for making decisions and managing conflict. Ultimately, the Center strives to develop an enlightened citizenry by working to increase understanding of the principles, values, institutions, and history of constitutional democracy among teachers, students, and the general public.

Civics Renewal Network
http://www.civicsrenewalnetwork.org/

The Civics Renewal Network is a consortium of nonpartisan, nonprofit organizations committed to strengthening civic life in the U.S. by increasing the quality of civics education in our nation's schools and by improving accessibility to high-quality, no-cost learning materials. On the Civics Renewal Network site, teachers can find the best resources of these organizations, searchable by subject, grade, resource type, standards, and teaching strategy. The home page includes many sites included in this resources module as well as a number of other exemplary sites not in this document.

Constitute: The World's Constitutions to Read, Search, and Compare
https://www.constituteproject.org/

Constitute offers access to the world's constitutions that users can systematically compare them across a broad set of topics — using an inviting, clean interface. Currently Constitute includes the constitution that was in force in September of 2013 for nearly every independent state in the world, but it is regularly updates texts as they are amended or replaced. Constitute was developed by the authors of the Comparative Constitutions Project at the University of Texas at Austin.

C-SPAN CLASSROOM: Free Primary Source Materials for Social Studies Teachers
https://www.c-span.org/classroom/

C-SPAN Classroom is a free membership service for social studies teachers. Membership gives educators access to their own library to store C-SPAN Classroom videos clips, supplementary materials such as lesson plans and handouts, and special offers. This site is multi-faceted, comprehensive, and constantly updated.

EdTechTeacher: Best of History Websites
http://besthistorysites.net/

Best of History Websites aims to provide quick, convenient, and reliable access to the best history-oriented resources online in a wide range of categories and has been designed to benefit history teachers and their students. Best of History Websites was created in 2001 by Tom Daccord, the Director and Co-Founder of EdTechTeacher. This site is a treasure trove of classroom-applicable history websites. The U.S. site, like other history disciplines, is quite comprehensive.

Foreign Policy Research Institute: Wachman Institute for Civic and International Literacy
https://www.fpri.org/education/wachman-center

The educational division of the Foreign Policy Research Institute generates instructional materials and sponsors institutes for secondary school and survey-level college and university instructors. The FPRI perspective is that knowledge of geography and history are key foundations for better understanding foreign policy and policy options that promote U.S. national interests. Restoring the study of military history in American History courses has been a key theme FPRI has addressed in recent years.

Foundation for Economic Education
https://fee.org/

This excellent economic education site is dedicated to teaching the economic principles that advance both economic and political liberty. It offers a wide range of seminars and readings for students, educators and the general public.

Hillsdale College Online Courses
https://online.hillsdale.edu/dashboard/courses

Hillsdale College in Hillsdale, MI offers free, not-for-credit online courses in government, history, philosophy, and the humanities. The courses are content-rich, taught by exceptionally talented professors, and epitomize the best features of liberal education. This is a highly recommended site for high school students, educators, and adults.

Jack Miller Center for Teaching American Founding Principles and History
http://www.jackmillercenter.org/programs/civic-education-outreach/

This center has been a viable force for American history and civic education since 2007. In 2016 it began a program for high school teachers. Both secondary and undergraduate instructors are advised to explore the above site and watch for new programs that should be appearing soon.

iCivics
www.icivics.org

Founded by Sandra Day O'Conner in 2009, iCivics gives students tools to learn about and participate in civic life, and teachers the materials and support to achieve this goal. They have

free resources that include print lesson plans, interactive digital tools, and award-winning games.

Museum of the Moving Image
The Living Room Candidate: Presidential Campaign Commercials 1952-2016
http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/

The Living Room Candidate: Presidential Campaign Commercials 1952-2016 is an online exhibition presenting more than 300 television commercials from every election year since 1952, when the first campaign TV ads aired. The site includes a searchable database and features commentary, historical background, election results, and navigation organized by year, type of ad, and issue. Educators and students are the primary intended site audience.

ProCon.org: The Leading Source for Pros & Cons of Controversial Issues
http://www.procon.org/

Promoting critical thinking, education, and informed citizenship by presenting controversial issues in a straightforward, nonpartisan, primarily pro-con format. ProCon.org does not take a position on any of the issues it explores. It provides high quality and unbiased research so that readers can make up their own minds. ProCon.org is an independent 501(c)(3) nonprofit public charity. Steven C. Markoff, the Chairman of ProCon.org, has been active in trying to find pros and cons of various controversial issues since 1986. He created an organization to pursue this effort, and after going through several iterations, that organization became ProCon.org on July 12, 2004.

Teaching American History: A leading online resource for American History teachers and students
http://teachingamericanhistory.org/

TeachingAmericanHistory.org is a project of the Ashbrook Center at Ashland University. The Ashbrook Center is an independent, non-partisan non-profit. Its mission is to restore and strengthen the capacities of the American people for constitutional self-government. TAH.org sponsors a variety of resources, courses, and programs to help classroom teachers improve their knowledge of American history, government, civics, and ideas through the use of primary documents. TAH.org and Ashbrook programs and courses are unique in that they are all rooted in primary documents, and are created and conducted by university scholars who are experts in their respective fields. This site is the major repository of American History and Government Ashbrook resources and professional development options.

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History
https://www.gilderlehrman.org/

Founded in 1994 by Richard Gilder and Lewis E. Lehrman, the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History is a nonprofit organization devoted to the improvement of history education. The Institute has developed an array of programs for schools, teachers, and students that now operate in all fifty states, including a website that features more than 60,000 unique historical documents in the Gilder Lehrman Collection.

The Heritage Guide to the Constitution
http://www.heritage.org/constitution

The Heritage Guide, (created by the Heritage Foundation) to the Constitution is intended to provide a brief and accurate explanation of each clause of the Constitution as envisioned by the Framers and as applied in contemporary law. Although the site is intended for a broad audience including elected officials, the organization offers a print teacher's guide to the Constitution for a modest fee. Access to the site is free.

Teachinghistory.org: National History Education Clearinghouse
http://teachinghistory.org/

Funded by the U.S. Department of Education, Teachinghistory.org is designed to help K–12 history teachers access resources and materials to improve U.S. History education in the classroom. The Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media (CHNM) has created Teachinghistory.org with the goal of placing history content, teaching strategies, current research and issues, community building, and easy access to resources at center stage. The site is comprehensive and contains useful information for elementary, middle, and high school history teachers.

What So Proudly We Hail: Making Americans citizens through literature
http://www.whatsoproudlywehail.org/

Created by distinguished teacher-scholars, the late Amy Kass, and Leon Kass, the What So Proudly We Hail literary-based e-curriculum is a rich source of materials compiled to aid in the classroom instruction of American History, civics, social studies, and language arts. This collection of classic American stories, speeches, and songs is based on the critically acclaimed anthology of the same name. edited by this husband-wife team along with Diana Schaub. It seeks to educate both hearts and minds about American ideals, American identity and national character, and the virtues and aspirations of our civic life. This site is excellent but is much more useful if individual educators or libraries own the book *What So Proudly We Hail: The American Soul in Story, Speech, and Song*, arguably the most enjoyable and readable volume on civic education published thus far in the 21st Century.

University of Virginia Miller Center
https://millercenter.org/

The Miller Center is a nonpartisan affiliate of the University of Virginia that specializes in presidential scholarship, public policy, and political history and strives to apply the lessons of history and civil discourse to the nation's most pressing contemporary governance challenges. The site is a superb resource for both American

UTC Center for Reflective Citizenship Faculty Fellow Biographical Sketches

Michael Breakey teaches US History I, II, and College Success at Georgia Northwestern Technical College. Mike is also a retired Air Force Lieutenant Colonel and has a B.S. in Aeronautical Science from Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, an M.A. in History from American Military University, and is an ABD for a Doctoral degree in the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga Learning and Leadership Program. In twenty-two years of military service, Mike deployed in support of numerous operations including Operations Desert Storm, Provide Comfort, Enduring Freedom, and Iraqi Freedom. He is a combat veteran with over 5,000 flight hours and his military awards include the Bronze Star Medal, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, the Humanitarian Service Medal, and the Air Training Command Instructor Pilot of the Year.

Hunt Davidson is a high school teacher in the Upper School History Department at Chattanooga Christian School. Hunt holds a B.A. in Interdisciplinary Studies from Covenant College, an M.A.T. from Covenant College, and an M.A.L.A from St. John's College. He has co-created curriculum for a 9th grade Civics/US Government course, a 9th grade Economic Literacy course, and an 11th grade U.S. History course. Most recently, he developed a course entitled "Ancient and Medieval History" that he is currently teaching.

Pam Fields is Social Studies Department Chair and a high school teacher for Hilger Higher Learning. She teaches a variety of courses including U.S. History, American Government, Economics, World History, and Cultural World Geography. She holds a B.S in Elementary Education and a M.S. in Curriculum and Instruction from the University of Tennessee at Martin and also earned certification in Special Education and Reading. Pam has 40 years of experience as a teacher and educational diagnostician. Pam is also a Faculty Director/Lead Teacher for Signal Mountain Christian Co-op, where she teaches History, Latin, Bible, and Study Skills for a group of Middle School students. In 2014, Pam received the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge Distinguished Teacher Award.

Jeremy Henderson is a teacher of 8th grade U.S. History and 11th grade Advanced Placement U.S. History at the Center for Creative Arts. Previously, he taught U.S. History at Hixson Middle School for 12 years. Jeremy earned a B.A. in History and a M.Ed. in Secondary Education from the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga where he received the Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger Scholarship in American History. When he was a graduate student, Jeremy was awarded a six-week study fellowship to India through UTC's Departments of Religion and Communications to learn about India's pluralistic religious traditions. In 2007, Jeremy was the recipient of a Japan Fulbright Memorial Award for Teachers, which enabled him to study Japanese culture and education. In 2014, as a Fellow in the Fund For Teachers Program, Jeremy was provided a unique U.S. History professional development program as FFTP enabled him to design his own study tour of the Lewis and Clark Trail.

Matt Logan teaches Honors and Advanced Placement U.S. Government at LaFayette High School where he was recognized as 2016-2017 Teacher of the Year. He holds a B.A. in History from Kennesaw State University and an M.A.T. from the University of Southern California. He attended seminars at Emory University through the National Endowment for the Humanities and Yale University through the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

and received the College Board's Rural Fellows Scholarship and the National Society of High School Scholars' AP Teacher Grant.

Linda Moss Mines was Chair of the History Department at Girls Preparatory School (GPS) in Chattanooga where she taught and coordinated senior level AP classes, Constitutional Law, and the "Partnerships in the Community" program. In spring 2017, she was inducted into the GPS Faculty Emeriti program. She completed both her Bachelor's degree in History and Political Science and Master's degree in Curriculum (History) from Tennessee Tech University. She also is an ABD Ed.D at the University of Tennessee and has done further graduate work at Stanford and Georgetown Law Schools. Linda is the Chattanooga and Hamilton County official historian, a lifetime appointment awarded by both the Chattanooga City Commission and the Hamilton County Commission. Linda is the State Historian for the Tennessee Society Daughters of the American Revolution. In addition, she serves on a number of boards and commissions including the Tennessee Historical Commission, the Education Committee for the Charles H. Coolidge Medal of Honor Heritage Center, and the Chattanooga-Chickamauga National Military Park committee. Linda is most proud that she recently obtained her artillery certification from the National Park Service and can now fire the big guns.

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