

# America's Twentieth Century

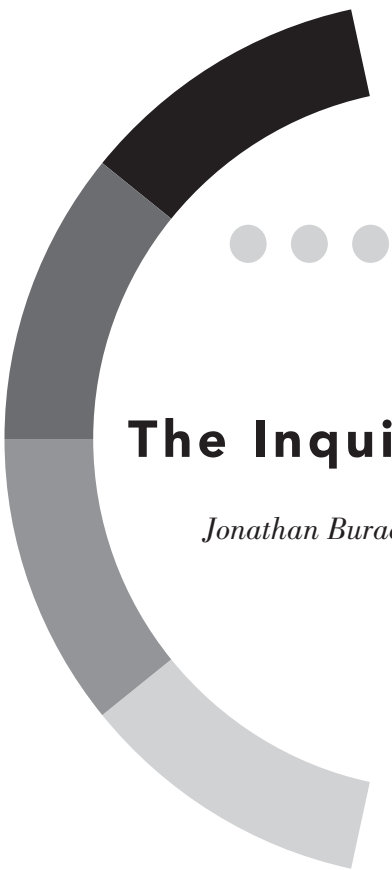
*Jonathan Burack*

MindSparks

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**The Inquiry Arc** in U.S. History



# America's Twentieth Century



## **The Inquiry Arc** in U.S. History

*Jonathan Burack*

**MindSparks®**

CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA

HS1015 v1.01

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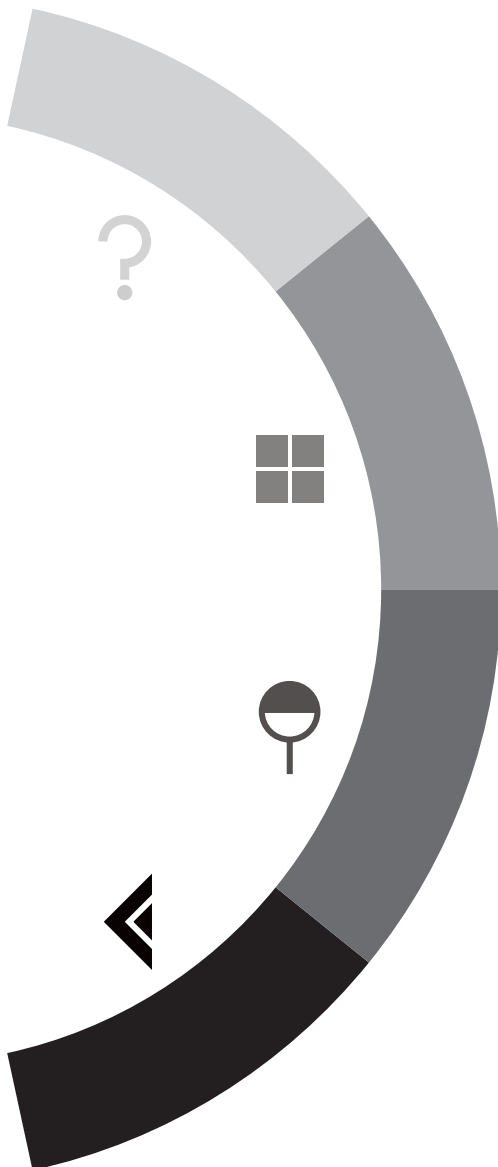
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### C3 Framework

This book is based primarily on the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies Standards. This C3 Framework is an effective tool offering guidance and support for rigorous student learning. The assignments encourage students to be active participants in learning and to explore the parts of history that they find most compelling. Central to the C3 Framework and our use of it is its Inquiry Arc—a set of four interrelated dimensions of informed inquiry in social studies. The lessons in this book are based on all four dimensions of the C3 Inquiry Arc. While the C3 Framework analyzes each of the four dimensions separately, they are not entirely separable in practice—they each interact in dynamic ways. As a result, the lessons combine some or all of the dimensions in various ways.



### Four Dimensions of the Inquiry Arc

#### 1 Developing compelling and supporting questions and planning inquiries

Questions shape social studies inquiries, giving them broader meaning and motivating students to master content and engage actively in the learning process.

#### 2 Applying disciplinary concepts and tools

These are the concepts and central ideas needed to address the compelling and supporting questions student pose. The C3 Framework stresses four subject fields: history, civics, economics, and geography. Each lesson addresses all of these disciplines.

#### 3 Evaluating sources and using evidence

The purpose of using primary and secondary sources as evidence is to support claims and counterclaims. By assessing the validity and usefulness of sources, including those that conflict with one another, students are able to construct evidence-based explanations and arguments.

#### 4 Communicating conclusions and taking informed action

While this may take the form of individual essays and other writing assignments, these lessons stress other kinds of individual and collaborative forms of communication, including debates, policy analyses, video productions, diary entries, and interviews. Meaningful forms of individual or collaborative civic action are also incorporated into each lesson.

## **How to Use This Book**

This book offers you the chance to implement the entire C3 Inquiry Arc in brief, carefully structured lessons on important topics in U.S. history. Each lesson is driven by a central compelling question, and disciplinary supporting questions are provided. Each lesson asks students to apply understandings from all of the C3 disciplines—history, civics, economics, and geography—and they include individual and group tasks in an integrated way.

Each unit includes an introductory essay, detailed teaching instructions, a set of primary sources, and the handouts needed to implement the lesson’s assignments. Rubrics for student evaluation and sources for further study are also provided. The teaching instructions suggest a time frame for completion of each lesson, but the assessments can easily be adapted to fit into any lesson plan.

Each lesson is aligned with several C3 Framework standards and Common Core State Standards. The College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Literacy emphasize the reading of informational texts, making these lessons ideal for integration into English Language Arts instruction.



**C3 Disciplines**



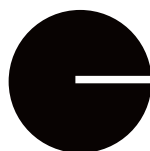
**History**



**Civics**



**Economics**



**Geography**



# World War I

*Should the U.S. Have Stayed Out of It?*



## Overview

### Introduction

Woodrow Wilson called for a declaration of war against Germany on April 2, 1917. In his address to Congress, he asserted that “the world must be made safe for democracy.” Wilson’s idealism was reflected in his Fourteen Points for settling the war. He hoped these points would be accepted at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Wilson’s dream gave Americans high hopes for what victory might mean. Perhaps that’s what it took to get them to accept the sacrifices they had to make. Yet this also set them up for great disappointment. The final treaty was far harsher than Wilson had hoped it would be. Its terms left a legacy of bitterness, especially among Germans, and may have paved the way for a renewed world war in 1939. Today, we still live in the shadow of “the Great War,” as World War I was known at the time. Was the U.S. decision to take part in it wise? This lesson will focus on that compelling question. In this lesson, students will work with short passages from ten primary sources. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the lesson’s compelling question.

### Objectives

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about U.S. involvement in World War I. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of view represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time.
- ◆ **D2.His.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.His.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.Civ.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.Eco.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.



- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.
- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

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### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

### Compelling Question

Should the U.S. have stayed out of World War I?

### Preparation

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.

#### Asking Questions about World War I

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

### Day One

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the lesson’s overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this lesson. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.

#### Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

### Day Two

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group’s compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.

7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about World War I from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, or a PowerPoint or similar type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### **Day Three**

8. Each group will deliver its presentation (prepared by the students as their final task on Day Two). Following each presentation, allow time for class discussion and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### **Communicating Results and Taking Action**

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the lesson's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the World War I Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### **Communicating Results**

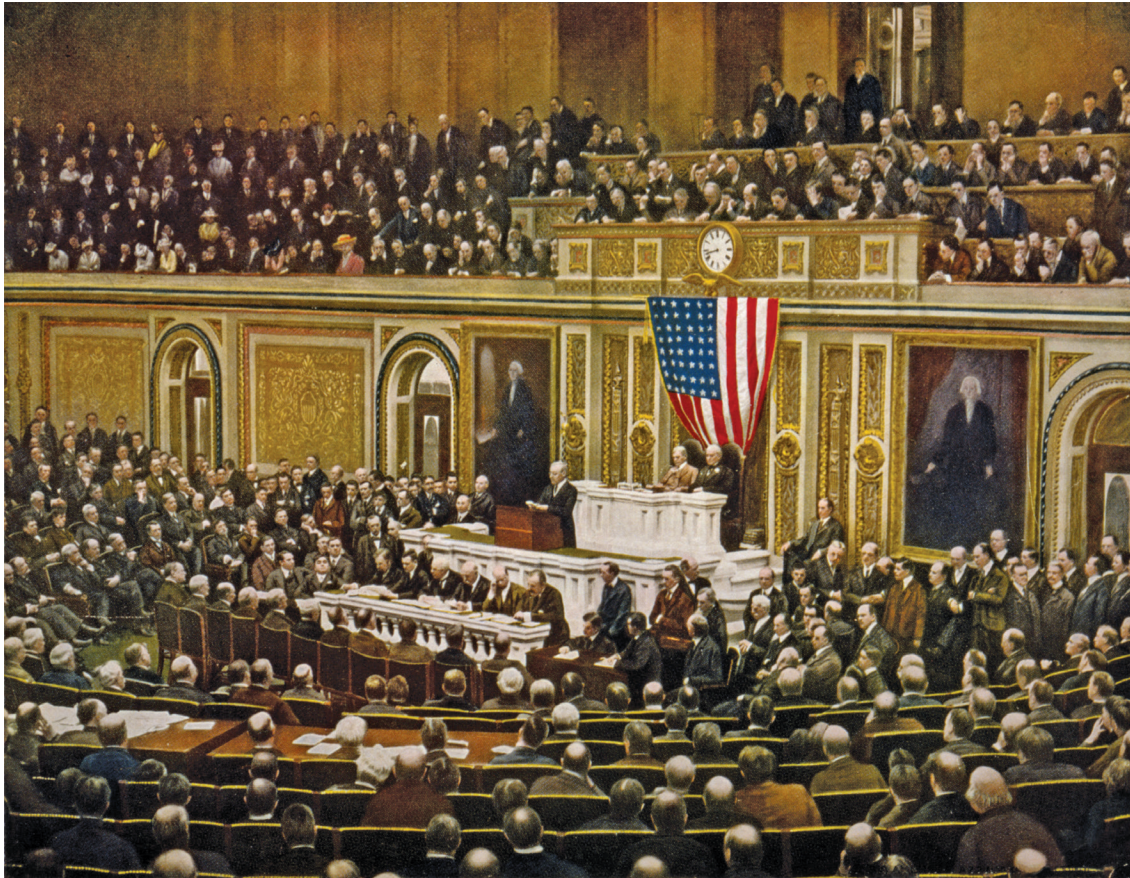
- ◆ Have students reread Primary Sources 1.4, 1.5, and 1.6. Then ask them to study and briefly discuss the “Halt the Hun” poster (Primary Source 1.7). Students should then imagine what Senators La Follette and Norris would think about this poster and similar posters the government was producing. Have half of the students write letters about the poster to President Wilson as if they were one of these two U.S. senators. Then have the other half of the students write letters back from President Wilson responding to each senator. Share some of the letters in a class discussion.
- ◆ Ask students to reread Primary Sources 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, and 1.6. Write a brief fictional short story based on the idea that the authors of these four sources are able to meet for dinner in 1933. The story should feature a dinnertable conversation in which all four authors reminisce about the war, what they wrote at the time, and their views about the war's outcome as it could have appeared to them by 1933.
- ◆ Ask students to pretend they are reporters covering President Wilson's speech in Pueblo, Colorado, on November 25, 1919 (Primary Source 1.8). They are assigned to evaluate the speech in an editorial for their newspaper to appear the next day. In the editorial, they should refer to Wilson's speech, to at least one of the critics of the war in these primary sources, and to the statement General Erich Ludendorff made in February 1919 (Primary Source 1.10).

*Taking Action*

- ◆ Have students discuss the following question: “How should our community commemorate World War I and those members of the community who fought in it?” Brainstorm ideas and discuss them in relation to the points of view expressed in the primary sources for this lesson. Have a small group of students take notes on this discussion and write a letter describing the ideas expressed as to what an appropriate memorial might include. Send the letter to relevant community groups such as veterans’ organizations, churches, or local officials. Invite them to a “World War I Memorial Day discussion” with your class. In that discussion, try to arrive at a plan for a memorial that the community would find appropriate.
- ◆ Based on the work in the previous assignment, ask students to use social media to share the results of their World War I Memorial Day discussion. Ask those contacted in this way to comment and offer their own suggestions.

## Introductory Essay

# World War I

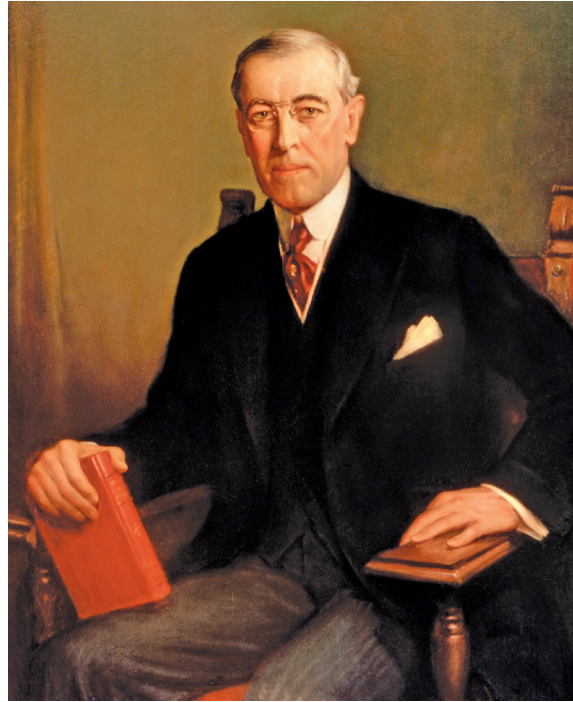


*President Wilson asking Congress on April 2, 1917, to declare war on Germany, causing the United States to enter World War I.*

In August of 1914, the most powerful and “civilized” nations of Europe turned their guns on one another and marched off to war. World War I, known at the time as “the Great War,” lasted from 1914 to 1918. Few realized it at the time, but this war was perhaps the most important turning point of the modern age. In the wake of its ruins and its enormous waste of life, two frightening new forms of dictatorship emerged—fascist dictatorships and the Soviet communist dictatorship. Europe’s colonial empires began to collapse. The Great Depression of the 1930s was followed by the even more destructive World War II, followed by a long “cold war” rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. All of this arose out of the wreckage of World War I and its peace settlement.



From the start of World War I, most Americans sided with democratic Great Britain and France. These two nations were also allied with Russia, a vast authoritarian monarchy. These allies faced off against Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. Until 1917, the U.S. refused to fight in the war. However, it did supply huge quantities of food, arms, and other strategic goods to Great Britain. Germany tried to cut Great Britain off from this trade and starve it into making peace. German submarines (U-boats) sank many vessels trading with Great Britain. In May 1915, a U-boat sank the British ocean liner the *Lusitania*, with 128 Americans among the 1,198 killed. Germany soon promised not to attack neutral shipping. However, in January 1917, it resumed unrestricted submarine warfare. It was this decision above all that led President Woodrow Wilson on April 2, 1917, to ask Congress for a declaration of war. A few days later, Congress did declare war by huge majorities in both the House and Senate.



*President Woodrow Wilson*

The war came as a shock to most Americans. President Wilson took office hoping to carry out an ambitious progressive domestic program. Instead, the whole nation had to be mobilized for war. World War I was a modern and fully mechanized war. Each nation's entire industrial strength had to be harnessed. The hearts and minds of each nation's population had to be enlisted in supporting the war effort. Hundreds of thousands of American men signed up to fight. Civilians volunteered to help in many ways. Women took jobs in factories to produce the weapons of war. A vast increase in government control took place. A draft was set up. The War Industries Board fixed prices and controlled war-related production. The War Labor Board managed relations between workers and employers. The Committee for Public Information hired writers, artists, and filmmakers to write articles, create posters, and make movies depicting the Germans as brutal enemies and urging Americans to sacrifice.

By mid-1917, Europeans had already suffered huge losses. Millions of soldiers and civilians were dead. Then, in late 1917, Russia became the world's first communist nation and soon ended its war with Germany on the eastern front. This freed German troops for a final attack in the West. Americans arrived in Europe just in time. They were key to turning back the German assault in the summer of 1918. By October,

the Germans knew they were defeated and were looking for a way to make peace. On November 11, 1918, Germany signed an armistice agreement based on terms President Wilson had earlier outlined as his “Fourteen Points.”

Woodrow Wilson wanted the war to make the world “safe for democracy.” Others called it a “war to end all wars.” Wilson’s idealism was reflected in his Fourteen Points for settling the war. He hoped these points would be accepted at the peace talks at Versailles, near Paris. The talks began early in 1919. As the Fourteen Points were altered at these talks, Wilson’s hope came to center on the last point. That was the one calling for a League of Nations. Wilson insisted that the Senate accept the League exactly as described in the final settlement. He stubbornly toured the country to win support for the League, but by then the public no longer seemed to care. A stroke soon forced Wilson to give up his tour. He never really recovered. In 1920, the League was defeated in the Senate.

Wilson’s dream of making the world safe for democracy gave Americans high hopes for what victory might mean. Perhaps that’s what it took to get them to accept the sacrifices they had to make. Yet this also set them up for great disappointment when the peace settlement turned out to be as flawed as it was. The final treaty was far harsher than Wilson had wished. Its terms left a legacy of bitterness, especially among Germans—paving the way for a renewed world war in 1939.

Today, in many ways, we still live in the shadow of the Great War. Was the U.S. decision to take part in it wise? The sources in this lesson are meant to help you answer this question.

Image Sources: *For the Freedom of the World*, 1918, courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-10297.  
Official Presidential portrait of Woodrow Wilson. By Frank Graham Cootes, 1913, courtesy of the White House Historical Association.



## History Group

## GROUP MEMBERS:

*World War I*

Your group's task is to explore history issues related to U.S. entry into World War I. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Is it fair to judge the decision to fight in World War I by the history of what happened in the world in the years after the war?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.8, 1.9, and 1.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

President Wilson entered World War I because Germany had violated American neutral rights at sea. This was a practical reason. However, Wilson did not limit himself to practical matters. He presented the war to the American people as a struggle to make the world "safe for democracy." His implication was that England and France represented "democracy," but Germany did not.

By entering the war, the U.S. helped ensure Germany's defeat. Supposedly, this would mean the victory of democracy for the world as well. Had the U.S. remained neutral, the two sides in the war might have settled their differences without anyone's total defeat. This could have left Germany stronger and more assured of its place in European society. Instead, Germany was restricted in many ways and blamed for the war. This left enormous resentment in Germany. It fueled the false "stab in the back theory" among Germans. A war-weary America turned away from Wilson's League of Nations. Great Britain and France stood by as German fury later



aided the rise of Adolf Hitler. Obviously, Wilson could not have predicted all this in 1917. The question is should he have been more cautious and more critical in choosing sides as he did?

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.8

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Primary Source 1.9

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Primary Source 1.10

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Is it fair to judge the decision to fight in World War I by the history of what happened in the world in the years after the war?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



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**GROUP MEMBERS:**

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## *World War I*

Your group's task is to explore the civics issues related to U.S. entry into World War I. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Do you think President Wilson's decision to go to war in 1917 was justified legally and morally? Why or why not?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources I.3, I.4, and I.6.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked a joint session of Congress to formally declare war on Germany. On April 4, the Senate passed the war resolution with a vote of 82–6. On April 6, the House agreed by a vote of 373–50. In this sense, the decision to go to war strictly followed the Constitution. It calls the president the commander-in-chief but gives to Congress the authority to declare war.

Apart from legal matters, was this decision morally justified? That depends on what you consider a just reason to go to war. In March 1916, Wilson had convinced Germany to stop attacking passenger ships at sea and to observe other limits on their submarine warfare. However, in January 1917, the German Navy convinced the military leaders and Kaiser Wilhelm II to resume such attacks on Allied and neutral shipping in specified war zones. They were sure this would starve Great Britain into surrendering in five months. The decision was, in Wilson's view, intolerable. He saw it as a gross violation of internationally recognized rights

of neutrals at sea. He still held back, even as German submarines sank several U.S. ships. Meanwhile, Germany asked Mexico for its support and in return promised to help it recover lands from the United States. All of these events finally aroused public opinion enough to support Wilson's call for a declaration of war.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.3

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Primary Source 1.4

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Primary Source 1.6

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Do you think President Wilson's decision to go to war in 1917 was justified legally and morally? Why or why not?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Economics Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

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### *World War I*

Your group's task is to explore the economic issues related to U.S. entry into World War I. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

What impact did World War I have on the U.S. economy?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.1, 1.3, and 1.5.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

World War I has been called a “total war.” This meant that the entire nation had to go to war, not just its soldiers. U.S. industry was put under pressure to produce as never before. “Total war” in this case meant vast new government controls over businesses and farms. The government’s War Industries Board had the power to tell companies what to produce, what prices to charge, and more. The U.S. Food Administration, Federal Fuel Administration, and other agencies imposed further controls on economic life.

With millions of men going off to war, the rapidly expanding economy desperately needed workers. Millions of women took jobs building weapons and ships, and more. Thousands of African Americans moved north, attracted by jobs opening up as other workers went off to war.

To pay for the war, the government had to raise taxes substantially. It also had to borrow huge amounts through the sale of liberty bonds and in other ways. After the war, taxes came down again, and the government’s role in the economy was reduced—yet never quite to prewar levels. America’s

role in the world economy also changed during the war. From being a debtor nation in world trade, the U.S. became the biggest creditor nation. These were only some of the ways the war changed America's economic life drastically.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.1

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Primary Source 1.3

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Primary Source 1.5

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## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

What impact did World War I have on the U.S. economy?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.





## Geography Group

### GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *World War I*

Your group's task is to explore the geography issues related to U.S. entry into World War I. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

How might geographical factors have influenced the American decision to declare war on Germany and its allies?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.2, 1.5, and 1.7.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

A vast ocean separates Great Britain and the United States. Nevertheless, the two countries do face each other directly across those seas. Great Britain's role as the world's greatest sea power at first made it America's rival. This was clear during the American Revolution. In 1812, that rivalry again led to war. Yet, in time, the rivalry faded. For a time, the long border with British-controlled Canada caused tensions. However, as settlers moved west, the disputes were all resolved peacefully.

In the late 1800s, Irish American hostility toward the British did exist. However, most Americans increasingly accepted what was called a "Great Rapprochement" between the two nations. Great Britain was a major source of investment in America's railroads. Trade ties grew stronger and more important as the twentieth century dawned. Increasingly, Americans and the British celebrated their mutual ties of language, culture, economics, and politics. In the great rivalry between the British and the Germans in Europe, these ties were reinforced by geography. During World War I,

U.S. exports to Great Britain soared despite German submarines. Location and sea power made it easier for Great Britain to cut off trade to Germany than for Germany to do the same to the British.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.2

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Primary Source 1.5

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Primary Source 1.7

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## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

How might geographical factors have influenced the American decision to declare war on Germany and its allies?

State your group’s claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group’s discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group’s presentation.

## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will study several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special historical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

No primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, so you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, then you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.I

## William McAdoo's Memo on the War's Economic Impact

William McAdoo was President Wilson's secretary of the treasury. On August 21, 1915, he sent the president a memo on the European war's economic and financial impact on America. He insisted that American loans to Great Britain were good for it and for the United States as well.

**Original Document**

The high prices for food products have brought great prosperity to our farmers, while the purchases of war munitions have stimulated industry and have set factories going to full capacity throughout the great manufacturing districts, while the reduction of imports and their actual cessation in some cases, have caused new industries to spring up and others to be enlarged. Great prosperity is coming. . . . Our prosperity is dependent on our continued and enlarged foreign trade. To preserve that we must do everything we can to assist our customers to buy.

We have repeatedly declared that it is lawful for our citizens to manufacture and sell to belligerents munitions of war. It is lawful commerce and being lawful is entitled to the same treatment at the hands of our bankers, in financing it, as any other part of our lawful commerce. . . .

It is imperative for England to establish a large credit in this country. She will need at least \$500,000,000. She can't get this in any way, at the moment, that seems feasible, except by sale of short time Government notes. . . .

In fact England & her allies will have great difficulty in getting the amount of credit they need here even if our Government is openly friendly. I wish you would think about this so we may discuss it when I see you. To maintain our prosperity, we must finance it. Otherwise it may stop and that would be disastrous.

CONTINUED



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.I

WILLIAM MCADOO'S MEMO ON THE WAR'S ECONOMIC IMPACT CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

The high prices for food products have brought great prosperity to our farmers. The purchases of war munitions have aided industry and have set factories going to full capacity throughout the great manufacturing districts. Meanwhile, imports have declined greatly, and this has helped new industries to spring up and others to grow larger. Great prosperity is coming. Our prosperity depends on growing foreign trade. To preserve that we must do everything we can to help our customers to buy.

We have repeatedly said it is legal for our citizens to manufacture and sell armaments to nations at war. It is lawful commerce. And being lawful, bankers should treat financing just as they do any other part of our lawful commerce.

It is necessary for England to have a large amount of credit in this country. That is, they need to be able to borrow money from us. England will need at least \$500,000,000. At this time, she can only get this by selling short-time Government bonds.

In fact England & her allies will have great difficulty in getting this amount of credit even if our Government is openly friendly. I wish you would think about this so we may discuss it when I see you. To maintain our prosperity, we must finance it. Otherwise it may stop and that would be disastrous.

Original Document Source: William McAdoo, memo for Woodrow Wilson, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, 69 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1915), 34:275–79, quoted in *American Wars*, by Ballard C. Campbell (New York: Facts On File, 2012), 195–96. Available online at <https://books.google.com/books?id=PphbAgAAQBAJ>.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.2

## The New Republic Supports the War

In February, 1917, the U.S. was still trying to remain neutral in the war. *The New Republic* was a magazine of liberal political opinion. In this editorial of February 10, 1917, it supported President Wilson's policy of "benevolent neutrality," which favored Britain over Germany in its actual impact. *The New Republic* saw this as leading to war and it approved.

**Original Document**

We are being drawn into the war as a consequence of Mr. Wilson's policy of benevolent neutrality towards the Allies. Both groups of belligerents have been ignoring and violating the body of ambiguous precedents which composed the law of nations at the outbreak of the war.

The policy of benevolent neutrality, even though it has resulted in war, is not one for which any apology needs to be made. It was dictated by a sound and just estimate of the issue of the great war and of the proper relation of American national purposes to those issues. It would have been inconceivable for a nation with the ideals of the United States to have assisted the violator of Belgium [Germany] in reaping any benefit from the outrage.

The settlement of the American continent and the building up of the American nation are a part of the same historical process and have been determined by the same fundamental conditions as the making of the British Empire. It has all depended upon the emancipation of travel by sea from the obstacles of a rudimentary technique, of adverse political claims and theories and from outbreaks of sporadic or organized violence. In the work of emancipation Great Britain has always played the major part. She has given security to the world's highway and to those nations which could only be approached by the world's highway; and under the shadow of this security not only has the British Empire carried free British institutions to many parts of the world, but the American nation has been allowed to grow unvexed and unretarded by any by its own domestic difficulties. . . . In spite of the fact that the United States has protested against British maritime police power, the American people has been one of its chief beneficiaries.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

Mr. Wilson's policy of "benevolent neutrality" is leading us into war. Both groups of nations fighting that war have violated vague rules that supposedly make up the law of nations.

No apology for this benevolent neutrality is called for even though it is leading us into war. It was based on a reasonable view of our national interests in relation to the war. It would be unthinkable for a nation with our ideals to help Germany. This is especially so after its invasion of Belgium.

The same historical conditions that produced the British Empire led to the settlement and building up of our nation as well. It all depended upon freeing sea travel from many things limiting it. Less developed seafaring technology was one of those limits. Another was political interference, as well as piracy and warfare at sea. Great Britain led in stopping this and in asserting the freedom of the seas. She made safe the highway to all nations, especially those that can only be reached by sea. By making sea travel secure, the British Empire could carry its free British institutions all over the world. Our nation especially was able to grow untroubled except by our own domestic difficulties. Even though the United States has at times objected to British maritime police power, we have been one of its chief beneficiaries.



## Robert Lansing's Case for Declaring War

This passage is from notes by Secretary of State Robert Lansing at a cabinet meeting on March 20, 1917. President Wilson asked those present for their views about the conflict with Germany. Lansing said the nation was basically already at war with Germany. He also mentioned the Russian Revolution, which was in its early, more democratic phase. He said Russia being a democracy made it easier to view the war as a battle between democratic governments and authoritarian governments.

**Original Document**

I began with the statement that in my opinion an actual state of war existed today between this country and Germany, but that, as the acknowledgment of such a state officially amounted to a declaration of war, I doubted the wisdom as well as the constitutional power of the President to announce such fact or to act upon it; that I thought that the facts should be laid before Congress and that they should be asked to declare the existence of a state of war and to enact the laws necessary to meet the exigencies of the case. I pointed out that many things could be done under our present statutes which seriously menaced our national safety and that the Executive was powerless to prevent their being done. I referred in some detail to the exodus of Germans from this country to Mexico and Cuba since we severed diplomatic relations, to the activities of German agents here, to the transference of funds by Germans to Latin American countries, to the uncensored use of the telegraph and the mails, etc.

For the foregoing reasons I said that I felt that there should be no delay in calling Congress together and securing these necessary powers.

In addition to these reasons which so vitally affected our domestic situation I said that the revolution in Russia, which appeared to be successful, had removed the one objection to affirming that the European war was a war between Democracy and Absolutism; that the only hope of a permanent peace between all nations depended upon the establishment of democratic institutions throughout the world; that no League of Peace would be of value if a powerful autocracy was a member, and that no League of Peace would be necessary if all nations were democratic; and that in going into the war at this time we could do more to advance the cause of Democracy than if we failed to show sympathy with the democratic powers in their struggle against the autocratic government of Germany.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

We already were in an actual state of war with Germany. However, saying that officially amounts to a declaration of war. I doubted it would be wise or constitutional for the president to do that on his own. Instead, I thought he should lay the facts before Congress. They should then declare war and pass laws to help fight it. I pointed out that without such laws, the president would be powerless to stop many things that might seriously menace our national safety. For example, I mentioned the exodus of Germans from this country to Mexico and Cuba since we severed diplomatic relations with Germany. I mentioned the activities of German agents here. I also referred to the transference of funds by Germans to Latin American countries, the uncensored use of the telegraph and the mails, etc.

For these reasons, I said Congress needed to pass laws against these things immediately.

I also mentioned the seemingly successful democratic revolution in Russia. This removes the one objection to depicting this war as one between Democracy and Absolutism. I said it helped show that the only hope of a permanent peace between all nations depends on establishing democratic institutions everywhere. I said no League of Peace would be of value if a powerful autocracy was a member. In fact, no League of Peace would even be necessary if all nations were democratic. By going to war now, I said, we could do more to spread democracy than if we failed to help the democratic powers fight the autocratic government of Germany.

Original Document Source: Robert Lansing, "Lansing's Memorandum of the US Cabinet Meeting, Tuesday, 20 March, 1917, 2.30-5 p.m.," in *The World War I Document Archive*, ed. Richard Hacken (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Library, 2010). Available online at [https://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Lansing%27s\\_Memorandum\\_of\\_the\\_US\\_Cabinet\\_Meeting](https://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Lansing%27s_Memorandum_of_the_US_Cabinet_Meeting).



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.4

## President Wilson's War Message

President Wilson delivered his war message to both houses of Congress on April 2, 1917. In it, he condemned Germany for resuming unrestricted submarine warfare. The speech is famous for its plea that "the world must be made safe for democracy." The Senate and the House voted overwhelmingly to support the president in his call for a declaration of war.

### Original Document

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. . . . 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.

There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

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 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.

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.

Original Document Source: Woodrow Wilson, address delivered at a joint session of the two houses of Congress, April 2, 1917, 65th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 5, Congressional Record, vol. 55, pt. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917). Available online at [http://wps.prenhall.com/wps/media/objects/107/110495/ch22\\_a2\\_d1.pdf](http://wps.prenhall.com/wps/media/objects/107/110495/ch22_a2_d1.pdf).

## Senator Norris Opposes Going to War

On April 4, 1917, Senator George W. Norris (R-Neb.) gave a speech "Against Entry into War." Norris was a Progressive Republican from Nebraska. This passage is from that speech. Norris was one of six senators who voted against the declaration of war. The text of the speech can be found in the *Congressional Record*, April 4, 1917.

**Original Document**

To my mind, what we ought to have maintained from the beginning was the strictest neutrality. If we had done this I do not believe we would have been on the verge of war at the present time. We had a right as a nation, if we desired, to cease at any time to be neutral. We had a technical right to respect the English war zone and to disregard the German war zone, but we could not do that and be neutral. . . .

We have loaned many hundreds of millions of dollars to the allies in this controversy. While such action was legal and countenanced by international law, there is no doubt in my mind but the enormous amount of money loaned to the allies in this country has been instrumental in bringing about a public sentiment in favor of our country taking a course that would make every bond worth a hundred cents on the dollar and making the payment of every debt certain and sure. . . .

It is now demanded that the American citizens shall be used as insurance policies to guarantee the safe delivery of munitions of war to belligerent nations. The enormous profits of munition manufacturers, stockbrokers, and bond dealers must be still further increased by our entrance into the war. . . .

To whom does the war bring prosperity? Not to the soldier who for the munificent compensation of \$16 per month shoulders his musket and goes into the trench, there to shed his blood and to die if necessary; not to the broken-hearted widow who waits for the return of the mangled body of her husband; not to the mother who weeps at the death of her brave boy; not to the little children who shiver with cold; not to the babe who suffers from hunger; nor to the millions of mothers and daughters who carry broken hearts to their graves. War brings no prosperity to the great mass of common and patriotic citizens. It increases the cost of living of those who toil and those who already must strain every effort to keep soul and body together. War brings prosperity to the stock gambler on Wall Street—to those who are already in possession of more wealth than can be realized or enjoyed. . . .

Their object in having war and in preparing for war is to make money. Human suffering and the sacrifice of human life are necessary, but Wall Street considers only the dollars and the cents.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

I believe that from the start we should have remained strictly neutral. If we had done this, we would not now be on the verge of war. If we wanted to, we had a right as a nation at any time to stop being neutral. We had a right to respect the English war zone and to disregard the German war zone. However, in doing that we could not remain neutral.

We have loaned many hundreds of millions of dollars to the Allies in this war. It is true that such action is legal and allowed by international law. Yet I have no doubt that this enormous amount of money loaned to the Allies has helped to bring the public to favor doing what it takes to make sure every one of these loans is paid in full.

Now we are told American citizens will be used as insurance policies to guarantee the safe delivery of munitions of war to belligerent nations. The enormous profits of munition manufacturers, stockbrokers, and bond dealers will be increased even more by our entrance into the war.

To whom does the war bring prosperity? Not to the soldier who for the generous payment of \$16 per month shoulders his musket and goes into the trench, there to shed his blood and to die if necessary. Not to the broken-hearted widow who waits for the return of the mangled body of her husband. Not to the mother who weeps at the death of her brave boy. Not to the little children who shiver with cold. Not to the babe who suffers from hunger, nor to the millions of mothers and daughters who carry broken hearts to their graves. War brings no prosperity to the great mass of common and patriotic citizens. It increases the cost of living of those who toil and those who already strain to keep soul and body together. War brings prosperity to the stock gambler on Wall Street—to those who are already in possession of more wealth than can be realized or enjoyed.

Their object in having war and in preparing for war is to make money. Human suffering and the sacrifice of human life are necessary. But Wall Street considers only the dollars and the cents—to those who are already have more wealth than can be realized or enjoyed.

Original Document Source: George Norris, speech delivered before the Senate, April 4, 1917, 65th Congress, 1st Session, in Congressional Record, vol. 55, pt. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917). Available online at [http://wps.prenhall.com/wps/media/objects/107/110495/ch22\\_a2\\_d2.pdf](http://wps.prenhall.com/wps/media/objects/107/110495/ch22_a2_d2.pdf).

Another Progressive Republican senator who opposed the war was Robert La Follette from Wisconsin. His criticisms were somewhat different from those of Senator Norris. He thought Britain's possession of its global empire made a mockery of Wilson's claim that the Allied war effort was a fight for democracy. The text of his speech can be found in the *Congressional Record* for April 4, 1917.

### Original Document

It is idle to talk of a war upon a government only. We are leagued in this war, or it is the President's proposition that we shall be so leagued, with the hereditary enemies of Germany. Any war with Germany, or any other country for that matter, would be bad enough, but there are not words strong enough to voice my protest against the proposed combination with the entente allies. When we cooperate with those governments, we endorse their methods; we endorse the violations of international law by Great Britain; we endorse the shameful methods of warfare against which we have again and again protested in this war; we endorse her purpose to wreak upon the German people the animosities which for years her people have been taught to cherish against Germany; finally, when the end comes, whatever it may be, we find ourselves in cooperation with our ally, Great Britain, and if we cannot resist now the pressure she is exerting to carry us into the war, how can we hope to resist, then, the thousand-fold greater pressure she will exert to bend us to her purposes and compel compliance with her demands? . . .

The only reason why we have not suffered the sacrifice of just as many ships and just as many lives from the violation of our rights by the war zone and the submarine mines of Great Britain as we have through the unlawful acts of Germany in making her war zone in violation of our neutral rights is simply because we have submitted to Great Britain's dictation. If our ships had been sent into her forbidden high-sea war zone as they have into the proscribed area Germany marked out on the high seas as a war zone, we would have had the same loss of life and property in the one case as in the other; but because we avoided doing that, in the case of England, and acquiesced in her violation of law, we have not only a legal but a moral responsibility for the position in which Germany has been placed by our collusion and cooperation with Great Britain. By suspending the rule with respect to neutral rights in Great Britain's case, we have been actively aiding her in starving the civil population of Germany. We have helped to drive Germany into a corner, her back to the wall to fight with what weapons she can lay her hands on to prevent the starving of her women and children, her old men and babes.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

It is idle to talk of us making war on a government only. The president wants us to join with the hereditary enemies of Germany. Any war with Germany, or any other country for that matter, would be bad enough. But I cannot object strongly enough to our forming a coalition with the Entente Allies. By cooperating with those governments, we endorse their methods. We endorse Great Britain's violations of international law. We endorse the same shameful methods of warfare we have been objecting to until now. We endorse Great Britain's desire to let loose on the German people all the hatred her people have been taught to feel toward Germany. Finally, when the end comes, whatever it may be, we will be cooperating with our ally, Great Britain. So if we cannot resist her pressure now in trying to get us into this war, how can we hope to resist later the thousand-fold greater pressure she will exert to get us to agree to her demands?

It is true that we have lost many ships and lives because of Germany's unlawful violation of our neutral rights in her war zone. However, the only reason we have not suffered as much from Great Britain's war zone and submarine mines is that we have submitted to Great Britain's orders. If our ships went into her forbidden high-sea war zone as much as they have into Germany's, we would have had the same loss of life and property in the one case as in the other. We avoided that with England. Instead, we accepted her violation of law. We have not only a legal but a moral responsibility for the position in which we have placed Germany by our cooperation with Great Britain. By suspending neutral rights rules in Great Britain's case, we have actively aided her in starving the civil population of Germany. We have helped to drive Germany into a corner. She has had her back to the wall and has had to fight with what weapons she can to prevent the starving of her women and children, her old men and babes.

*Original Document Source:* Robert La Follette, speech delivered before the Senate, April 4, 1917, before the 65th Congress, 1st Session, Congressional Record, vol. 55, pt. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917). Available online at <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/tp/id/26836>.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

I.7

"Halt the Hun!"

To raise money for the war, the U.S. government sold Liberty Bonds. A huge advertising campaign was mounted urging Americans to buy these bonds as a way to aid the war effort. The posters and other forms of advertising appealed to American patriotism. They also often depicted the German enemy as this poster does. The poster shows an American soldier halting a German soldier, who is standing over a woman holding a child. The poster reads "Halt the Hun! Buy U.S. Government Bonds, Third Liberty Loan."



Original Document Source: Henry Raleigh, *Halt the Hun! Buy U.S. Government Bonds, Third Liberty Loan* (Chicago: Edwards & Deutsch Litho. Co., [1918?]), Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZC2-655. Available online from the Library of Congress at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/93515947/>.



In 1919, President Wilson returned from the peace talks in Paris with both the Versailles Treaty and his Covenant of the League of Nations. He toured the country to win support for both, though Republican opposition to the League was strong in Congress. He gave one of his last addresses on the League in Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, 1919. This passage is from that speech.

### Original Document

Do not think of this treaty of peace as merely a settlement with Germany. It is that. It is a very severe settlement with Germany, but there is not anything in it that she did not earn. Indeed, she earned more than she can ever be able to pay for, and the punishment exacted of her is not a punishment greater than she can bear, and it is absolutely necessary in order that no other nation may ever plot such a thing against humanity and civilization.

But the treaty is so much more than that. It is not merely a settlement with Germany; it is a readjustment of those great injustices which underlie the whole structure of European and Asiatic society. This is only the first of several treaties. They are all constructed upon the same plan. The Austrian treaty follows the same lines. The treaty with Hungary follows the same lines. The treaty with Bulgaria follows the same lines. The treaty with Turkey, when it is formulated, will follow the same lines. What are those lines? They are based upon the purpose to see that every government dealt with in this great settlement is put in the hands of the people and taken out of the hands of coteries and of sovereigns who had no right to rule over the people. . . .

At the front of this great treaty is put the Covenant of the League of Nations. It will also be at the front of the Austrian treaty and the Hungarian treaty and the Bulgarian treaty and the treaty with Turkey. Every one of them will contain the Covenant of the League of Nations, because you cannot work any of them without the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Unless you get the united, concerted purpose and power of the great Governments of the world behind this settlement, it will fall down like a house of cards. There is only one power to put behind the liberation of mankind, and that is the power of mankind. It is the power of the united moral forces of the world, and in the Covenant of the League of Nations the moral forces of the world are mobilized. For what purpose?

Original Document Source: "President Woodrow Wilson's Address in Favour of the League of Nations, 25 September 1919," in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, 69 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 65:500-13. Available online at [http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/wilsonspeech\\_league.htm](http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/wilsonspeech_league.htm).

## Keynes on the Economic Consequences of the Peace

In 1919, economist John Maynard Keynes was the British Treasury's representative at the Paris Peace Conference, where the Treaty of Versailles was signed. In this treaty, the Allies imposed their terms on a defeated Germany. Keynes feared these terms were far too harsh. He warned of this in his book *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, published in 1919.

**Original Document**

For one who spent in Paris the greater part of the six months which succeeded the Armistice an occasional visit to London was a strange experience. England still stands outside Europe. Europe's voiceless tremors do not reach her. Europe is apart and England is not of her flesh and body. But Europe is solid with herself. France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Holland, Russia and Roumania and Poland, throb together, and their structure and civilization are essentially one. They flourished together, they have rocked together in a war, which we, in spite of our enormous contributions and sacrifices (like though in a less degree than America), economically stood outside, and they may fall together. In this lies the destructive significance of the Peace of Paris. If the European Civil War is to end with France and Italy abusing their momentary victorious power to destroy Germany and Austria-Hungary now prostrate, they invite their own destruction also, being so deeply and inextricably intertwined with their victims by hidden psychic and economic bonds. At any rate an Englishman who took part in the Conference of Paris and was during those months a member of the Supreme Economic Council of the Allied Powers, was bound to become, for him a new experience, a European in his cares and outlook. There, at the nerve center of the European system, his British preoccupations must largely fall away and he must be haunted by other and more dreadful specters. Paris was a nightmare, and every one there was morbid. A sense of impending catastrophe overhung the frivolous scene; the futility and smallness of man before the great events confronting him; the mingled significance and unreality of the decisions; levity, blindness, insolence, confused cries from without,—all the elements of ancient tragedy were there.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

I spent six months in Paris after the Armistice [November 11, 1918]. During that time, an occasional visit to London was a strange experience. England still stands outside Europe. Europe's voiceless tremors do not reach her. Europe and England are different from one another. But Europe as a whole is otherwise a single unit. France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Holland, Russia and Romania and Poland function together. Their structure and civilization are essentially one. They flourished together. They have rocked together in a war. They may fall together. In spite of England's enormous contributions and sacrifices, we stood outside of all this economically (though less so than the Americans). In this lies the destructive significance of the Peace of Paris. Will the European Civil War end with France and Italy abusing their momentary victorious power to destroy Germany and Austria-Hungary, now prostrate? If so, they invite their own destruction also. They are deeply and unavoidably connected to their victims by hidden psychic and economic bonds. As an Englishman at the Paris Conference as a member of the Supreme Economic Council of the Allied Powers, I had the new experience of becoming a European in my cares and outlook. There, at the nerve center of the European system, my British concerns fell away. I could not avoid being haunted by other and more dreadful specters. Paris was a nightmare, and every one there was morbid. A sense of impending catastrophe overhung the frivolous scene. What was noticeable was the futility and smallness of man before the great events confronting him; the importance yet the unreality of the decisions; the levity, blindness, insolence, and confused cries from without. All the elements of ancient tragedy were there.

Original Document Source: John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1919). Available online from the Library of Economics and Liberty at <http://www.econlib.org/library/YPDBooks/Keynes/kyneCP1.html>.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

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## Ludendorff's "Stab in the Back" Excuse

By November 1918, German soldiers were retreating toward Germany. Their war was lost. A revolutionary upheaval inside Germany forced the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, to give up his throne and flee. Civilian political leaders took over the government and established a republic. These new civilian leaders had to sign the Armistice to end the fighting. In the years that followed, German military leaders and others claimed that Germany could have fought on and won the war except for the cowardly civilian politicians. This theory was given its clearest expression by General Erich Ludendorff, who had led German forces in the war. The phrase "stab in the back" came to stand for this idea that the German army had been defeated by Germany's new political leaders. The resentment about this supposed "stab in the back" contributed to the rise of violent antidemocratic parties and leaders. Adolf Hitler is the most famous and most brutal of all of these. This passage is from a statement Ludendorff made in February 1919.

**Original Document**

Government and Reichstag left the army in the lurch, and the political leadership did the same for the military commanders. . . .

The military command had warned the political leaders against disarmament, because, in its instinctive knowledge of the nature power and mode of thinking of the enemy, it had gauged with correctness what was to come. Not our brave army, which scorns the accusation, laid down its arms; it was forced to do so by our political leadership.

The people followed their bad leaders—and "misleaders"—and rushed blindly to their fate. They could and would not, even now, understand the aims of the military leaders, who had correctly gauged the will of the enemy but also knew his weaknesses, and who had demanded, as the only possible measure, the utmost resolution and exertions of a united people.

When the Reichstag's majority had attained its goal as regarded the internal policy of the country, had robbed the Kaiser and the princes of the confederation of all power, and had strengthened their own, the government, in its fourth note to Wilson, consummated the political capitulation before the enemy. In a spirit of abject servility they fawningly styled the prospective peace of annihilation a "peace of justice."

Finally the political leadership disarmed the unconquered army and delivered over Germany to the destructive will of the enemy in order that it might carry through the revolution in Germany unhindered. That was the climax in the betrayal of the German people.

Thus was perpetrated the crime against the German nation. No political regime has ever committed anything worse. Not the enemy, but our political leadership broke down the power of our military command, and consequently of the nation.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

Government and Reichstag [Germany's parliament] left the army in the lurch. The political leadership did the same for the military commanders.

The military command warned the political leaders against disarmament. It knew instinctively the nature, power and mode of thinking of the enemy. Because of this, it had seen correctly what was to come. Our brave army did not lay down its arms. It scorns that accusation. It was forced to give up by our political leadership.

The people followed their bad leaders and rushed blindly to their fate. They could not, and cannot even now, understand the aims of the military leaders. Those military leaders had correctly gauged the will of the enemy and his weaknesses. They demanded, as the only possible measure, the utmost resolution and exertions of a united people.

The Reichstag's majority got the internal policy they wanted and robbed the Kaiser and the princes of the confederation of all power. In doing this, they strengthened their own power. Then this government, in its fourth note to Wilson, concluded the political surrender before the enemy. In a spirit of abject servility it fawningly styled the proposed peace of annihilation a "peace of justice."

Finally this political leadership disarmed the unconquered army and delivered over Germany to the destructive will of the enemy. They did this in order to carry through the revolution in Germany unhindered. That was the climax in the betrayal of the German people.

Thus was perpetrated the crime against the German nation. No political regime has ever committed anything worse. Not the enemy, but our political leadership broke down the power of our military command, and consequently of the nation.

Original Document Source: Erich Ludendorff, February 1919 statement, quoted in *Source Records of the Great War*, ed. Charles F. Horne, 7 vols. (New York: National Alumni, 1923), vol. 7. Available online from the Internet Archive at [https://archive.org/stream/sourcerecordsofg07char/sourcerecordsofg07char\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/sourcerecordsofg07char/sourcerecordsofg07char_djvu.txt)

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Reread Primary Sources 1.4, 1.5, and 1.6. Then study and briefly discuss the “Halt the Hun” poster (Primary Source 1.7). Imagine what Senators La Follette and Norris would think about this poster and other similar posters the government was producing. Follow your teacher’s instructions to write a letter about the poster to President Wilson as if you were one of these two U.S. senators, or to write a letter back from President Wilson responding to each senator.
- ◆ Reread Primary Sources 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, and 1.6. Write a brief fictional short story based on the idea that the authors of these four sources are able to meet for dinner in 1933. The story should feature a dinnertable conversation in which all four authors reminisce about the war, what they wrote at the time, and their views about the war’s outcome as it could have appeared to them by 1933.
- ◆ Pretend you are a reporter covering President Wilson’s speech in Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, 1919 (Primary Source 1.8). You are assigned to evaluate the speech in an editorial for your newspaper to appear the next day. In the editorial, you should refer to Wilson’s speech, to at least one of the critics of the war in these primary sources, and to the statement General Erich Ludendorff made in February 1919 (Primary Source 1.10).

### Taking Action

- ◆ Discuss the following question: “How should our community commemorate World War I and those members of the community who fought in it?” Brainstorm ideas and discuss them in relation to the points of view expressed in the primary sources for this lesson. Take notes on this discussion and write a letter describing the ideas expressed as to what an appropriate memorial might include. Send the letter to relevant community groups such as veterans’ organizations, churches, and local officials.
- ◆ Based on the work in the previous assignment, use social media to share the results of your World War I Memorial Day discussion. Ask those contacted in this way to comment and offer their own suggestions.

## World War I Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a way relevant to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development and Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

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- 1.10: Ludendorff, Erich. February 1919 statement. In *Source Records of the Great War*, edited by Charles F. Horne, vol. 7. New York: National Alumni, 1923. Available online from the Internet Archive at [https://archive.org/stream/sourcerecordsofg07char/sourcerecordsofg07char\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/sourcerecordsofg07char/sourcerecordsofg07char_djvu.txt).



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# The Great Migration

*Did It Make Life Better for African Americans?*



## Overview

### Introduction

African Americans had already begun leaving the South before World War I. However, the war gave a huge boost to what soon was called the “Great Migration.” Workers left jobs in northern factories for the army. The chaos of war in Europe cut back on immigration as a way to fill these jobs. Black workers began to arrive by the hundreds of thousands to take them. Once the Great Migration got under way, it just kept growing. Thousands of blacks poured into the cities of the North. They found life there challenging, confusing, and exciting. It was challenging in part because these migrants could not fully escape segregation and racism. Was the Great Migration a positive force for African Americans, or did ongoing racial injustice in the North mean the migration was just another dead end for them? This lesson will focus on this compelling question. In this lesson, students will work with short passages from ten primary sources. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the lesson’s compelling question.

### Objectives

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about the Great Migration. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of view represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time.
- ◆ **D2.His.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.His.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.Civ.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.Eco.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.
- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.

- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

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### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

### Compelling Question

Did the “Great Migration” make life better for African Americans?

### Preparation

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.



#### Asking Questions about the Great Migration

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

### Day One

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the lesson’s overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this lesson. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.



#### Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

### Day Two

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group’s compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.
7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief

(five- to ten-minute) presentation about the Great Migration from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, or a PowerPoint or similar type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### Day Three

8. Each group will deliver its presentation (prepared by the students as their final task on Day Two). Following each presentation, allow time for class discussion and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### Communicating Results and Taking Action

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the lesson's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the Great Migration Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### Communicating Results

- ◆ Each student will pretend to be the sharecropper who lives in the shack shown in Primary Source 2.2. Have students then reread Primary Source 2.3 and study the photos for 2.4 and 2.5. As the sharecropper, each student will write a letter to *The Chicago Defender* expressing thoughts about the other primary sources listed here. In addition, each letter writer should explain why he or she does or does not intend to move north along with others in the Great Migration.
- ◆ Have students pretend they are African Americans who have recently boarded a train for Chicago from the delta region of the state of Mississippi. The year is 1920. Explain to students that while on the train north, they will read Primary Sources 2.6, 2.7, and 2.9. While still on the train, each student will then write a long letter to relatives or friends back in Mississippi. The letter will explain why that student has decided either to stay in Chicago, return to Mississippi, or go on to New York City. The letters should make specific reference to details in all the primary sources mentioned.
- ◆ Ask a small group of students to read and discuss Primary Sources 2.9 and 2.10, passages written by Alain Locke and Levi C. Hubert. Each student in the group should write two letters. One letter should be from Alain Locke writing to Levi C. Hubert about Hubert's remarks in Primary Source 2.10. The second letter should be from Hubert back to Locke responding to his comments. The group may wish to spend some time reading further on the Harlem Renaissance before composing these letters. Ask the group to share some of their letters with the rest of the class in a discussion about the Harlem Renaissance and its meaning for African Americans and for other Americans.

*Taking Action*

- ◆ Ask students to learn more about the Harlem Renaissance (perhaps as a follow-up to the third activity described above). In particular, have students find photos, artwork, or written passages from the following individuals: writers—Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Gwendolyn B. Bennett, Zora Neale Hurston; artists—Lois Mailou Jones, Betsy Graves Reyneau, Romare Bearden, Palmer Hayden, Hale Woodruff. Based on this research, ask the class to construct a colorful display showing the works of these and other participants in the Harlem Renaissance. Finally, invite other students, parents, and community members to a showing of this Harlem Renaissance display.
- ◆ Based on the work in the previous assignment, students should create a presentation about their Harlem Renaissance display. Invite local organizations, media outlets, or the public to attend the presentation.



## Introductory Essay

# *The Great Migration*



*Black Belt* by Archibald John Motley

As of the year 1900, the vast majority of African Americans still lived in the South. Most were poor tenant farmers or sharecroppers in rural areas. Strong family, church, and community ties eased the hardships of life in the Deep South. Nevertheless, those hardships were a very heavy burden to bear. Poverty alone was not the worst of them. The late 1800s and early 1900s were a time of increasing racial tension. “Jim Crow” segregation was getting harsher. Segregation meant separate and inferior schools, restaurants, train cars, theater sections, park benches, public bathrooms, drinking fountains, and more for blacks. Poll taxes, literacy tests, and other methods kept blacks from registering to vote. Horrible lynchings were a growing problem. In the

1920s, a revived Ku Klux Klan only added to the sense blacks had of being under constant threat.

It is not surprising, then, that blacks had already begun to leave the South before World War I. Along with low wages and racial tensions, boll weevil infestations were destroying crops. Life was increasingly bleak for African Americans. It is understandable that many of them had begun to head north. World War I gave a huge boost to what soon was called the “Great Migration.” Workers left jobs in northern factories for the army. The chaos of war in Europe cut back on immigration as a way to fill these jobs. Black workers began to arrive by the hundreds of thousands to take them. Some industries needed workers so badly they paid blacks to move north.



*Newsboy selling The Chicago Defender*

Once the Great Migration got under way, it just kept growing. Thousands of blacks poured into the cities of the North during and after World War I. In many ways, they were like other immigrants arriving from less developed rural societies. Neighborhoods of these new arrivals filled up in Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, New York, and Philadelphia. Later on, many also moved west to Los Angeles, San Francisco, or Seattle. Between 1915 and 1960, some five million southern African Americans made their way north.

City life was challenging, confusing, and exciting for these newly arrived African Americans. It was challenging in part because these migrants could not fully escape segregation and racism. Various systems confined African Americans to all-black neighborhoods in the cities of the North. The housing in these neighborhoods was often terrible. Elsewhere, many public facilities were often segregated. Jobs may have been available, but blacks still tended to get the lowest-paying and most dangerous kinds of work. Racist attitudes created constant tensions and dangers, especially when soldiers began to return from the war. The soldiers wanted their jobs back and resented the blacks who had replaced them. These tensions led to outbreaks of murderous violence and riots in many northern urban areas. These riots made it clear that African Americans in the North would still struggle against injustice for a long time to come.

Yet the North continued to attract blacks long after World War I. Letters from family and friends in the North often spoke positively about life there. These letter-writers invited blacks in the South to join them. African American newspapers such as *The Chicago Defender* advertised jobs and urged blacks to move north. Greater

opportunities did exist for workers, but especially for talented black musicians, artists, writers, and professionals.

The largest and most exciting black urban community of all was in Harlem, a large neighborhood in New York City. There, the “Harlem Renaissance” helped bring to life a new African American spirit. Black scholars and writers such as Alain Locke, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Gwendolyn B. Bennett, and Langston Hughes were based in Harlem. They gave birth to the idea that a “New Negro” was emerging who could give voice to a strong sense of racial pride and self-awareness. Figures such as Marcus Garvey and Father Divine helped make that pride a force for political change. Louis Armstrong, Billie Holiday, Fats Waller, Bessie Smith, Duke Ellington, Fletcher Henderson, Cab Calloway, and dozens of others brought their music not only to the African American community but increasingly to white audiences as well. They made jazz a central feature of American cultural life in general.

Did all this mean the Great Migration was a positive force for African Americans, or did ongoing racial injustices and discrimination in the North mean the migration was just another dead end? In this lesson, you will examine a sample of primary sources that may help you answer this question. The sources express several different points of view. Together, they should help you better understand the meaning and importance of the Great Migration.



*Billie Holiday*

Image Sources: *Black Belt*. By Archibald John Motley, 1934, courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, 559116.  
Newsboy selling the *Chicago Defender*, courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USW3-000698-D.  
Portrait of Billie Holiday, *Downbeat*, New York, N.Y., ca. February 1947. By William P. Gottlieb, 1947, courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-GLB23-0425.



## History Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

## *The Great Migration*

Your group's task is to explore history issues related to the Great Migration. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

“Given what the South was like in the late 1800s, it is surprising the Great Migration did not start even sooner.” Explain why you agree or disagree with this statement.
3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 2.2, 2.3, and 2.7.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

After the Civil War, African Americans made some progress toward equality. They were able to vote and elect black officeholders in many local and state elections. Federal troops and officials helped protect these rights. Schools were established for the newly freed slaves. However, living conditions remained miserable. Most African Americans had to accept tenant and sharecropping arrangements that kept them poor and dependent on white landowners. Still, there was hope for the future. Unfortunately, the North soon tired of this time of “Reconstruction.” The last federal troops were removed from the South in 1877.

Whites then quickly set up “Redeemer” governments that drastically limited black office holding and voting. However, African Americans did not withdraw from political struggles willingly. Black farmers, sharecroppers, and others created a reform movement through organizations such as the Colored Farmers’ National Alliance and the People’s Party. These



efforts in the 1880s and '90s led white politicians to impose the worst forms of racial segregation. They used poll taxes and literacy tests to keep blacks from voting. Forms of “Jim Crow” segregation separated the races in all public facilities. Lynchings and other forms of racial violence spread. Race relations in the South reached their worst in the 1890s and early 1900s.

- 5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group’s compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 2.2

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Primary Source 2.3

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Primary Source 2.7

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Day Two

- 6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group’s own compelling question. Here is that question again:

“Given what the South was like in the late 1800s, it is surprising the Great Migration did not start even sooner.” Explain why you agree or disagree with this statement.

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



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GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *The Great Migration*

Your group's task is to explore the civics issues related to the Great Migration. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Did the Great Migration help African Americans in their long struggle for equality? Why or why not?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 2.6, 2.9, and 2.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, a movement for reform known as “Progressivism” swept the country. It sought improvements in many areas of American economic and political life. Yet few Progressives were interested in the problems of African Americans. Many even accepted the view of blacks as inferior.

Nevertheless, several African American Progressives did address the problems blacks faced. Ida B. Wells and Booker T. Washington did this in different ways, as did W. E. B. Du Bois. Du Bois was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or NAACP. As editor of its magazine, *The Crisis*, he was relentless in calling for equal rights for everyone regardless of race. Some black leaders rejected this dream of American blacks and whites living in complete equality. Marcus Garvey, for example, called on blacks to turn their backs on an America he said would never grant them full equality. His vision was of a united Africa to which all blacks could return and live fully free.



In the cities of the North, especially, a new, more assertive African American leadership did surface during the Great Migration. Its immediate effect for most blacks is hard to estimate. In the long run, it was to be an important force for change.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 2.6

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Primary Source 2.9

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Primary Source 2.10

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## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Did the Great Migration help African Americans in their long struggle for equality? Why or why not?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



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GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *The Great Migration*

Your group's task is to explore the economic issues related to the Great Migration. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Did African Americans in the Great Migration benefit economically from the move? Explain your answer.

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 2.2, 2.4, and 2.5.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Letters from African American migrants in the North present a mixed picture of what migrants experienced. Many letters to family and friends back home painted a glowing picture of life in the North. They stressed the better jobs and schooling available, the more equal treatment, the ability to act more forcefully as individuals. During World War I, many war industries urged blacks to come north to work in steel mills, mines, and weapons manufacturing plants. After the war, many blacks lost these jobs to returning white soldiers. While industrial jobs became harder to find, many blacks still found jobs that paid more than they would have made in the South. Those unable to find factory jobs settled for work as cooks, janitors, butlers, housemaids, and so on. A small middle class of lawyers, teachers, and small business owners also emerged.

As time went by, more letters home described difficulties such as lack of jobs, racial bigotry, and horrible housing conditions. In some of the better-paying industries, blacks were sometimes hired as strikebreakers.

White workers on strike reacted with anger to these strikebreakers. This fueled racial tensions and helped trigger many violent urban riots, especially in the years just after the war. Blacks escaped much pain and trouble in leaving the South. Yet they also encountered new forms of those old troubles in the North.

- 5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group’s compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 2.2

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Primary Source 2.4

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Primary Source 2.5

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Day Two

- 6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group’s own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Did African Americans in the Great Migration benefit economically from the move? Explain your answer.

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Geography Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

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### *The Great Migration*

Your group's task is to explore the geography issues related to the Great Migration. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

“The Great Migration cannot be fully understood without taking the geography of the United States into consideration.” Explain this statement.
3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The Great Migration was shaped by two geographical relationships: the relationship between the South and the North, and the relationship between the U.S. and Europe.

In the South, the “Black Belt” was the cotton-growing region where high percentages of the population were African American. Many blacks there were low-wage agricultural laborers and very poor sharecroppers. Many say these blacks moved North mainly because of the injustices they suffered in the South. Yet these injustices had existed long before the Great Migration began. Poverty may have been an important factor. The poorest blacks were the ones most likely to seek better job opportunities in the North. In other words, the poor cotton-culture of the South pushed them to leave. Another regional factor doing this was the recurring boll weevil infestations of these years.

As for Europe and the U.S., the European war led to a huge increase in demand for goods from northern industry, such as munitions and food.

Meanwhile, the war created extreme labor shortages as many men went off to war. The war also cut European immigration to a trickle, which only added to the labor shortages. These shortages could be filled by African Americans from the South.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 2.1

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Primary Source 2.2

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Primary Source 2.3

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## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

“The Great Migration cannot be fully understood without taking the geography of the United States into consideration.” Explain this statement.



State your group’s claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group’s discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group’s presentation.

## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will study several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special historical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

No primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, so you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, then you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

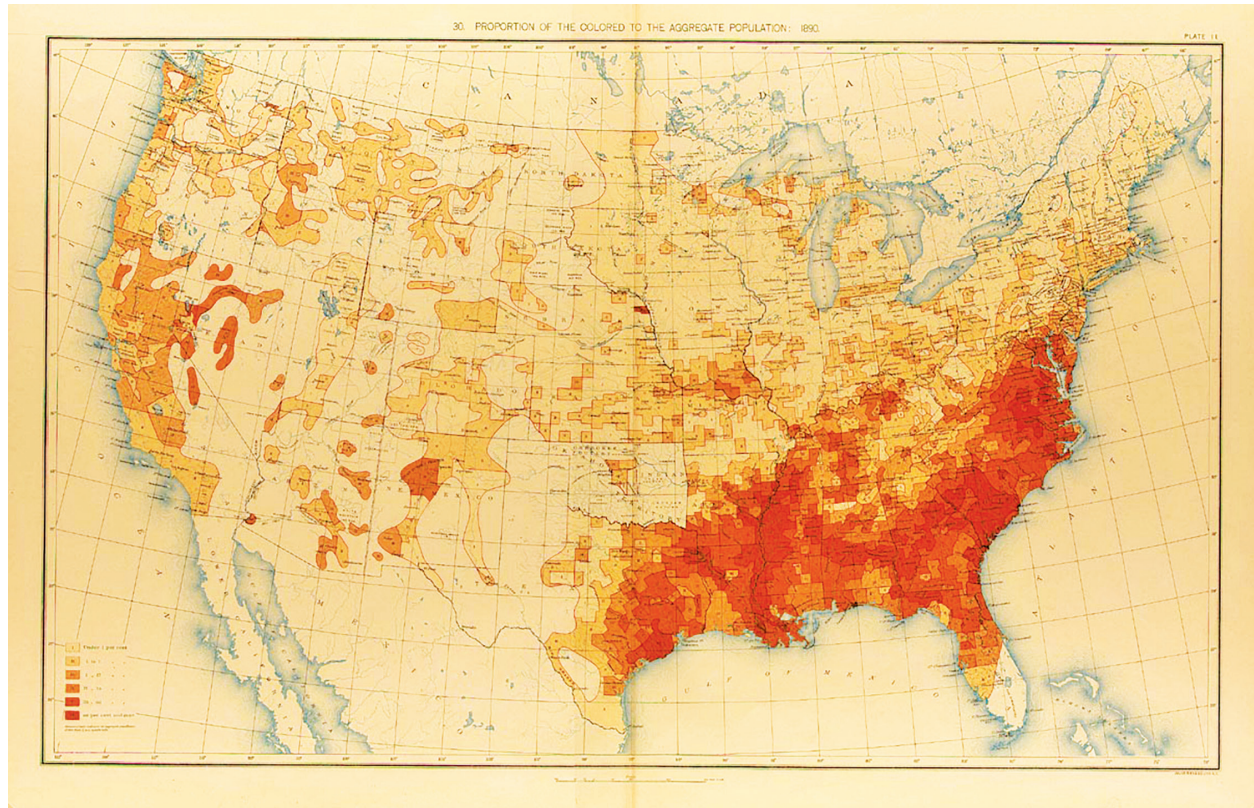
Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

2.1

## Where African Americans Lived, 1890

The U.S. Census Bureau atlas for the 1890 census includes this map showing the proportion of “colored” people to the entire population of each county. The heaviest concentrations are in the dark orange areas of Maryland, Virginia, and the southeastern states. A few such areas can also be seen in some northern urban areas and in the west.



Original Document Source: Henry Garnett, "Proportion of the Colored to the Aggregate Population: 1890." In *Statistical Atlas of the United States Based upon the Results of the Eleventh Census*. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890). Available online from the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, at <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3701gm.gct00010/?sp=27>.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

2.2

## A Sharecropper's Home

After the Civil War, some African Americans in the South were able to become landowners. Some moved to the cities to work in factories and shops. A small professional class developed. However, a sizable majority of former slaves had to accept work as sharecroppers. They worked small plots of land and had to give a large portion of their crop to the landowner at the end of each year. What they had left to sell was frequently not enough to cover all their costs. Tenant farmers and sharecroppers alike regularly fell deep into debt, often to the same landowners who had once enslaved them. This photo shows an African American sharecropper's home and land, with three children at the pump.



Original Document Source: Carl Mydans, *Children of Negro Sharecropper at Pump, Near West Memphis, Arkansas*, June 1936. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USF34-006330-D. Available online from the Library of Congress at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/fsa1998020194/PP/>.



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

2.3

A Letter to *The Chicago Defender*

*The Chicago Defender* was an African American–owned newspaper. During World War I, it encouraged and helped many blacks to migrate to Chicago. African Americans in the South often wrote to the *Defender* seeking its help to cover travel expenses, locate housing, and find work. Often the paper helped them locate churches and other organizations that could give them assistance. This letter is from an African American in Litcher, Louisiana, dated May 13, 1917.

**Original Document**

*Dear Sir:* I have been reading the Chicago defender and seeing so many advertisements about work in the north I thought to write to you concerning my condition. I am working hard in the south and can hardly earn a living. I have a wife and one child and can hardly feed them. I thought to write and ask you for some information concerning how to get a pass for myself and family. I dont want to leave my family behind as I cant hardly make a living for them right here with them and I know they would fare hard if I would leave them. If there are any agents in the south there havent been any of them to Litcher if they would come here they would get at least fifty men. Please sir let me hear from you as quick as possible. Now this is all. Please dont publish my letter, I was out in town today talking to some of the men and they say if they could get passes that 30 or 40 of them would come. But they havent got the money and they dont know how to come. But they are good strong and able working men. If you will instruct me I will instruct the other men how to come as they all want to work. Please dont publish this because we have to whisper this around among our selves because the white folks are angry now because the negroes are going north.

*Original Document Source:* Emmett J. Scott, "More Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916–1918," *The Journal of Negro History* 4, no. 4 (1919): 417, doi:10.2307/2713449.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

2.4

## A Black Neighborhood in Chicago

This is an apartment building in an African American section of Chicago, Illinois. The photograph was taken in 1941.



Original Document Source: Russell Lee, *Apartment Building in Negro Section of Chicago, Illinois*, April 1941. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-01561. Available online from the Library of Congress at <http://www.loc.gov/item/fsa1998002268/PP/>.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

2.5

## African Americans in Business

Most African Americans moving north took up manual labor in factories, mines, and shops; on the railroads; or as domestic servants. The jobs paid better than work available to blacks in the South, though not that much better. However, an African American middle class also grew up as thousands of blacks started businesses or moved ahead in the professions. Pictured here is the black-owned Perfect Eat Shop, a restaurant in Chicago. Also pictured is a meeting of African American insurance agents at the Unity Life Insurance Company, also in Chicago. Both photos are from the year 1942.



Original Document Source: Jack Delano, *In the Perfect Eat Shop, a Restaurant on 47th Street near South Park, Owned by Mr. E. Norris (Negro), Chicago, Illinois, April 1942*. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USW3-001469-D. Available online from the Library of Congress at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/owi2001003757/PP/>.

Jack Delano, *A Meeting of the Insurance Agents at the Unity Life Insurance Company, 47th Street and Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, April 1942*. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USW3-001479-D. Available online from the Library of Congress at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/owi2001003767/PP/>.



## A Restrictive Housing Agreement in Chicago

African American migrants to northern cities usually lived in a few nearly all-black neighborhoods in each city. The concentration of blacks in certain urban neighborhoods was due in part to racially restrictive practices such as those described in this August 9, 1929, letter. The letter was sent to property owner John F. Wagner by Walter Fulton on behalf of the Auburn Park Property Restriction Association, Inc.

**Original Document**

Dear Mr. Wagner,

We enclose to you herewith copy of the Anti-colored Restriction Agreement, on the second page of which your property is described as Parcel #20, together with notarization form, and we would request that you sign and execute this agreement and then return to us. This is the agreement originally drafted by the Attorneys for the Chicago Real Estate Board and has for its purpose the restriction against the sale to, use and occupancy of colored people, which is based upon the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, and is legal, lawful and binding.

The entire Auburn Park district extending from 74th to 83rd Street, and from State Street on the East to Racine Avenue on the West, is being covered by this restriction, and to date the property owners in your section have signed the restriction about 80%. You are among the very few in the district who have not yet signed and executed this restriction agreement, and as it has been generally accepted and signed by the vast majority of the property owners, we feel that you too should now gladly abide by the action of the majority by executing this agreement against the sale or renting of your property to colored.

The Auburn Park Restriction Association was organized by the Local Bankers, leading business men and property owners who felt that this movement was necessary in order to uphold property values. Your cooperation is needed in order to complete this work. Will you kindly sign this agreement, have your signature notarized on the form attached and return to us.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

Dear Mr. Wagner,

Enclosed is a copy of the Anti-colored Restriction Agreement. On its second page, your property is described as Parcel #20, together with a notarization form. We ask that you sign and execute this agreement and then return to us. This agreement was originally drafted by the attorneys for the Chicago Real Estate Board. Its purpose is to restrict the sale, use, and occupancy of property by colored people. The agreement is based on a U.S. Supreme Court decision, and it is legal, lawful, and binding.

The restriction will cover the entire Auburn Park district extending from 74th to 83rd Street, and from State Street on the east to Racine Avenue on the west. To date, about 80 percent of the property owners in your section have signed the restriction. You are among the very few who have not yet signed and executed this restriction agreement. It has been accepted and signed by the vast majority of the property owners. Therefore, we feel that you too should now gladly accept the majority view by signing this agreement against the sale or renting of your property to colored people.

Local bankers, leading businessmen, and property owners organized the Auburn Park Restriction Association. They felt this movement was necessary in order to uphold property values. Your cooperation is needed in order to complete this work. Will you kindly sign this agreement, have your signature notarized on the form attached, and return it to us.

*Original Document Source:* Walter W. Fulton, "Auburn Park Property Restriction Association, Inc. to John F. Wagner, August 9, 1929," in *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, Chicago Historical Society, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/11237.html>.



## An Urban Race Riot—Chicago, 1919

As U.S. soldiers came home from war, they often had trouble finding jobs and housing. Many of them resented African Americans who had moved north to take those jobs. In 1919, violent race riots broke out in twenty-two American cities and towns. On Sunday, July 27, some black youths in Chicago were attacked while swimming near a whites-only beach. One African American boy died. Rioting erupted. Over the next five days, twenty-three blacks and fifteen whites were killed. Newspapers on all sides wrote sensational accounts of these events. This passage is part of an article in the African American–owned *Chicago Defender*, titled “Ghastly Deeds of Race Rioters Told,” August 2, 1919.

**Original Document**

For fully four days this old city has been rocked in a quake of racial antagonism, seared in a blaze of red hate flaming as fiercely as the heat of day—each hour ushering in new stories of slaying, looting, arson, rapine, sending the awful roll of casualties to a grand total of 40 dead and more than 500 wounded, many of them perhaps fatally. A certain madness distinctly indicated in reports of shootings, stabbings and burning of buildings which literally pour in every minute. Women and children have not been spared. Traffic has been stopped. Phone wires have been cut. . . .

**Monday Sees “Reign of Terror”**

Following the Sunday affray, the red tongues had blabbed their fill, and Monday morning found the thoroughfares in the white neighborhoods throated with a sea of humans—everywhere—some armed with guns, bricks, clubs and an oath. The presence of a black face in their vicinity was a signal for a carnival of death, and before any aid could reach the poor, unfortunate one his body reposed in some kindly gutter, his brains spilled over a dirty pavement. Some of the victims were chased, caught and dragged into alleys and lots, where they were left for dead. In all parts of the city, white mobs dragged from surface cars, black passengers wholly ignorant of any trouble, and set upon them. An unidentified man, young woman and a 3 month old baby were found dead on the street at the intersection of 47th street and Wentworth Avenue. . . .

**Kill Scores Coming from Yards**

Rioters operating in the vicinity of the stock yards, which lies in the heart of white residences west of Halsted street, attacked scores of workers—women and men alike returning from work. Stories of these outrages began to fluster into the black vicinities and hysterical men harangued their fellow to avenge the killings—and soon they, infected with the insanity of the mob, rushed through the streets, drove high powered motor cars or waited for street cars which they attacked with gunfire

CONTINUED

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

2.7

AN URBAN RACE RIOT—CHICAGO, 1919 CONTINUED

and stones. Shortly after noon all traffic south of 22nd street and north of 55th street, west of Cottage Grove Avenue and east of Wentworth Avenue, was stopped with the exception of trolley cars. Whites who entered this zone were set upon with unmeasurable fury.

Policemen employed in the disturbed sections were wholly unable to handle the situation. When one did attempt to carry out his duty he was beaten and his gun taken from him. The fury of the mob could not be abated. Mounted police were employed, but to no avail.

*Original Document Source:* "Ghastly Deeds of Race Rioters Told," in *The Chicago Defender*, August 2, 1919, reprinted in *The Harlem Renaissance: A Historical Exploration of Literature*, by Lynn Domina (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2015), 16–20. Available online at <https://books.google.com/books?id=Tjq2BQAAQBAJ>.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

2.8

## The Music Goes North

Bessie Smith and Louis Armstrong were two of many jazz and blues artists who started out in the South and moved to the North in the early twentieth century. Blues singers, ragtime performers, and jazz musicians began to travel up the Mississippi River to northern cities even before the Great Migration. As the African American urban districts in the North grew, they increasingly attracted talented musicians and singers. Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New York, and other cities had the clubs, record companies, booking agents, and growing audiences for the new music. In these centers, black musicians interacted with white musicians. This cross-fertilization produced many new styles and a flowering of a great American form of music.



*Original Document Source:* Carl Van Vechten, *Portrait of Bessie Smith*, February 3, 1936. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-117880. Available online from the Library of Congress at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004663578/>.

*Louis Armstrong, Head-and-Shoulders Portrait, Facing Left, Playing Trumpet*, 1953, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-127236. Available online from the Library of Congress at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/00652636/>.



African American migrants moved into heavily black neighborhoods in many northern cities. One of the largest of these districts was Harlem in New York City. There a social and cultural flowering known as the Harlem Renaissance took place in the 1920s and '30s. In those years, Harlem was an intellectual, musical, and artistic center, drawing black writers, scholars, artists, musicians, poets, and others. Alain Locke was a philosopher, educator, and the first African American Rhodes Scholar. He wrote a good deal about the Harlem Renaissance, including this passage from his essay titled "Harlem," published in *Survey Graphic* in March 1925.

### Original Document

If we were to offer a symbol of what Harlem has come to mean in the short span of twenty years it would be another statue of liberty on the landward side of New York. It stands for a folk-movement which in human significance can be compared only with the pushing back of the western frontier in the first half of the last century, or the waves of immigration which have swept in from overseas in the last half. Numerically far smaller than either of these movements, the volume of migration is such none the less that Harlem has become the greatest Negro community the world has known—without counterpart in the South or in Africa. But beyond this, Harlem represents the Negro's latest thrust towards Democracy.

The special significance that today stamps it as the sign and center of the renaissance of a people lies, however, layers deep under the Harlem that many know but few have begun to understand. Physically Harlem is little more than a note of sharper color in the kaleidoscope of New York. The metropolis pays little heed to the shifting crystallizations of its own heterogeneous millions. Never having experienced permanence, it has watched, without emotion or even curiosity, Irish, Jew, Italian, Negro, a score of other races drift in and out of the same colorless tenements.

Yet in final analysis, Harlem is neither slum, ghetto, resort nor colony, though it is in part all of them. It is—or promises at least to be—a race capital. Europe seething in a dozen centers with emergent nationalities, Palestine full of a renascent Judaism—these are no more alive with the spirit of a racial awakening than Harlem; culturally and spiritually it focuses a people. Negro life is not only founding new centers, but finding a new soul. The tide of Negro migration, northward and city-ward, is not to be fully explained as a blind flood started by the demands of war industry coupled with the shutting off of foreign migration, or by the pressure of poor crops coupled with increased social terrorism in certain sections of the South and Southwest. Neither labor demand, the boll-weevil nor the Ku Klux Klan is a basic factor, however contributory any or all of them may have been. The wash and rush of this human tide on the beach line of the northern city centers is to be explained primarily in terms of a new vision of opportunity, of social and economic freedom of a spirit to seize, even in the face of an extor-

CONTINUED



tionate and heavy toll, a chance for the improvement of conditions. With each successive wave of it, the movement of the Negro migrant becomes more and more like that of the European waves at their crests, a mass movement toward the larger and the more democratic chance—in the Negro's case a deliberate flight not only from countryside to city, but from medieval America to modern.

### Adapted Version

Another statue of liberty could be a good symbol for what Harlem has become in the past twenty years. Harlem has been the scene for a folk-movement as important as the one that settled the western frontier. Or as important as the waves of immigration that have swept in from overseas. The numbers involved are not as great. But they are enough that Harlem has become the greatest Negro community the world has known. Nothing like it exists in the South or in Africa. But beyond this, Harlem represents the Negro's latest thrust towards Democracy.

Just by looking around Harlem it is not easy to see what makes it special as a place for the rebirth of a people. Physically it is little more than a slightly unusual piece in the kaleidoscope of New York. The city pays little heed to the shifting group patterns of its millions of citizens. These are always changing. So the city accepts without much emotion or curiosity that Irish, Jew, Italian, Negro, and other races drift in and out of the same colorless tenements.

Harlem is neither slum, ghetto, resort nor colony, though it is in part all of them. It is—or promises at least to be—a race capital. Europe has a dozen centers of emerging nationalities. Palestine is full of a reborn Judaism. But these are no more alive with the spirit of a racial awakening than Harlem. Harlem is a cultural and spiritual focus for an entire people. Negro life has not only found a new center, but is finding a new soul. The Negro migration is not simply a blind response to the demands of war industry and the shutting off of foreign immigration. Nor is it a result only of poor crops and increased bigotry and violence in the South. It is not due only to labor demand, the boll weevil nor the Ku Klux Klan. This human tide into the northern cities is above all explained by a new vision of opportunity. It reflects a spirit of social and economic freedom, a drive to improve conditions despite heavy obstacles. With each successive wave, the movement of the Negro migrant seems more like that of the European waves at their crests. It is a mass movement toward the more democratic chance. It is in the Negro's case a purposeful flight not only from countryside to city, but from medieval America to modern.

Original Document Source: Alain Locke, "Harlem," in *Survey Graphic* 6, no. 6 (1925).  
Available online at [http://xroads.virginia.edu/~drbr/locke\\_2.html](http://xroads.virginia.edu/~drbr/locke_2.html).

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

2.IO

## The Whites Invade Harlem

This passage offers a somewhat different point of view about the Harlem Renaissance. Its focus is not on the Harlem Renaissance itself; it is on the attitudes of whites who regarded the Harlem Renaissance favorably but in ways this writer still felt lacked real understanding and respect. This passage is from a 1938 essay called "The Whites Invade Harlem" by Levi C. Hubert, December 12, 1938.

**Original Document**

A few years ago, in the late 1920's, Alain Leroy Locke . . . came to Harlem to gather material for the now famous Harlem Number of the Survey Graphic and was hailed as the discoverer of artistic Harlem.

The Whites who read that issue of the Survey Graphic became aware that in Harlem, the largest Negro city in the world, there existed a group interested in the fine arts, creative literature, and classical music. So, well-meaning, vapid whites from downtown New York came by bus, subway, or in limousines, to see for themselves these Negroes who wrote poetry and fiction and painted pictures.

Of course, said these pilgrims, it couldn't approach the creative results of whites, but as a novelty, well, it didn't need standards. The very fact that these blacks had the temerity to produce so-called Art, and not its quality, made the whole fantastic movement so alluring. The idea being similar to the applause given a dancing dog. There is no question of comparing the dog to humans; it needn't do it well . . . merely to dance at all is quite enough.

So they came to see, and to listen, and to marvel; and to ask, as an extra favor, that some spirituals be sung.

Over cups of tea, Park Avenue and Central Park West went into raptures over these geniuses, later dragging rare specimens of the genus *Homo Africanus* downtown for exhibition before their friends.

Bustling, strong-minded matrons . . . sent out informal notes and telephonic invitations. "There will be present a few artistic Negroes. It's really the thing. They recite with such feeling, and when they sing such divine tones. Imagine a colored person playing Debussy and Chopin."

At every party, two or three bewildered Negroes sat a bit apart, were very polite when spoken to, and readily went into their act when called upon to perform. The . . . hostess would bring each newly-arrived guest over to the corner, and introductions invariably followed this pattern.

CONTINUED



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

2.IO

THE WHITES INVADE HARLEM CONTINUED

“I do so want you to meet Mr. Hubert. He writes the nicest poetry. Something really new. You simply must hear him read his Harlem Jungle tone-poem . . . such insight, such depth . . . so primitive, you know, in a rather exalted fashion.”

These faddists spread abroad the new culture, seized every opportunity to do missionary work for The Cause.

“Believe me, the poor dears are so trusting, so childlike, so very, very cheerful, no matter what their struggles or sorrows.”

*Original Document Source:* Levi C. Hubert, “The Whites Invade Harlem,” *Folklore Project, Life Histories, 1936–1939* (New York: U.S. Work Projects Administration, Federal Writers’ Project), 1938. Available online from the Library of Congress at <https://www.loc.gov/item/wpalh001416/>.

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Pretend to be the sharecropper who lives in the shack shown in Primary Source 2.2. Then reread Primary Source 2.3 and study the photos for 2.4 and 2.5. As the sharecropper, write a letter to *The Chicago Defender* expressing thoughts about the other primary sources listed here. In addition, explain why you do or do not intend to move north along with others in the Great Migration.
- ◆ Pretend you are an African American who has recently boarded a train for Chicago from the delta region of the state of Mississippi. The year is 1920. While on the train north, you will read Primary Sources 2.6, 2.7, and 2.9. While still on the train, you will then write a long letter to relatives or friends back in Mississippi. The letter will explain why you have decided to stay in Chicago, return to Mississippi, or go on to New York City. Your letter should make specific reference to details in all the primary sources mentioned.
- ◆ In a small group, read and discuss Primary Sources 2.9 and 2.10, passages written by Alain Locke and Levi C. Hubert. Each student in your group should write two letters. One letter should be from Alain Locke writing to Levi C. Hubert about Hubert's remarks in Primary Source 2.10. The second letter should be from Hubert back to Locke responding to his comments. Your group may wish to spend some time reading further on the Harlem Renaissance before composing these letters. Be prepared to share some of your letters with the rest of the class in a discussion about the Harlem Renaissance and its meaning for African Americans and for other Americans.

### Taking Action

- ◆ Learn more about the Harlem Renaissance. In particular, find photos, artwork, or written passages from the following individuals: writers—Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Gwendolyn B. Bennett, Zora Neale Hurston; artists—Lois Mailou Jones, Betsy Graves Reyneau, Romare Bearden, Palmer Hayden, Hale Woodruff. Based on this research, construct a colorful display showing the works of these and other participants in the Harlem Renaissance.
- ◆ Based on the work in the previous assignment, create a presentation about your Harlem Renaissance display. Invite local organizations, media outlets, or the public to attend the presentation.

## The Great Migration Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a way relevant to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development/ Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task



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# The New Deal

*How Good a Deal Was It?*





## Overview

### Introduction

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933. It was practically the worst moment in what had been a three-year plunge into the Great Depression. In response, Roosevelt had earlier pledged a “New Deal” for the American people. That term came to stand for the dozens of programs and plans he created to end the Depression. These amounted to a vast public effort to cope with the crisis, get the economy moving again, and make reforms necessary to prevent a repeat of the disaster. The New Deal went through several phases, setbacks, and changes. Many came to see it as a triumph that improved society and gave millions of people hope. Others saw it as a failure that did little to improve conditions during the 1930s. This lesson will focus on the question of how good a deal it was. In this lesson, students will work with short passages from six primary sources and four secondary sources. These sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the lesson’s compelling question.

### Objectives

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about the New Deal. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of view represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time.
- ◆ **D2.His.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.His.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.Civ.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.Eco.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.
- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.

- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

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### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

### Compelling Question

How good a deal was the New Deal?

### Preparation

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.

### Asking Questions about the New Deal

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*



### Day One

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the lesson’s overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this lesson. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.

### Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*



### Day Two

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group’s compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.



7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about the New Deal from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, or a PowerPoint or similar type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### **Day Three**

8. Each group will deliver its presentation (prepared by the students as their final task on Day Two). Following each presentation, allow time for class discussion and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### **Communicating Results and Taking Action**

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the lesson's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the New Deal Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### **Communicating Results**

- ◆ In a 1932 speech, Roosevelt said, "The country needs, and unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something." Have students pretend it is 1939. Ask each student to write a newspaper editorial commenting on and evaluating this statement by Roosevelt. In their editorials, they must refer to the views of at least three of the sources for this lesson.
- ◆ The National Recovery Administration (NRA) was an early New Deal program. It had the power to approve codes for each industry. The codes set minimum prices for each industry's products. This was supposed to help businesses earn enough to survive. The rules also set minimum wages and maximum hours for workers in the industry. In 1935, the Supreme Court ruled that the NRA was unconstitutional and could not continue to operate. Have students write letters from Abraham Epstein (Primary Source 3.3), Ralph Bunche (Primary Source 3.6), and Henry Morgenthau Jr. (Primary Source 3.8) to President Roosevelt. Each letter should explain what its author feels about the Supreme Court's decision and what Roosevelt should do now that the NRA has to shut down.
- ◆ Separate students into small groups. Have each group discuss Secondary Sources 3.9 and 3.10. If needed, give them time to find out more about the overall views of these authors. Ask them to choose two of the lesson's primary sources that best support each author's view of the New Deal. Each group should briefly explain to the class the reasons for its choices.

*Taking Action*

- ◆ Perhaps the most popular New Deal program today is Social Security. However, many people worry about how Social Security will continue to be funded in the future. One key aspect of the problem is that, on average, people live much longer today than they did in the 1930s. More are surviving and receiving Social Security than ever before. Many experts say a long-term funding shortfall is likely unless either benefits are reduced or taxes for Social Security are raised. Ask a small group of students to plan a debate on this topic by inviting some local political figures, Social Security officials, or other knowledgeable people to take part. Set a date, plan a debate format, and invite the rest of the school to hear the discussion.
- ◆ Get help to record the debate described in the previous assignment. Make the recording available to local print, TV, and other media outlets. Invite people to use social media to share their reactions to the debate and the issues it raises.
- ◆ Have students write a persuasive letter to their congressperson arguing their views on Social Security.

## Introductory Essay

# *The New Deal*



*Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1944*

By 1932, most Americans were desperate. They wanted and demanded drastic change. As Franklin D. Roosevelt (“FDR”) campaigned for president that year, he promised Americans a “new deal.” At that point, however, he had no clear idea what such a new deal would include.

Roosevelt took office as president on March 4, 1933. The nation was in its third year of the Great Depression. The hard times began with the collapse of stock prices in October 1929. The stock market crash itself did not cause the Great Depression. However, it did signal trouble ahead. Industrial production soon began to plummet. By 1933, more than 25 percent of American workers were unemployed. Thousands were evicted from farms and homes. Hundreds of banks closed their doors. Growing numbers of men were wandering the highways and riding the rails in search of work. It would take a decade for the economy to recover.

The phrase “New Deal” came to stand for the dozens of programs and plans Roosevelt came up with to end the Great Depression. These amounted to a vast public effort to cope with the crisis, get the economy moving again, and make reforms necessary to prevent a repetition of the disaster. The New Deal went through several phases, setbacks, and changes. The question of how good a deal it was may depend, in part, on which aspects of its programs and goals one has in mind.

On his first day in office, Roosevelt closed all banks that were still open, calling it a bank “holiday.” On March 9, Congress met and passed the Emergency Banking Act to reopen banks in a way that would reassure people. That Sunday, the president went on the radio in his first “fireside chat.” He explained that the banks would be safe when they reopened. They did reopen the next day, and people did not rush to take their money out. The banking system was steadied.

What followed was an amazing whirlwind of legislative action. Fifteen key laws were passed by June 16. The product of what came to be called Roosevelt's "First Hundred Days," these new laws expanded the relationship between the federal government and the economy. Roosevelt and Congress acted to insure most bank deposits through the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC). They suspended the gold standard, which made it easier to expand the money supply and push prices back up. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) gave \$500 million to state relief projects. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) gave jobs to thousands of young men to plant trees, build parks, and take on many other rural projects. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was created to build dams, control flooding, and generate electricity in seven poor southern states.

Most important of all were the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). These acts showed how strongly Roosevelt believed in raising prices to keep businesses going. The AAA paid farmers to leave some lands idle, reduce the supply of crops, and thereby raise prices. The NIRA set up a vast public-works program and the National Recovery Administration (NRA). The NRA asked industries to write codes setting higher prices and wages as a way to raise industry profits and workers' purchasing power. The NRA implemented plans that were similar to those promoted earlier by such corporate leaders as financier Bernard Baruch and General Electric president Gerard Swope.

Many loved the NRA at first. However, discontent with it and the AAA soon began to grow. The AAA's efforts to cut supply led some farmers to plow under crops and kill livestock. This horrified hungry Americans. They resented the higher prices and the waste of food, especially during such hard times. People also resented the NRA for pushing up prices and for imposing rules that often punished smaller businesses more than larger ones. In 1935, the Supreme Court declared the NIRA unconstitutional. In 1936, it did the same to the AAA, saying the government had no right to regulate economic production in these ways.



*Poster promoting the Civilian Conservation Corps made by the Illinois WPA Art Project Chicago.*



FDR then shifted focus in what many historians call a “Second New Deal.” Efforts turned especially to helping workers organize unions (the National Labor Relations Act) and to the elderly (through the Social Security Act). This so-called “Second New Deal” was generally more popular, and its impact was long lasting.

Many came to see the New Deal as a triumph that improved society and gave millions of people hope. Others saw it as a failure that did little to improve conditions during the 1930s. Both the praise and the criticism may be somewhat overblown. The New Deal’s impact in the 1930s is hard to measure. Slow economic growth and high unemployment remained problems throughout the decade. Yet, in time, the economy finally did revive, during World War II. In the long-run, the New Deal drastically changed the role of the federal government in the nation’s economic life. The sources for this lesson should help you better understand this debate about the effectiveness and overall impact of the New Deal.



*President Roosevelt signs Social Security Act into law on August 14, 1935.*

Image Sources: Photograph of Franklin D. Roosevelt taken at a 1944 official campaign portrait session. CT 09-109(1).  
By Leon A. Perskie, 1944, courtesy of the FDR Presidential Library & Museum; CC BY 2.0.

A Young Man's Opportunity for Work, Play, Study & Health. By Albert M. Bender, 1941, courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-12896.

Roosevelt Signs Social Security Bill, 1935, courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-123278.



## History Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

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### *The New Deal*

Your group's task is to explore history issues related to the New Deal. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

“The Great Depression lasted a decade while New Deal program after program failed to do anything to end it.” Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why?
3. Read and discuss Sources 3.2, 3.3, and 3.7.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Many historians praise the early New Deal for ending the worst phase of the Great Depression. They say its burst of energy gave the public hope and saved the banking system from total collapse. FDR gave voice to millions of poor people, small-business owners, struggling farmers, and industrial workers. After problems with early New Deal programs, FDR shifted focus in what many call a “Second New Deal.” Efforts turned to helping workers organize unions (through the National Labor Relations Act) and to the elderly (through the Social Security Act). These achievements were praised as great triumphs.

Other historians are less positive. They agree that FDR did a good job during his “First Hundred Days” in 1933. However, they see many New Deal programs as flawed. In particular, they refer to the NRA and the AAA. Others criticize Roosevelt for an excessive expansion of federal power. The New Deal created many programs to put people to work, such

as the Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration. Yet some say these programs did little to provide jobs that would last. Unemployment remained high throughout the 1930s. From a record 25 percent unemployed in 1933, the rate dropped to the still-high 14 percent in 1937. The next year, it shot back up to 19 percent. Only the outbreak of World War II and the vast demand for war production after 1939 ended the mass unemployment of the 1930s.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.2

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Primary Source 3.3

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Secondary Source 3.7

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

“The Great Depression lasted a decade while New Deal program after program failed to do anything to end it.” Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.





## GROUP MEMBERS:

## *The New Deal*

Your group's task is to explore the civics issues related to the New Deal. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Did the New Deal make the federal government too powerful, endangering individual liberty in the process? Why or why not?

3. Read and discuss Sources 3.4, 3.6, and 3.7.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

A centerpiece of the early New Deal was the NRA, or the National Recovery Administration. The NRA set uniform codes of fair practices agreed to by the owners and workers in each industry. The goal was to maintain adequate prices and decent wages by limiting supply. The program was controversial because it gave businesses in each industry the power to act almost as if they were a government-sponsored monopoly. In 1935, the Supreme Court declared the program unconstitutional. It also ruled against some of FDR's other reforms.

Roosevelt was angry with the Court. In response, he proposed something that frightened even some of his strongest supporters. In 1937, he pushed hard for a new law giving the president the power to appoint an extra Supreme Court judge for every judge over 70 years of age. He would be able to add up to six judges to the Court this way. He could then choose those who would approve all his programs. Many of FDR's own supporters were horrified by this so-called "court-packing plan." Some said it would

have made Roosevelt far too powerful. Was it a threat to liberty? Was it close to a grab for dictatorial power? Many said so at the time. However, we will never know. The public had just reelected Roosevelt in a landslide vote. Yet most voters opposed the plan, and it failed to get support from Congress.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each source and record those questions here.

Secondary Source 3.4

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Primary Source 3.6

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Secondary Source 3.7

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Did the New Deal make the federal government too powerful, endangering individual liberty in the process? Why or why not?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Economics Group

### GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *The New Deal*

Your group's task is to explore the economic issues related to the New Deal. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Was Treasury Secretary Morgenthau right to criticize the New Deal's economic policies as he did in 1939?

3. Read and discuss Sources 3.7, 3.8, and 3.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Henry Morgenthau Jr. was a conservative among the mostly liberal New Deal officials. He was not opposed to the New Deal programs. However, he was most concerned that all the new federal spending was creating larger deficits than he felt the nation could afford. A deficit basically shows how much money government has to borrow. Whatever it borrows, it must one day pay back. Morgenthau did not oppose raising taxes to pay off such debts. In fact, he wanted higher taxes on the rich. However, he believed the deficits were too large a burden on future taxpayers.

It is true that spending far outstripped revenue in most New Deal years, which did cause budget deficits to soar. Not all economists agree that large deficits are harmful—especially if they occur when the rest of the economy is not doing well. FDR did cut spending and reduce deficits in 1937 and 1938. Yet this just seemed to make things worse. Unemployment had been slowly falling until then, but it went up rapidly again as government programs were cut back. Some economists say this proves deficit spending



was needed. Not all economists agree. They say other factors explain the brief rise in unemployment in 1937–38. This debate about deficits continues to the present day.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each source and record those questions here.

Secondary Source 3.7

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Primary Source 3.8

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Secondary Source 3.10

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### Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Was Treasury Secretary Morgenthau right to criticize the New Deal's economic policies as he did in 1939?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Geography Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

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### *The New Deal*

Your group's task is to explore the geography issues related to the New Deal. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Was the New Deal's impact on southern regions of the country mainly helpful or mainly harmful? Explain your answer.

3. Read and discuss Sources 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The South was one of the poorest regions in the nation. The New Deal made major efforts to help people there. Southern farmers had suffered as the prices of the major crops of cotton and corn fell drastically. The AAA sought to bolster prices by paying farmers to limit production. Landowners were supposed to share their payments with tenants and sharecroppers. However, the owners often just forced these farmworkers off the land and kept the money for themselves. Many landless farmworkers were African Americans. In the segregated South, they had little ability to protest this treatment. FDR's support in Congress included a large group of southern Democrats. He needed their cooperation to get his programs passed. This made it hard for him to challenge the South's racial bigotry and inequality.

Other New Deal programs did help both whites and African Americans. Minimum wage laws, union protections, and limits on child labor helped improve labor conditions and wages over time. Perhaps the most successful New Deal program in the South was the vast Tennessee Valley

Authority, or TVA. It built dams, generated electricity, improved flood control, and provided many educational resources to help local farmers improve their practices. In the South, the New Deal was a heavy presence. Overall, it was a mixture of successes and failures.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each source and record those questions here.

Secondary Source 3.4

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Primary Source 3.5

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Primary Source 3.6

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### **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Was the New Deal's impact on southern regions of the country mainly helpful or mainly harmful? Explain your answer.



State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will study several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special historical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

No primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, so you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, then you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

These passages are from President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first inaugural address on March 4, 1933. He gave this address at the lowest point of the Great Depression. In the address, he tried to ease the fears of a deeply troubled nation and give them reasons to believe that better times would return. He sounded a theme that would remain central to the New Deal—the need for decisive and far-reaching federal action in the face of an emergency similar to war, an emergency that demanded discipline and national unity.

### Original Document

This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men. . . .

CONTINUED



Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources. . . .

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

*Original Document Source:* Franklin D. Roosevelt, "First Inaugural Address," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 9 vols., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Random House, 1938), 2:11–16.



Of all the New Deal actions, perhaps the most significant was the creation of the Social Security system. FDR began to develop ideas for this system only after the failure of his two most important early New Deal programs—the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Social Security was primarily an old age pension plan. It was a Depression-fighting measure in that its aim was to give consumers extra purchasing power—in this case, primarily elderly consumers. This passage is from an article in the *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette* on October 13, 1937, in favor of the new system.

### Original Document

With 40,500 Hoosiers receiving \$627,800 under the state and federal program of old age assistance during the month of August all business is benefiting, as well as needy persons, Harold O. Muntjoy, manager of the Fort Wayne field office of the Social Security board, declared yesterday. Speaking before members of the Progressive Study club in the Y. W. C. A., Mr. Muntjoy explained in detail operations and benefits of the social security program, and said: “In Indiana, there have been issued approximately one million account numbers, in noting the number of persons now under the protection of the federal old age benefit program. Twenty-one thousand five hundred children benefit under the state federal aide, with an estimate of \$359,000 paid through this unit in August, and 3,100 needy blind are receiving \$37,800 for the same period. The unemployment compensation check, old-age assistance check, and the old-age benefit check will flow into business channels through rents, food expenditures and into the building trades.”

The American people have responded to the old-age benefits program in a manner never equaled in the history of the nation. More than thirty million applications for social security account numbers have been filed with the board of workers. Under the program, which includes old-age pensions and eight other benefit plans, workers at the age of 65 will receive compensation, up to a maximum of \$85, the speaker explained. He concluded: “Millions of employers have joined hands with their government and their employees in this great movement against needy old age. They are making reports regularly on individual employees.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

About 40,500 people in Indiana received \$627,800 under the state and federal program of old age assistance during August. All business is benefiting, as are needy persons. This at least is the view of Harold O. Muntjoy, manager of the Fort Wayne Social Security board. He spoke to members of the Progressive Study club in the YWCA yesterday. Mr. Muntjoy explained the social security program in detail. He said there are about one million account numbers for people now protected by the federal old age benefit program. He added that 21,500 children benefit, with about \$359,000 paid through his unit in August. Some 3,100 needy blind received \$37,800 for the same period. Mr. Muntjoy added, "The unemployment compensation check, old-age assistance check, and the old-age benefit check will flow into business channels through rents, food expenditures and into the building trades."

The American people have responded to the program in a manner never seen before. They have filed more than thirty million applications for social security account numbers. The program includes old-age pensions and eight other benefit plans. Under it, workers at the age of 65 will receive compensation, up to a maximum of \$85. Mr. Muntjoy concluded: "Millions of employers have joined hands with their government and their employees in this great movement against needy old age. They are making reports regularly on individual employees."



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.3

## A Progressive Criticizes Social Security

As with most other New Deal programs, Social Security encountered plenty of opposition. Much of the criticism came from conservatives. They saw the program as too expensive. They also feared it would give the federal government too much power and make people too dependent on it for help. However, progressives also criticized the program. *The Nation* magazine's Abraham Epstein was an example of this criticism from the "left." This passage is from an article he wrote titled "Social Security under the New Deal," *The Nation*, September 4, 1935.

**Original Document**

The United States thus possesses a new Social Security Act, just as a short while ago it also possessed a National Industrial Recovery Act and a Railroad Retirement Act. Its fate now lies with the courts. The federal grants for pensions in old age, to dependent mothers, to the blind, and to varied child-welfare and public-health activities are sound and constitutional. They mark truly advanced steps and genuine progress. The unemployment-insurance and old age contributory insurance plans, however, are administratively and socially unwise.

The effect this bill may have on the American social-insurance movement is of vital importance. Social insurance is recognized today as offering the only practicable instrument for meeting the problem of insecurity arising from modern industrial development. It is used in communist as well as capitalist and fascist countries. Its chief asset lies in its power to distribute the cost over all groups in society—the rich as well as the poor. But in placing the entire burden of insecurity upon the workers and industry, to the exclusion of the well-to-do in the nation, the present social-security bill violates the most essential modern principles of social insurance. There is also grave danger that the administrative perplexities inherent in the bill, to say nothing of possible court nullification, may deal a death blow to the entire movement in the United States.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

The United States now has a new Social Security Act. A short while ago it also had the National Industrial Recovery Act and a Railroad Retirement Act. Its fate now lies with the courts. The federal grants for pensions in old age, to dependent mothers, to the blind, and to varied child-welfare and public-health activities are sound and constitutional. They mark major steps and genuine progress. However, there are problems with the unemployment-insurance and old age contributory insurance plans.

The bill's effect on the American social-insurance movement is important. Many see social insurance as the only practical way to ease the insecurity caused by modern industrial practices. It is used in communist as well as capitalist and fascist countries. Its chief benefit is in spreading the cost over all groups in society. The rich must contribute as well as the poor. But this bill places the entire burden on workers and their industries. This leaves out the well-to-do in the nation. As a result, the present social-security bill goes against modern principles of social insurance. There are also problems in the way the program is administered. Also there is the danger that the Supreme Court will reject the plan. This could be a deathblow to the entire movement in the United States.

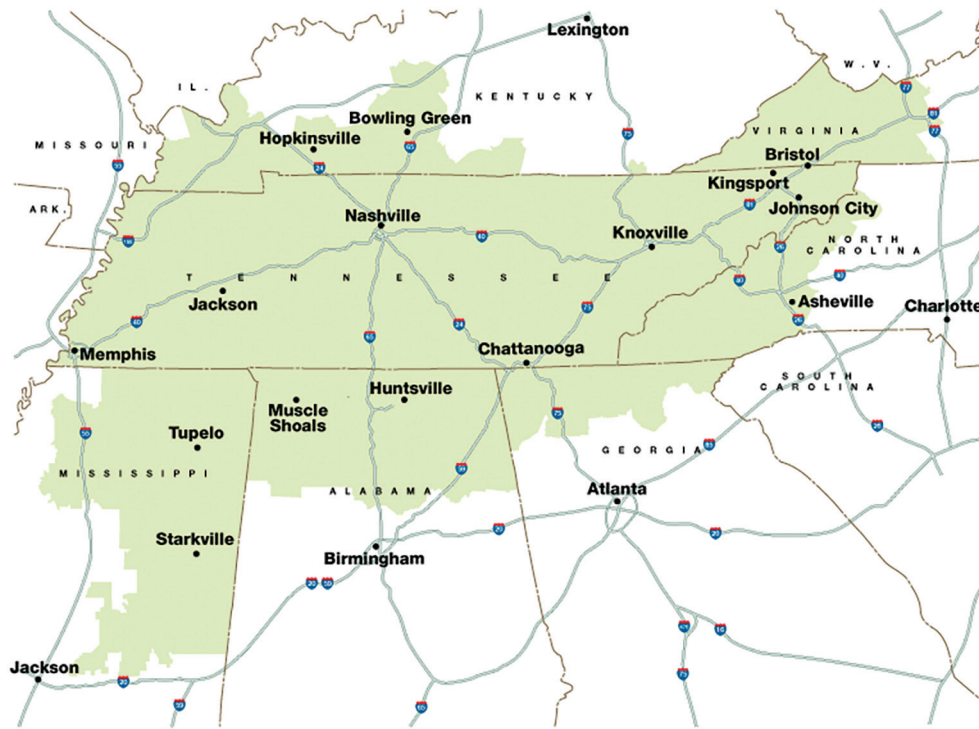


SECONDARY SOURCE ▶

3.4

## The TVA

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) is a federally owned corporation created early in the New Deal, on May 18, 1933. Its purpose was to build dams and electric power plants and engage in many other related projects to improve navigation, provide flood control, electricity, fertilizer manufacturing, and other things helpful in developing the Tennessee Valley. This map shows the entire area developed by the TVA, a region especially hard hit by the Great Depression.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

3.5

## Mary McLeod Bethune on the New Deal and African Americans

Mary McLeod Bethune was the first African American female head of a federal division. She was the director of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration (NYA), established in 1935. The NYA helped many African American youths pay for education, and it provided many of them with job training opportunities and work during the Great Depression. In this speech to the Second National Youth Advisory Committee Meeting, April 28, 1936, Bethune praises Roosevelt and the NYA's impact on black youth.

**Original Document**

I want first of all to express on the part of the Negro people, our appreciation for the vision of our illustrious President, and his committee, in extending to the nation this NYA program. In my opinion and I think I am thinking in terms of thinking Negro people, I believe it to be one of the most stabilizing projects for the benefit of the American of tomorrow, than possibly any one thing that we have done. It seems to me that the giving of opportunity to the youths of today to round out in training and in vision for the citizens of tomorrow is vitally important.

The Negro views with deep interest the national program for all youth and approves most highly its objectives. More particularly is the Negro interested in those phases of the program, which for the first time in the history of the nation, affords to Negro youth through Federal benefits, larger opportunities for education, productive work and cultural and wholesome recreation. Among the most invaluable outcomes of the National Youth program as related to the Negro youth have been:

1. His optimistic awakening to the responsibility of citizenship made possible through the channels of training provided through the program of the National Youth Administration.
2. The fine spirit of cooperation of the general Negro public in fostering the objectives of the program of the NYA.
3. The fine spirit of cooperation and healthy participation on the part of Negro educators and leaders, and state and local NYA Administrators.

I think, Mr. Chairman, and members of this committee, this NYA program has afforded the finest opportunity for interracial cooperation and understanding in these local communities, than anyone thing that we have had come among us, particularly in our own southern section.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

On behalf of the Negro people, I want to thank our President for giving the nation this NYA program. From the point of view of the Negro people, I believe it may be of more benefit to the American of tomorrow than anything else we have done. Enabling the youths of today to gain in training, understanding and vision is vitally important.

The Negro highly approves the national program for all youth and its goals. Negroes are especially interested in those aspects that for the first time give Negro youth greater chances for education, productive work, culture and recreation. Among the best parts of the National Youth program as related to the Negro youth have been:

1. A positive idea of responsible citizenship made possible by the NYA training programs.
2. The fine spirit of cooperation of the general Negro public in supporting the objectives of the NYA.
3. The fine spirit of cooperation and participation by Negro educators and leaders with state and local NYA Administrators.

The NYA program has offered the best chance we have seen to achieve interracial cooperation and understanding in these local communities. This is especially so in our own southern section.

Original Document Source: "Mary McLeod Bethune." National Youth Administration: Proceedings of the Second National Youth Administration Advisory Committee Meeting." 1936, as quoted in *Building a Better World: Essays and Selected Documents*, ed. Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 216–17. Available online at <http://www.encyclopedia.com/economics/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/mary-mcleod-bethune>

## Ralph Bunche on the New Deal and African Americans

Not all African American leaders were as full of praise for the New Deal as Mary McLeod Bethune. Ralph J. Bunche was a political science professor and author in the 1930s. This passage is from a 1936 article he wrote for the *Journal of Negro Education*. In it, he argued that African Americans needed deeper social and economic changes than the New Deal was likely to provide. In this passage, he criticizes the "codes" established by the National Recovery Administration. Each industry's code established price and wage levels that all businesses in that industry had to meet.

**Original Document**

The poverty of the Negro is an ever-present obstacle to the prosperity of the dominant population. Therefore, the first efforts of the NRA should have been directed toward assuring Negro workers that real wage which would make possible for them a decent standard of living.

To the contrary, however, from the beginning, relatively few Negro workers were even theoretically affected by the labor provisions of NRA. The evils of part-time work, irregular work and occupational and wage differentials, suffered especially by the great mass of Negro workers in the South, were perpetuated under NRA. Through the codes, occupational and geographical differentials were early used as a means of excluding Negro workers from the benefits of minimum wage and hour provisions. Subsequently, the continuation of the inferior economic status of the Negro was assured by NRA through code provisions basing wage rates on the habitual wage differential existing between Negro and white workers. . . .

It goes without saying that the Negro tenant farmer has borne more than his share of this burden. The AAA [Agricultural Adjustment Administration] bears the responsibility for other methods of fixing the Negro population as a poverty-stricken group. It has winked at wide-spread violations of the rights of tenant farmers under the crop-reduction contracts; though the acreage reductions under the government rental agreements dispensed with the need of a great number of the tenants, the government contract theoretically proscribed the reduction of tenants by the land owner. The AAA has blandly permitted the white owner to employ the traditional methods of intimidation of the Negro to deprive him of his benefits from the crop reduction program in payment of parity checks.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

The poverty of the Negro is a great obstacle to every other worker's prosperity. The NRA should have made sure that Negro workers are paid a real wage giving them a decent standard of living.

Yet from the start, few Negro workers were ever likely to benefit from the labor provisions of NRA. Most Negro workers in the South suffer from the evils of part-time work, irregular work and huge wage differences between whites and blacks. The NRA kept all these things in place. Through the NRA codes, occupational and geographical differences were used to keep Negro workers from benefiting from the minimum wage and hour provisions. Code provisions base wage rates on the traditional wage differences between Negro and white workers. This simply maintains the Negro's inferior economic status.

Negro tenant farmers have also suffered. The AAA [Agricultural Adjustment Administration] uses other methods to keep the Negro population poverty-stricken. It ignores violations of the rights of tenant farmers under the crop-reduction contracts. Acreage reductions under these agreements have allowed landowners to dismiss many tenants. The government contracts were supposed to keep this from happening. Supposedly, they prohibited the owner from removing tenants. The AAA has blandly allowed the white owner to use all the old forms of intimidation to keep the Negro from getting his rightful payments for the crop reduction program.

Original Document Source: Ralph J. Bunche, "A Critique of New Deal Social Planning as It Affects Negroes," in *Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings*, ed. Charles P. Henry (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 67–68.

## Government Spending and Revenue, and Private Investment

The New Deal led to significant increases in federal spending of all kinds. As the first two columns in this table show, the government spent much more than it took in as revenue each year during the 1930s. It made up the difference (the deficits) by borrowing money. Many economists say this deficit spending can help boost an economy during slow economic times. Did this federal spending boost the economy during the 1930s? Perhaps, but some economists say federal spending won't boost the economy if private investment does not also rise. The third column in this table shows total private investment for each year. For much of the 1930s, private investment remained quite low.

Spending, Revenue, Private Investment (in billions of dollars)			
Year	Federal Revenue	Federal Spending	Private Investment
1929	3.8	3.1	17.0
1930	4.1	3.3	11.0
1931	3.1	3.6	5.8
1932	1.9	4.7	1.1
1933	2.0	4.6	1.6
1934	3.0	6.6	3.8
1935	3.7	6.5	6.4
1936	4.0	8.4	8.4
1937	5.0	7.7	11.8
1938	5.6	6.7	7.6
1939	5.0	8.8	10.2
1940	6.9	9.1	14.6
1941	9.2	13.3	19.0
1942	15.1	34.0	9.6
1943	25.1	79.4	3.5
1944	47.8	95.0	5.0

Original Document Source: Based on figures found in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, (Washington, DC: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1975), 263, 1105–1106, 1114. Available online at [https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1975/compendia/hist\\_stats\\_colonial-1970.html](https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1975/compendia/hist_stats_colonial-1970.html).



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.8

## Henry Morgenthau's Concerns

Henry Morgenthau Jr. was Roosevelt's secretary of the Treasury during the New Deal. He was one of FDR's more conservative cabinet members. In 1939, he recorded in his diary a conversation in which he voiced concern about the large deficits he felt the New Deal was generating. The comments are found in a May 9, 1939, entry in the Henry Morgenthau Diary, on microfilm at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

**Original Document**

Now, gentlemen, we have tried spending money. We are spending more than we have ever spent before and it does not work. And I have just one interest, and if I am wrong, as far as I am concerned, somebody else can have my job. I want to see this country prosperous. I want to see people get a job. I want to see people get enough to eat. We have never made good on our promises. We have never taken care of them. We have said we would give everyone a job that wanted it. We have never taken care of the people . . . who get a \$30.00 or a \$40.00 a year income. There are 4,000,000 that don't have that much income. We have never done anything for them. I want to see those people taken care of.

We have never begun to tax the people in this country the way they should be. We took this program to the President showing how to raise another \$2,000,000,000 and how to balance the budget. . . . I don't pay what I should. People of my class don't. People who have it should pay. . . .

And as I say, all I am interested in is to really see this country prosperous and this form of Government continue, because after eight years if we can't make a success somebody else is going to claim the right to make it and he's got the right to make a trial. I say after eight years of this Administration we have just as much unemployment as when we started.

*Original Document Source: Diaries of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., April 27, 1933–July 27, 1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum. Available online at <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/archives/collections/franklin/index.php?p=collections/findingaid&id=535>.*

## A Favorable Secondary Source View of the New Deal

This is a passage from a secondary source. It expresses the view that the New Deal helped end the Depression.

**Original Document**

What ended the Great Depression in the United States? This paper argues that the recovery was driven by a shift in expectations. This shift was triggered by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (FDR) policy choices. On the monetary policy side, FDR abolished the gold standard and—even more importantly—announced an explicit policy objective of inflating the price level to pre-depression levels. On the fiscal policy side, FDR expanded government real and deficit spending (i.e. government credit expansion) which made his policy objective credible. The key to the recovery was the successful management of expectations about future policy. . . .

The new regime implied a coordination of monetary and fiscal policy to increase demand. Coordinated monetary and fiscal policy ended the Great Depression by engineering a shift in expectations from “contractionary,” i.e. the private sector expected future economic contraction and deflation, to “expansionary,” i.e. the public expected future economic expansion and inflation. The expectation of higher future inflation lowered the real rate of interest, thus stimulating demand, while the expectation of higher future income stimulated demand by raising permanent income.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

What brought the Great Depression to an end? In my view, the recovery was driven by a shift in expectations. President Roosevelt's programs caused this shift. With regard to money, FDR abolished the gold standard. More importantly, he said his official aim was to push up prices to where they were before the Depression. As to government spending programs, he increased deficit spending. This amounts to the government expanding credit. It made his policy goals possible and believable. The key to recovery was managing public expectations about reaching those future goals.

The new approach meant that all policies should increase demand for goods in the overall economy. These coordinated policies ended the Great Depression. They did this by shifting public expectations. Private businesses and consumers had been expecting future economic contraction—that is, lower production and lower prices. Instead they were led to expect economic growth and rising prices. Expecting higher prices made it easier for businesses to borrow and invest and hire more workers. This in turn pushed up consumer demand as well. That is, consumers could expect higher future income, and so their demand for goods rose.

*Original Document Source:* Gauti B. Eggertsson, Staff Report 234, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, December 2005.  
Available online at [https://www.newyorkfed.org/medialibrary/media/research/staff\\_reports/sr234.pdf](https://www.newyorkfed.org/medialibrary/media/research/staff_reports/sr234.pdf).

This passage is from another secondary source. It expresses a critical view of the New Deal. The passage is from "Ask a Scholar: Did the New Deal End the Great Depression?" by Steven Horwitz, and posted online at the website of the National Association of Scholars, September 14, 2011.

### Original Document

When judging the effectiveness of deficit spending, one should also go back before FDR to Hoover. Hoover ran large budget deficits (as a percentage of the total amount of federal government spending) during his final two or three years in office, and FDR argued in the 1932 campaign that those were a bad idea. Those budget deficits, which by that measure were never exceeded in size by FDR until the war, not only did not help, they occurred while the Depression was very quickly getting much worse.

The other problem with deficit spending as a cure is that the real challenge depressed economies face is a lack of investment, not consumption. Private sector recovery requires a recovery in expenditures that generate growth, such as investment in machines and buildings. Investment spending like this makes labor more productive and helps firms make things more cheaply. The New Deal did not significantly improve private investment. It actually retarded its growth because so many of FDR's new programs, as well as his rhetoric, were perceived as threatening the private sector's profits, so investors held off making long-term commitments until the business climate was better, both before and after the war.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

To judge deficit spending, look back before FDR to Hoover. President Hoover ran large budget deficits (as a percentage of total federal spending). He did this during his last two or three years in office. In the 1932 campaign, FDR said this was a bad idea. FDR never exceeded Hoover's budget deficits until the war. Yet the Hoover deficits did not help. In fact, they occurred while the Depression was quickly getting much worse.

Here is the big problem with deficit spending: The real challenge depressed economies face is a lack of investment, not consumption. Private sector recovery requires increased expenditures that generate growth. This means expenditures such as investment in machines and buildings. Investment spending like this makes labor more productive. This then helps firms make things more cheaply. The New Deal did not significantly improve private investment. In fact, it actually prevented its growth. That's because business owners felt that many of FDR's new programs, and his rhetoric, threatened the private sector's profits. As a result, investors delayed making long-term decisions to invest. They did this until the business climate was better, both just before and after the war.

*Original Document Source:* Steven Horwitz, "Ask a Scholar: Did the New Deal End the Great Depression?" National Association of Scholars, September 4, 2011. [https://www.nas.org/articles/Ask\\_a\\_Scholar\\_Did\\_the\\_New\\_Deal\\_End\\_the\\_Great\\_Depression](https://www.nas.org/articles/Ask_a_Scholar_Did_the_New_Deal_End_the_Great_Depression).

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ In a 1932 speech, Roosevelt said, “The country needs, and unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something.” Pretend it is 1939. Write a newspaper editorial commenting on and evaluating this statement by Roosevelt. In your editorial, refer to the views of at least three of the sources for this lesson.
- ◆ The National Recovery Administration (NRA) was an early New Deal program. It had the power to approve codes for each industry. The codes set minimum prices for each industry’s products. This was supposed to help businesses earn enough to survive. The rules also set minimum wages and maximum hours for workers in the industry. In 1935, the Supreme Court ruled that the NRA was unconstitutional and could not continue to operate. Write letters from Abraham Epstein (Primary Source 3.3), Ralph Bunche (Primary Source 3.6), and Henry Morgenthau (Primary Source 3.8) to President Roosevelt. Each letter should explain what its author feels about the Supreme Court’s decision and what Roosevelt should do now that the NRA has to shut down.
- ◆ In a small group, discuss Secondary Sources 3.9 and 3.10. If needed, find out more about the overall views of these authors. Then choose two of the lesson’s primary sources that best support each author’s view of the New Deal. Your group should be prepared to briefly explain to the class the reasons for its choices.

### Taking Action

- ◆ Perhaps the most popular New Deal program today is Social Security. However, many people worry about how Social Security will continue to be funded in the future. One key aspect of the problem is that, on average, people live much longer today than they did in the 1930s. More are surviving and receiving Social Security than ever before. Many experts say a long-term funding shortfall is likely unless either benefits are reduced or taxes for Social Security are raised. Prepare for a debate on this topic.
- ◆ Write a persuasive letter to your congressperson arguing your views on Social Security.



## The New Deal Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a way relevant to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development and Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

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## Sources for Further Study

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# Selma

*What Was Its Importance in the Civil Rights Movement?*





## Overview

### Introduction

On January 2, 1965, African Americans in Selma, Alabama, violated a court order there preventing mass meetings on voting rights. This decision marked the start of involvement by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Selma's voting rights struggle. A meeting was held at a local church. Over the next two months, blacks marched and tried to register, but they were turned away, beaten, and driven through the streets. Slowly, national attention turned to Selma. President Johnson had discussed the situation with Dr. King. The president was sympathetic but hesitated to push for new voting rights laws. The dramatic attention Selma attracted helped generate the public support Johnson needed to push a major voting rights bill through Congress. Later that year, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and it became the law of the land. Was Selma the key turning point of the entire civil rights movement? This lesson will focus on that compelling question. In this lesson, students will work with short passages from ten primary sources. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the lesson's compelling question.

### Objectives

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about the struggle in Selma. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of view represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time.
- ◆ **D2.His.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.His.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.Civ.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.Eco.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.

- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.
- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.
- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

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### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

### Compelling Question

What was the importance of Selma in the civil rights movement?

### Preparation

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.

#### Asking Questions about Selma



*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

### Day One

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the lesson’s overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this lesson. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.



#### Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

### Day Two

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group’s compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.



7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about Selma from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, or a PowerPoint or similar type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### **Day Three**

8. Each group will deliver its presentation (prepared by the students as their final task on Day Two). Following each presentation, allow time for class discussion and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### **Communicating Results and Taking Action**

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the lesson's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the Selma Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### **Communicating Results**

- ◆ Ask students to imagine they are residents of Selma in 1965. Have them write at least four entries in a personal journal for four different dates between January 1 and April 1, 1965. The dates they choose should have some significance in terms of the struggle taking place. In each entry, students should refer in some way to at least one of the primary sources for this lesson and make clear why that source was chosen.
- ◆ Ask a small group of students to view the 2014 film *Selma*, starring David Oyelowo as Martin Luther King Jr. and Tom Wilkinson as President Lyndon B. Johnson. Ask the group to find several reviews of the film, some praising it and others criticizing it. Based on their own reactions to the film and the reviews they find, the group should prepare a brief talk on the film and its value as a historical interpretation of the events in Selma in 1965. The group should choose three primary sources from this lesson that seem most important in evaluating the film. The group's presentation should include a detailed discussion of these sources.
- ◆ Not everyone in the Selma struggle was happy when Martin Luther King Jr. asked everyone on March 9 to turn around on the Edmund Pettus Bridge and return to Selma. This day became known as "Turnaround Tuesday." Separate students into small groups. Ask half the groups to make a case for turning around. Ask the other groups to make a case for continuing the march that day. Have each group choose two primary sources to use in making its case. Each group will present its case in a brief talk to the class.

*Taking Action*

- ◆ The Voting Rights Act of 1965 helped transform the South. It enabled the federal government to send federal examiners to register black voters in certain cases. It put an end to literacy tests in any state where less than 50 percent of the voting-age population had been registered or had voted in the 1964 election. In time, blacks began voting in large numbers. Many southern districts began electing black officeholders, and that trend has continued to the present. However, controversies about the Voting Rights Act continue to make news today. Have students use the Internet to find stories about the Voting Rights Act and the issues connected to it today. Ask students to create a presentation about the Voting Rights Act with a focus on what people need to know about it today. Incorporate materials and sources used in this lesson. Invite parents, others in the community, and news media to a showing of the presentation and a follow-up discussion.

## Introductory Essay

# Selma



*Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. giving his “I Have a Dream” speech during the March on Washington on August 28, 1963.*

In August 1963, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his inspiring “I Have a Dream” speech at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC. It was one of the high points of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and ’60s. Next year, another great milestone was reached with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed segregated public facilities throughout the country. It put an end to the era of legalized Jim Crow segregation, yet for millions of African Americans, little seemed to change. One very crucial right was still denied most southern blacks—the right to vote.

Southern white officials used many tactics to keep African Americans from registering to vote. These included complicated literacy tests, threats of job loss, threats of eviction from homes, and outright violence. One town where these tactics worked was

Selma, in Dallas County, Alabama. In 1964, 15,115 African Americans over age 21 lived in Dallas County. Only 335 of them were registered to vote. White voters elected white officials who ruled blacks and made sure they stayed in their place. The threat of violence hung in the air. Most blacks felt hopeless about even trying to register to vote. Fear kept them from speaking out at all. Change seemed a far-distant dream. As 1964 came to an end, however, dramatic change was about to transform Selma, and the nation, forever. Selma was to be the scene of perhaps the civil rights movement's most successful struggle.

Even before 1964, attempts were made to register black voters in Selma. Local African Americans had been working for some time with organizers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC sought to win small gains and change attitudes among both blacks and whites. Their efforts had not been very successful, but they had created a network of supporters in the area.

What boosted the struggle and attracted the nation's attention was the arrival on the scene of Dr. King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

King and SCLC had already captured the world's attention with their dramatic marches, speeches, and protests. Religiously inspired activists practiced disciplined nonviolence in SCLC-led direct actions. Often they were met with police dogs, fire hoses, official and unofficial brutality, and violent death. Slowly, the contrast of peaceful protest and violent response began to win over the public.

President Johnson had discussed the situation with Dr. King. Johnson was sympathetic but was not ready to push for a new voting rights law. He did not yet see enough support for it in the nation or Congress. The movement in Selma set out to win that support. King and SCLC began their involvement in Selma on January 2, 1965. On that day, they violated a court order preventing mass meetings in Selma. They held such a meeting at a local church. Over the next two months, blacks marched and tried to register, only to be turned away, beaten, and driven through the streets. Slowly, national attention turned to Selma.

Organizers decided to march from Selma to Alabama's capitol in Montgomery, fifty-four miles away. On March 7, 600 people headed across the Edmund Pettus Bridge



*Martin Luther King Jr. (center) in the front line of the third march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to campaign for proper registration of black voters, March 21, 1965.*



out to the edge of Selma's town limits. There, Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark and his deputies violently assaulted the march and broke it up. The TV images of the brutality stunned the nation. Dr. King issued a call for help, and hundreds of citizens, activists, and especially priests, nuns, ministers, and Jewish rabbis began to descend on the tiny town of Selma. They came prepared to march on Montgomery again on Tuesday, March 9. However, a court injunction against the march threatened to derail the event. Fearing for the safety of the marchers, King decided to turn around on the Edmund Pettus Bridge and return the marchers to Selma for the time being.



*Turnaround Tuesday: Andrew Young (left) and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. look on as a federal marshal reads a court order to halt the protest march in Selma on March 9, 1965.*

This “Turnaround Tuesday” march was a huge disappointment to many activists. It brought to the surface tensions between the SNCC and SCLC that had been there all along. SNCC’s young and militant activists focused mainly on mobilizing local black residents to fight segregation in their own backyards. King and SCLC focused more on arousing national support, not only for Selma blacks but also for the Voting Rights Act for the entire nation. Above all, King insisted on protecting the nonviolent character of the entire protest.

Tensions of this sort would persist in the years ahead. However, in Selma the two approaches may both have helped achieve the final goal. In a few days, the judge lifted the injunction. The third and final march would begin on March 21 and troops would protect it. Meanwhile, on March 15, President Johnson spoke to the nation urging Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act. The march to Montgomery did reach its final destination. The Voting Rights Act passed in August.

It took many years to overcome white resistance and get African Americans registered to vote. In time, they did register, and their votes did transform political life throughout the South. Was Selma the key turning point of the entire civil rights movement? The primary sources for this lesson will help you decide the importance of the struggle in Selma. They should help you to see how the courage and determination of ordinary citizens can change a nation.

Image Sources: U.S. Information Agency, Martin Luther King Jr. delivering his “I Have a Dream” speech during the March on Washington, August 28, 1963, National Archives and Records Administration, photograph 542069. Available online at <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/542069>.  
Martin Luther King Jr. and civil rights marchers cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma heading for the capitol in Montgomery, Alabama, March 21, 1965, © Associated Press, photograph 606985813894. Available online at <http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Selma-Bridge-KKK-Leader/30025eed836640baa5977ffd48cd4586/1/0>.  
Andrew Young and Martin Luther King Jr. as a federal marshal reads a court order halting voter registration protest march in Selma, March 9, 1965, © Associated Press, photograph 16194641493476. Available online at <http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Police-Shootings-Atlanta-Protests/37cf3aa17f994bf19545cc5b583a4fd1/1/0>.



## History Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

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### *Selma*

Your group's task is to explore history issues related to Selma and its place in the civil rights movement. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Why was Martin Luther King Jr.'s presence in Selma so important to the impact the events there had on the nation?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 4.3, 4.4, and 4.9.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Martin Luther King Jr. first became a civil rights leader during the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1955–1956. Before then, he had been a theology student. His religious philosophy of nonviolent protest guided blacks in Montgomery to victory. It also won the admiration of millions of Americans. On August 28, 1963, King gave his famous “I Have a Dream” speech at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC. There, he spoke to more than 200,000 men and women from all over the nation.

King's fame and his stress on nonviolence helped his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) attract sympathy nationwide. Some of the younger activists in Selma resented his fame. A few also questioned his insistence on disciplined nonviolence. Before SCLC came to Selma, some of those activists had already risked their lives there trying to register blacks to vote. Yet it was King who held the nation's attention. It was King who could attract thousands needed to make Selma a key showdown. King

also had direct access to President Lyndon Johnson. Johnson's backing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was what turned Selma from a local struggle into a huge victory for the entire civil rights movement.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 4.3

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Primary Source 4.4

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Primary Source 4.9

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Why was Martin Luther King Jr.'s presence in Selma so important to the impact the events there had on the nation?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.





## Civics Group

### GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *Selma*

Your group's task is to explore the civics issues related to the events at Selma. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Voting rights became the central issue for the civil rights movement in 1965. Why do you think that issue became central at that particular time?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 4.1, 4.4, and 4.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s went through several changes. In 1954, Thurgood Marshall and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) won a very big early victory. They convinced the Supreme Court to outlaw racially segregated schools. About a year later, in Montgomery, Alabama, another leader emerged—Martin Luther King Jr. King was able to mobilize the religious, spiritual, and political resources of his people. In Montgomery, he led a boycott to desegregate the buses. It was a battle that made him famous. In the early 1960s, activists led marches and boycotts all over the South. Their goal was to end segregation on buses, in restaurants, and in all other public facilities. In response, President Lyndon Johnson led Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It outlawed legal Jim Crow segregation in all forms.

Yet, in much of the South, little had changed. Many African Americans still lived in fear of whites. What enabled fear to rule was the inability of

many blacks to register and vote. Only with the right to vote could they elect officials willing to enforce their rights. By 1965, it was clear that the right to vote was now the central issue. It was the key to ensuring all the other gains the movement had made by then.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 4.1

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Primary Source 4.4

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Primary Source 4.10

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## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Voting rights became the central issue for the civil rights movement in 1965. Why do you think that issue became central at that particular time?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Economics Group

### GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *Selma*

Your group's task is to explore the economic issues related to the Selma confrontation. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

The mid-1960s was a fairly prosperous age for a growing middle class in the North. It was also the early era of TV news coverage. How might those factors have helped make Selma a successful moment in the civil rights struggle?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 4.5, 4.8, and 4.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

During the 1950s and '60s, the civil rights struggle erupted as a prosperous and growing middle class was moving to the suburbs. Not everyone enjoyed this comfortable lifestyle, yet millions did, especially in the North. At first, only a few of them owned television sets. However, in 1957, millions were able to watch as federal troops protected black students desegregating Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. In the coming years, more and more Americans watched civil rights clashes in the streets from the comfort of their homes. Violence against Freedom Riders in 1960, the 1963 bombing of a church in Birmingham resulting in the deaths of four little girls, the fire hoses and police dogs that Sheriff Bull Connor unleashed on protesters in Birmingham—these stark images had a huge impact on Americans viewing them at home.



In Selma, the images of “Bloody Sunday,” on March 7, 1965, also shocked the nation. Supportive marches in Montgomery a few days later led to another violent clash with sheriff’s deputies on horseback. The next day, King told the nation, “We are here to say to the white men that we no longer will let them use clubs on us in the dark corners. We’re going to make them do it in the glaring light of television.”

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group’s compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 4.5

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Primary Source 4.8

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Primary Source 4.10

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### **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group’s own compelling question. Here is that question again:

The mid-1960s was a fairly prosperous age for a growing middle class in the North. It was also the early era of TV news coverage. How might those factors have helped make Selma a successful moment in the civil rights struggle?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Geography Group

### GROUP MEMBERS:

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## Selma

Your group's task is to explore the geography issues related to the events in Selma. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Selma is located along the northern edge of the Black Belt in Alabama.  
How does that help explain why the issue of voting rights was so explosive there?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 4.2, 4.6, and 4.8.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The “Black Belt” extends from Virginia to the delta of the Mississippi River. This region was the setting for large cotton and tobacco plantations in the age of slavery. In the 1960s, it was still worked mainly by sharecroppers and tenant farmers, black and white. African Americans were still a majority of the population of these counties. (The “black” in *Black Belt* refers as much to the population as to the soil.) Blacks were a majority, yet they were still under total white control. Poverty, racism, and government-imposed racial segregation were brutal facts of life. If political officials did not do enough to control blacks, others would. Groups of ordinary white citizens were all too ready to use threats, terror, and even lynchings to maintain segregation in all areas of life.

Selma was located in Dallas County, on the northern edge of Alabama's Black Belt. In 1963, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) began trying to register voters in Dallas County. Threats, beatings,

and a court injunction thwarted them. Most blacks were afraid to support them openly. After two years, the SNCC had raised black registration to a mere 335 out of 15,000 eligible voters. It was clear a much more dramatic effort was needed. Racial justice would not come easily to this part of the South.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 4.2

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Primary Source 4.6

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Primary Source 4.8

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Selma is located along the northern edge of the Black Belt in Alabama.  
How does that help explain why the issue of voting rights was so explosive there?



State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will study several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special historical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

No primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, so you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, then you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

Until 1965, many Southern states used literacy tests and various other tactics to keep African Americans from being able to register to vote. This Alabama literacy test is an example. This is just a sample of questions that registrants had to answer. Registrars could vary how strictly they enforced these standards and who they actually required to take such tests. Blacks were also kept from registering with the threat of violence, of being fired from their jobs, and of being evicted from their homes.

### Original Document

“B”

1. What body can try impeachments of the president of the United States?

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Check the applicable definition for responsibility?

\_\_\_\_\_ a duty

\_\_\_\_\_ a speech

\_\_\_\_\_ failure

3. Name the attorney general of the United States. \_\_\_\_\_

4. Women may now serve on juries in Alabama State court. \_\_\_\_\_

“C”

1. If a person charged with treason denies his guilt, how many persons must testify against him before he can be convicted? \_\_\_\_\_

2. At what time of day on January 20 each four years does the term of the president of the United States end? \_\_\_\_\_

3. If the president does not wish to sign a bill, how many days is he allowed in which to return it to Congress for reconsideration? \_\_\_\_\_

4. If a bill is passed by Congress and the President refuses to sign it and does not send it back to Congress in session within the specified period of time, is the bill defeated or does it become law? \_\_\_\_\_

Original Document Source: "Alabama Voter Literacy Test (c. 1965)." Available online from Civil Rights Movement Veterans, hosted by Bruce Hartford and Tougaloo College, <http://www.crmvet.org/info/littest.htm>.

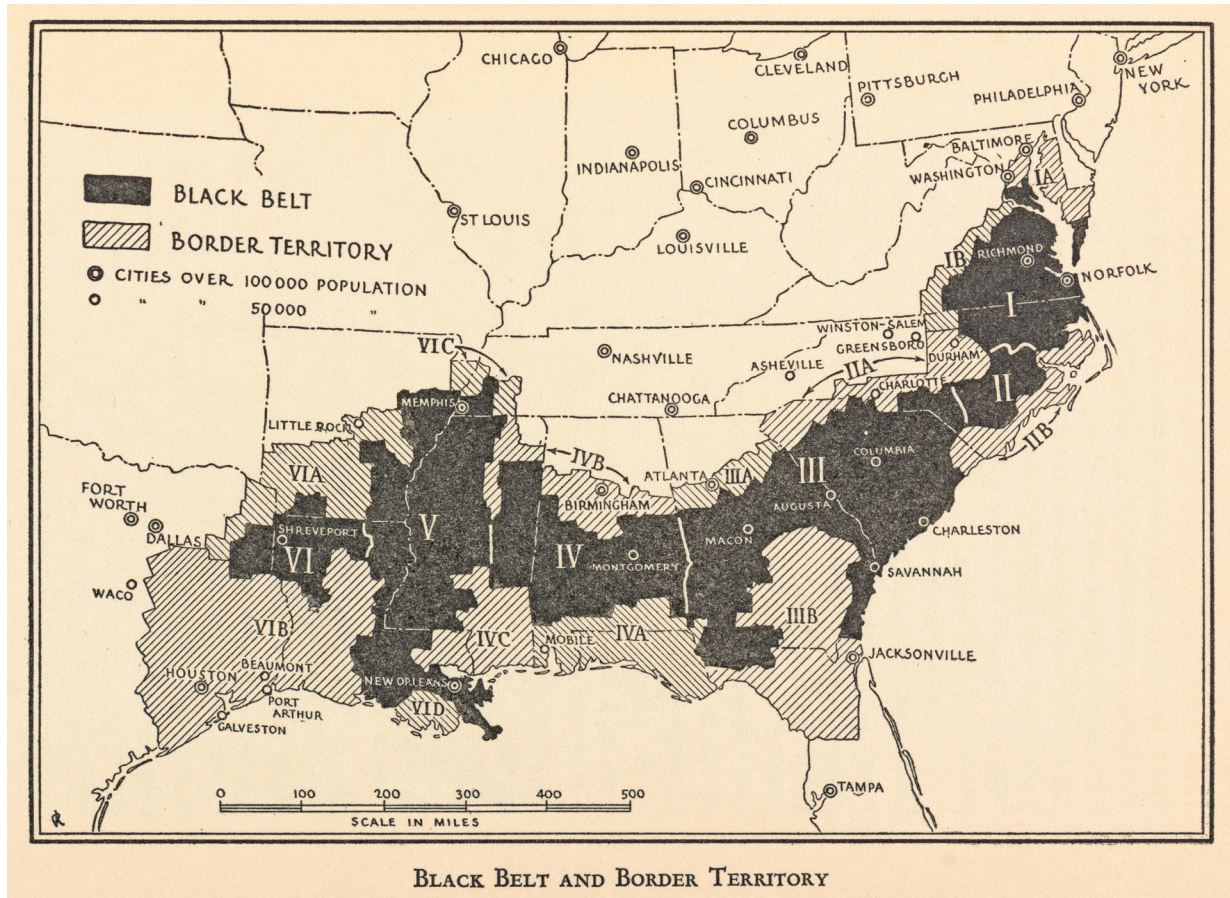


PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

4.2

## The Black Belt

Well into the era of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, many counties in the so-called Black Belt were more than 50 percent African American. Most of these people were impoverished tenants and sharecroppers. Almost none were registered to vote.



Original Document Source: James S. Allen, *The Negro Question in the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1936).



## Inviting SCLC and Martin Luther King Jr. to Selma

In 1963, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Dallas County Voters League (DCVL) organized a voting rights campaign in Selma, Alabama. In July 1964, a judge issued an injunction forbidding mass meetings by the groups involved in this campaign. In late 1964, activists appealed to Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to come to Selma and help them defy the injunction. SCLC agreed to help, and January 2, 1965, was set as the date to defy the injunction and start the campaign. This passage by the Reverend F. D. Reese describes this situation.

**Original Document**

Since Mass Meetings were now prohibited, we could not rally Black people as in the past. The injunction prohibited Mass Meetings in churches, but not meetings all together. Officers of the Dallas County Voters League and a few local citizens continued meeting after the injunction was issued by Judge Johnson. . . . We met in homes and offices to plan. There were eight of us. We became known as “The Courageous Eight”. . . .

In late 1964, SNCC’s finances were dwindling. This organization was also beginning to experience internal differences regarding philosophies. The organization’s effectiveness was waning in Dallas County. While the registering of Black voters was progressing, we felt that the Movement in Dallas County was going to stall. Those of us who had the vision knew the Movement in Dallas County had to be elevated to another level. We had no choice. Representatives of the Dallas County Voter’s League and several local citizens met at the home of Mrs. Amelia Boynton one evening. Mrs. Boynton was an extremely courageous woman. Her husband was the president of the Dallas County Voter’s League before I was elected. The Courageous Eight invited representatives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to the meeting at Mrs. Boynton’s home. It was at this meeting that we formally invited SCLC and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to come to Selma.

*Original Document Source: The Selma Campaign, 1963–1965: The Decisive Battle of the Civil Rights Movement, ed. Wally G. Vaughn and Mattie Campbell Davis (Dover, MA: The Majority Press, 2006), 42–43.*

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

4.4

## King and LBJ on the Phone

By early 1965, President Lyndon Johnson still did not see enough support in Congress or the country at large for passing a voting rights law. On January 15, 1965, he talked about this on the phone with Dr. King. He encouraged King to look for a way to dramatize voting discrimination that would build support for a new Voting Rights Act. King and SCLC had recently decided to get involved in the Selma voter registration campaign. The upheaval in Selma in March would provide the dramatic example Johnson seemed to want. Johnson introduced the proposed Voting Rights Act even as the events in Selma were unfolding. This transcript is part of that January 15 telephone conversation between President Johnson and Martin Luther King.

**Original Document**

**King:** And it's very interesting, Mr. President, to notice that the only states that you didn't carry in the South—five southern states—have less than 40 percent of the Negroes registered to vote. Very interesting to notice that and I think professors at the University of Texas, in a recent article, brought this out very clearly, so it demonstrates that it's so important to get Negroes registered in large numbers in the South, and it would be this coalition of the Negro vote and the moderate white vote that will really make the New South.

**President Johnson:** That's exactly right. I think it's very important that we not say that we're doing this and we're not doing [this] just because it's Negroes or whites, but we take the position that every person born in this country, when they reach a certain age, that he have a right to vote, just like he has a right to fight [chuckles], and that we just extend it whether it's a Negro, or whether it's a Mexican, or who it is. . . . And number two, I think that we don't want special privilege for anybody. We want equality for all, and we can stand on that principle, but I think that you can contribute a great deal by getting your leaders and you, yourself, taking very simple examples of discrimination where a man's got to memorize [Henry Wadsworth] Longfellow, or whether he's got to quote the first ten amendments, or he's got to tell you what Amendment 15 and 16 and 17 is, and then ask them if they know and show what happens, and some people don't have to do that, but when a Negro comes in, he's got to do it. And if we can just repeat and repeat and repeat . . . if you just take a simple thing and repeat it often enough, even if it wasn't true, why, people'd accept it. Well, now, this is true, and if you can find the worst condition that you run into in Alabama, Mississippi, or Louisiana, or South Carolina where—well, I think one the worst I ever heard of is the president of the school at Tuskegee [Institute], or the head of the Government Department there, or something, being denied the right to cast a vote, and if you just take that one illustration and get it on radio, and get it on television, and get it on . . . in the pulpits, and get it in the meetings, get it every place you can, pretty

CONTINUED



soon the fellow that didn't do anything but follow—drive a tractor, he'll say, "Well, that's not right, that's not fair."

**King:** Yes.

**President Johnson:** And then that will help us on what we're going to shove through in the end.

**King:** Yes. You're exactly right about that.

**President Johnson:** And if we do that, we'll break through as—it'll be the greatest breakthrough of anything, not even excepting this '64 act, I think the greatest achievement of my administration. I think the greatest achievement in foreign policy—I said to a group yesterday—was the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But I think this'll be bigger, because it'll do things that even that '64 Act couldn't do.

#### **Adapted Version**

**King:** Mr. President, it's interesting to notice that in the last election, the only five southern states you didn't win have less than 40 percent of the Negroes registered to vote. Some professors at the University of Texas commented on this in a recent article. It shows how important it is to get Negroes registered in large numbers in the South. A coalition of the Negro vote and the moderate white vote could then really make a New South.

**President Johnson:** That's exactly right. It's important that we don't say we are doing this just because it's Negroes or whites. We need to say it's because every person born in this country at a certain age has a right to vote, just as he has a right to fight, whether it's a Negro, or a Mexican, or whoever. And number two, we say we don't want special privileges for anybody. We want equality for all. We can stand on that principle. But I also think that you can contribute a great deal by getting your leaders and you to show some very simple examples of voting discrimination. For example, rules forcing a man to memorize Longfellow, or quote the first ten amendments, or explain what Amendment 15 and 16 and 17 is. Then you need to show how some people don't have to do that. But when a Negro comes in, he's got to do it. If you can just repeat a simple thing often enough, even if it wasn't true, why, people will accept it. Well, now, this IS true. And also, find

CONTINUED

the worst example you can of someone being denied a right to vote in Alabama, Mississippi, or Louisiana, or South Carolina. I think one the worst I ever heard of is the president of the school at Tuskegee. Or the head of the Government Department there. And then you take that one illustration and get it on radio, on television, in the pulpits, or in the meetings. Get it every place you can. Pretty soon the ordinary fellow who just drives a tractor will say, "Well, that's not right, that's not fair."

**King:** Yes.

**President Johnson:** And then that will help us on what we're going to shove through in the end.

**King:** Yes. You're exactly right about that.

**President Johnson:** And if we do that, we'll break through. It'll be the greatest breakthrough of anything, even more than this '64 act. I think it will be the greatest achievement of my administration. I told a group yesterday that the greatest achievement in foreign policy was the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But I think this'll be bigger. It'll do things that even that '64 act couldn't do.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

4.5

**"Bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965**

March 7, 1965, was "Bloody Sunday" in Selma. As marchers started out for Montgomery, sheriff's deputies, state troopers, and others blocked them on the other side of the Edmund Pettus Bridge leading out of Selma. The marchers, including SNCC chairman John Lewis (foreground), were brutally beaten and driven back, and the march was called off. This photo shows the police attack on the Selma-to-Montgomery march that day.



*Original Document Source: "State Troopers Swing Billy Clubs to Break up the March in Selma," March 7, 1965, in AP Was There: The Selma to Montgomery March, by Associated Press. Available online from AP Interactives at <http://interactives.ap.org/interactives/2015/selma/>.*



## Prathia Hall Remembers "Bloody Sunday"

In this passage, Selma SNCC organizer Prathia Hall recalls Bloody Sunday. As she suggests here, the philosophy of nonviolence was not easy to follow, and some tensions about it did develop between SNCC and SCLC. According to one account, "By the end of the day, 100 of the 600 marchers require medical attention for fractured skulls, broken teeth and limbs, gas poisoning, and whip lashes."

**Original Document**

On Bloody Sunday, March 7, 1965, I was at the Atlanta SNCC office when a call came from . . . Selma. Over the phone we could hear screams of people who were being attacked. SNCC immediately chartered a plane so that people could go to Selma right away. As the group was ready to leave, [SNCC activist] Judy Richardson said, "Wait a minute, there are no women in this group. Where's Prathia?" And so I went.

It was a very traumatic time for me. When we got there we saw what had happened. It was a bloody mess; people's heads had been beaten; they'd been gassed. Of course we held a rally. At the meeting people were angry; they, too, had been traumatized. One man stood up and said, "I was out on the bridge today because I thought it was right. But while I was on the bridge, [Dallas County Sheriff] Jim Clark came to my house and tear-gassed my eighty-year-old mother, and next time he comes to my house, I'm going to be ready." Everybody understood what that meant. People had lived their lives basically sleeping with guns beside their beds—that was just a part of the culture. These were people who were struggling to be nonviolent, who in their hearts and spirits were not a violent people, but they also had notions of self-defense.

*Original Document Source:* Prathia Hall, "Bloody Sunday and Its Aftermath," in *Hands on the Freedom Plow: Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC*, ed. Faith S. Holsaert, Martha Prescod Norman Noonan, Judy Richardson, et al. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 471.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

4.7

**"Turnaround Tuesday," March 9, 1965**

The violence of "Bloody Sunday" attracted nationwide attention. Dr. King sent telegrams calling on "clergy of all faiths, representatives of every part of the country, to join me in Selma for a ministers' march to Montgomery on Tuesday morning, March 9." King decided to delay the march to avoid violating a court order prohibiting them from marching to Montgomery. The photo shows a federal marshal reading the court order. King and the other leaders (including Andrew Young, to King's right) told the marchers to turn back before any violence could occur.



*Original Document Source: "Andrew Young and Martin Luther King Jr. Look on as a Federal Marshal Reads a Court Order Halting Voter Registration Protest March in Selma," March 9, 1965, © Associated Press, photograph 16194641493476. Available online from AP Images at <http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Police-Shootings-Atlanta-Protests/37cf3aa17f994bf19545cc5b583a4fd1/1/0>.*



## Selma: From a Local Struggle to a National Crusade

A large number of ministers, rabbis, civil rights activists, and others from the North responded to King's March 7 telegram calling on them to come to Selma. In this passage, SCLC staff member Charles Fager describes what happened.

**Original Document**

[An] impressive spirit and welcome had been shown by the black community of Selma to the horde of outside visitors which coursed through its mainly dirt streets in these days. Most of the local blacks knew little of white people except what they had learned in the context of the Black Belt's segregated, crazy-quilt class structure; and they were thus amazed and astonished to see first scores and then hundreds of men and women of the same shade now coming to stand with them as they attempted to make a dent in this system. For years afterward they would speak of these pilgrims coming as perhaps the most moving aspect of the most vivid period of their lives. And they responded with a rush of hospitality, treating practically every obscure clergyman with a bedroll as if he were a visiting church primate.

Soon enough the benches and floors of Brown Chapel and First Baptist were littered each night after the mass meetings with the tired, uncomfortable bodies of people, usually the latest arrivals, trying to sleep as best they could. But this was because almost every house with a spare bed—and many without—had taken in as many of the hundreds of visitors as they could hold. At Good Samaritan Hospital a wing that had been recently closed was hastily reopened and the floor carpeted with old mattresses. Under the attentions of Father Ouellet and Sister Michael Ann, Good Samaritan's administrator, it became a hostel for religious people, particularly the steady stream of Catholic nuns and priests. In their humble houses the hosts plied their guests with the best meals they could afford, and many a stranger developed a lingering taste for collard greens and sweet potato pie in the course of a short stay. At the churches, a corps of intent, perspiring women labored all day and into each night frying heaps of chicken and baking large oblong pans full of warm, crumbly corn bread, for once cooking meals for white folks with all the pride anyone could ask for.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

The black community of Selma welcomed in a horde of outside visitors who appeared on its mainly dirt streets in these days. Most local blacks knew little of white people except what they had learned in the Black Belt's segregated, crazy-quilt class structure. They were thus amazed and astonished to see hundreds of white men and women coming to stand with them as they attempted to make a dent in this system. For years afterward they would speak of these pilgrims coming as one of the most moving aspect of this most vivid period of their lives. They responded with a rush of hospitality. Every unknown clergyman with a bedroll was treated as if he were a major church leader.

Soon these tired visitors filled the benches and floors of Brown Chapel and First Baptist each night after the mass meetings. The latest arrivals tried to sleep there as best they could. By then, almost every house with a spare bed—and many without—had taken in as many of the visitors as they could hold. At Good Samaritan Hospital a recently closed wing was hastily reopened. The floor was carpeted with old mattresses. Father Ouellet and Sister Michael Ann, Good Samaritan's administrator, turned it into a hostel for religious people, particularly the steady stream of Catholic nuns and priests. In their humble houses, the hosts fed their guests the best meals they could afford. Many a stranger developed a lingering taste for collard greens and sweet potato pie. At the churches, a corps of intent, perspiring women labored all day and into each night frying heaps of chicken and baking large oblong pans full of warm, crumbly corn bread. For once, they cooked meals for white folks with all the pride anyone could ask for.

*Original Document Source:* Charles Fager, *Selma 1965: The March That Changed the South*, fiftieth anniversary edition (Durham, NC: Kimo Press, 2015), 147–48.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

4.9

## March 21: Finally, On to Montgomery

On March 17, the judge removed his court order prohibiting the march to Montgomery. As a result, the third and final march to Montgomery got under way on March 21. This time, President Johnson ensured the marchers' safety by putting Alabama National Guard soldiers under federal control.



*Original Document Source:* "Martin Luther King Jr. and Civil Rights Marchers Cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma Heading for the Capitol, Montgomery," March 21, 1965, Associated Press, photograph 606985813894. Available online from AP Images at <http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Selma-Bridge-KKK-Leader/30025eed836640baa5977ffd48cd4586/1/0>.



These passages are from President Lyndon Johnson's speech calling on Congress to pass the 1965 Voting Rights Act. He gave the speech on March 15, 1965, as marchers in Selma, Alabama, were facing brutal attacks and still waiting to find out if they would be able to march to Montgomery.

### Original Document

But rarely in any time does an issue lay bare the secret heart of America itself. Rarely are we met with a challenge, not to our growth or abundance, or our welfare or our security, but rather to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved nation. The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such an issue. And should we defeat every enemy, and should we double our wealth and conquer the stars, and still be unequal to this issue, then we will have failed as a people and as a nation. For, with a country as with a person, "what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem.

And we are met here tonight as Americans—not as Democrats or Republicans; we're met here as Americans to solve that problem. This was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded with a purpose.

The great phrases of that purpose still sound in every American heart, North and South: "All men are created equal." "Government by consent of the governed." "Give me liberty or give me death." And those are not just clever words, and those are not just empty theories. In their name Americans have fought and died for two centuries and tonight around the world they stand there as guardians of our liberty risking their lives. Those words are promised to every citizen that he shall share in the dignity of man. This dignity cannot be found in a man's possessions. It cannot be found in his power or in his position. It really rests on his right to be treated as a man equal in opportunity to all others. It says that he shall share in freedom. He shall choose his leaders, educate his children, provide for his family according to his ability and his merits as a human being. . . .

But even if we pass this bill the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause must be our cause too. Because it's not just Negroes, but really it's all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.

And we shall overcome.

*Original Document Source:* Lyndon B. Johnson, "President Johnson's Special Message to the Congress: The American Promise," March 15, 1965. Available online from the LBJ Presidential Library at <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/lyndon-baines-johnson/speeches-films/president-johnsons-special-message-to-the-congress-the-american-promise/>.

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Imagine you are a resident of Selma in 1965. Write at least four entries in a personal journal for four different dates between January 1 and April 1, 1965. The dates you choose should have some significance in terms of the struggle taking place. In each entry, refer in some way to at least one of the primary sources for this lesson and make clear why you chose that source.
- ◆ In a small group, view the 2014 film *Selma*, starring David Oyelowo as Martin Luther King Jr. and Tom Wilkinson as President Lyndon B. Johnson. Find several reviews of the film, some praising it and others criticizing it. Based on your own reactions to the film and the reviews your group found, prepare a brief talk on the film and its value as a historical interpretation of the events in Selma in 1965. Your group should choose three primary sources from this lesson that seem most important in evaluating the film. Your presentation should include a detailed discussion of these sources.

### Taking Action

- ◆ The Voting Rights Act of 1965 helped transform the South. It enabled the federal government to send federal examiners to register black voters in certain cases. It put an end to literacy tests in any state where less than 50 percent of the voting-age population had been registered or had voted in the 1964 election. In time, blacks began voting in large numbers. Many southern districts began electing black officeholders, and that trend has continued to the present. However, controversies about the Voting Rights Act continue to make news today. Use the Internet to find stories about the Voting Rights Act and the issues connected to it today. Then create a presentation about the Voting Rights Act with a focus on what people need to know about it today. Incorporate materials and sources used in this lesson.



## Selma Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a way relevant to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development and Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in-depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

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- 4.7: “Andrew Young and Martin Luther King Jr. Look on as a Federal Marshal Reads a Court Order Halting Voter Registration Protest March in Selma,” March 9, 1965. Associated Press, photograph 16194641493476. Available online from AP Images at <http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Police-Shootings-Atlanta-Protests/37cf3aa17f994b19545cc5b583a4fd1/1/0>.
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## Sources for Further Study

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# Reagan and the Russians

*Did Reagan Make the Cold War Worse, or Did He Hasten Its End?*





## Overview

### Introduction

In 1981, President Ronald Reagan famously called the Soviet Union an “evil empire.” Some welcomed his statement. Others saw it as arrogant and extreme. In any case, after 1985, Reagan began meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, with whom he appeared to get along well. Reagan sought, and in some cases achieved, major arms control agreements, and he openly encouraged the tendencies to reform he saw inside the Soviet Union. By the end of his time in office, the Soviet system was rapidly falling apart, and the Cold War was coming to a mostly peaceful end. Today, big arguments about Ronald Reagan continue. They often take the form of debates about how important he was in causing the Soviet communist system to collapse. Some see him as needlessly confrontational and belligerent. Others view his strong stance as a key factor in ending the Cold War. Did he end the Cold War, or did he only make it more tense and confrontational in its last days? This lesson will focus on that compelling question. In this lesson, students will work with short passages from ten primary sources. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the lesson’s compelling question.

### Objectives

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about Reagan and the Soviet Union. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of view represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time.
- ◆ **D2.His.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.His.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.Civ.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.Eco.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.

- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.
- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.
- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

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### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

**Compelling Question**

Did Ronald Reagan make the Cold War worse, or did he hasten its end?

**Preparation**

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.



## Asking Questions about Reagan and the Russians

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

**Day One**

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the lesson's overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this lesson. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.



## Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

**Day Two**

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group's compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.



7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about Reagan and the Russians from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, or a PowerPoint or similar type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### **Day Three**

8. Each group will deliver its presentation (prepared by the students as their final task on Day Two). Following each presentation, allow time for class discussion and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



### **Communicating Results and Taking Action**

*This part of the lesson stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the lesson's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the Reagan and the Russians Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### **Communicating Results**

- ◆ Ask students to write a brief essay explaining what developments in the Soviet Union from 1981 to 1988 might have led Reagan to change his tone and approach to the Soviet Union during those years. In their essays, students should closely analyze at least three of the primary sources for this lesson and use them as evidence to support their essay's conclusions.
- ◆ Separate students into small groups. Have each group read and discuss Primary Source 5.10. In their discussions, ask each group to consider events in Russia and the world since 1988. Have each group find one or two relevant news stories to discuss. Then have them address the following question: "Do you think Reagan's optimistic tone in Primary Source 5.10 was foolish, or might it still be considered realistic today?" Each group should arrive at an answer and prepare a brief presentation to the class. The presentation should summarize the group's views and relate them to the news stories they have discussed.
- ◆ Separate students into small groups. Have each group discuss Primary Sources 5.2., 5.3., 5.4, 5.6, and 5.8. Have each student take the part of Lech Waleśa, Ronald Reagan, Randall Forsberg, Anthony Lewis, or Natan Sharansky. Help the group do further research into these five individuals. Then ask them to prepare and perform a brief role-play discussion about Reagan and his policies in the last years of the Cold War.

*Taking Action*

- ◆ On November 9, 1989, the communist government of East Germany announced that its citizens could visit West Germany and West Berlin. Within hours, thousands of East Germans climbed over the Berlin Wall freely for the first time since it was built in 1961. More than any other, this event marked the approaching end of Soviet communist control over Eastern Europe. Ask students to interview older family members and friends and record their memories of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Ask those interviewed what they remember and what they felt about the meaning and significance of that historic event. Compile these stories into a report and send it to local newspapers or other print or digital outlets and urge these outlets to publish it.
- ◆ Based on the work in the previous assignment, use social media to share with others some of the interview accounts collected. Ask those contacted in this way to comment on these accounts and share their own ideas as to the meaning of the events of November 9, 1989.

## Introductory Essay

# *Reagan and the Russians*



*President Ronald Reagan*

The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought into existence the world's first communist nation. Renamed the Soviet Union, it developed rapidly into a powerful, industrialized society. It also imposed a ruthless dictatorship on its people, especially during the rule of Joseph Stalin.

Just after World War II, the Soviet Union also imposed communist dictatorships on most of Eastern Europe. These governments allowed no real individual freedom. Life in Eastern Europe became dull and uniform, and people were frozen in fear about speaking out or seeking reform of any sort. Meanwhile, Western European nations under U.S. leadership became locked in a long “cold war” rivalry with the Soviet

Union. That rivalry remained “cold,” or nonmilitary, in large part because of nuclear weapons. Each side built up huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them. Both sides accepted the need to have enough of these weapons to destroy the other side. The idea was that this would keep each side from ever using these weapons. The acronym MAD—for mutual assured destruction—captured that notion well.

By the early 1980s, the Soviet Union faced growing troubles. The Soviets continued to spend huge amounts on defense. They deployed a new array of medium-range nuclear missiles aimed at Europe. They became bogged down in a brutal war in Afghanistan. Their economy was failing to grow. Long lines at stores and shortages of goods everywhere made life dreary and frustrating. Unrest in Eastern Europe especially was deepening. An early sign of this came in Poland 1980, when Solidarity, the region’s first truly independent trade union, emerged. Solidarity was led by an electrician named Lech Wałęsa. Solidarity got a huge boost from the support of another Pole, the new head of the Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II. This clash with Poland’s communist leadership encouraged others seeking change in Eastern Europe. The aging Soviet leaders seemed too unsure of themselves to use force to save their European empire. That empire was clearly heading for a crisis.

At this time, in 1981, Ronald Reagan began eight years as the U.S. president. He vowed to go beyond containment and end the Cold War. He promised to convince the Soviets to stop building more and more nuclear weapons. He also spoke out forcefully about what he called the “evil” of the Soviet dictatorship. He encouraged the small group of Soviet “dissidents” who dared to criticize their government. He backed Solidarity and other forces for change in Eastern Europe. More directly than any other president, he called on the Soviets to reform their system entirely.

His efforts to stop the Soviet nuclear arms buildup first took the form of a battle over the medium-range nuclear missiles the Soviets had aimed at Western Europe. In the face of massive protests, Reagan carried out earlier U.S. promises to deploy its own medium-range missiles to counter the Soviet missiles. Later he announced a very costly program known as SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative. This was a plan to develop ways to shoot down nuclear missiles in flight.

Many in America and Europe criticized Reagan harshly for these steps. Some said he was even more dangerous and warlike than the Soviets. A huge movement known as the “Nuclear Freeze” called on both sides to stop building any new nuclear weapons. Millions marched in Europe, and in the United States as well. Reagan said his actions would force the Soviets to see that they could not afford to keep up an endless arms race.



In 1985, top Soviet officials chose a leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, who did begin to work more cooperatively with Ronald Reagan. Gorbachev and President Reagan held several “summit meetings” together. They seemed to get along reasonably well. In time, agreements were reached to remove all the medium-range missiles in Europe and to work to reduce other nuclear weapons programs. Gorbachev soon started to reform his nation and open it up to the world. His efforts led directly to the upheavals throughout Eastern Europe in 1989. In 1991, the Soviet Union split into several new nation-states. The Cold War was over.

Today, big arguments about Ronald Reagan continue. They often take the form of debates about how important he was in causing the Soviet Union and its communist system to collapse. Some see him as needlessly confrontational and belligerent. Others view his strong stance as a key factor in ending the Cold War. The documents in this lesson should help you take part in this debate. They may even help you decide for yourself which view of Ronald Reagan you think is correct.



*President Reagan (left) and Mikhail Gorbachev at a summit meeting in November 1985.*

Image Sources: Official Portrait of President Ronald Reagan, 1983, courtesy of the Ronald Reagan Library.  
US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov at the first Summit in Geneva, Switzerland, 1985, courtesy of the Ronald Reagan Library.

## History Group

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GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *Reagan and the Russians*

Your group's task is to explore history issues related to Ronald Reagan's impact on the Cold War. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Ronald Reagan's attitude toward the Soviet Union seemed to change over time. How and why do you think his attitude changed during his years as president?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 5.3, 5.9, and 5.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Did Ronald Reagan's views of the Soviet Union change during his presidency, or did the Soviet Union itself change to fit more with Reagan's views? There is no doubt Reagan took office in 1981 as a scathing critic of the Soviet Union. The Soviets had just invaded Afghanistan, causing President Jimmy Carter to cancel arms talks with them. Reagan called for a modernization and major buildup of U.S. defenses. He spoke out forcefully against the Soviet Union, famously calling it an "evil empire." In late 1981, Poland declared martial law to thwart Solidarity. Reagan responded by imposing new sanctions on the Soviets. In 1983, he placed new medium-range missiles in Europe to counter similar Soviet missiles already in place. He proposed his Strategic Defense Initiative, which angered the Soviets and frightened many of his critics.

Reagan was a sharp critic of Soviet communism. Yet he did also urge its leaders to meet in new arms talks. Three aging but aggressive leaders died

while Reagan waited for a less hostile Soviet leader. That younger, more reform-minded leader appeared in 1985. Mikhail Gorbachev wanted to meet with Reagan. He also admitted Soviet society desperately needed reform. With Gorbachev, Reagan's rhetoric toward the Soviets also changed. Together, these two leaders managed a time of dramatic change and an easing of tensions.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 5.3

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Primary Source 5.9

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Primary Source 5.10

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### **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Ronald Reagan's attitude toward the Soviet Union seemed to change over time. How and why do you think his attitude changed during his years as president?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



**Civics Group**

GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *Reagan and the Russians*

Your group's task is to explore the civics issues related to Ronald Reagan's impact on the Cold War. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Various kinds of citizen protest were directed at both Reagan and the Soviet leaders in the 1980s. What role do you think these protests played in ending the Cold War?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 5.2, 5.4, and 5.8.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

It was always dangerous to speak out against the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. However, in the 1970s, the Soviets did agree to let small groups of "dissidents" speak out more openly than in the past. The 1970s was a time of growing economic stagnation in the entire Soviet system. As leaders began to flounder, new forces erupted from below. In Poland in the early 1980s, the trade union Solidarity appeared. Polish authorities tried at first to suppress it. However, they were too weak or unsure to do so effectively. As unrest in Eastern Europe spread in the late 1980s, reform-minded Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev held back. He announced that Soviet tanks would no longer put down such protests. At that point, Soviet control of Eastern Europe began to evaporate rapidly.

Early in the 1980s, a massive protest movement also arose in the West. The Nuclear Freeze movement brought millions into the streets calling

for an end to the nuclear arms race. Ronald Reagan opposed the Freeze at the time, yet it may have helped to change him as well. He soon met with Gorbachev to seek new arms control agreements. His support for missile defense technology may have reflected his desire to make nuclear weapons obsolete.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 5.2

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Primary Source 5.4

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Primary Source 5.8

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Various kinds of citizen protest were directed at both Reagan and the Soviet leaders in the 1980s. What role do you think these protests played in ending the Cold War?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

**Economics Group**

GROUP MEMBERS:

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## *Reagan and the Russians*

Your group's task is to explore the economic issues related to Ronald Reagan's impact on the Cold War. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Some historians say the Soviet economy was simply too weak to keep up the Cold War rivalry with the U.S. in the 1980s. Explain why you do or do not agree with this view.

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 5.1, 5.5, and 5.7.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

By the mid-1970s, the Soviet economy seemed to be slowing down. Long lines and shortages were a common feature of its centrally planned economy. These features only appeared to be getting worse. While some blame central planning itself, others blame the huge Soviet defense buildup of the 1970s. The Soviets were always at a disadvantage in competing with the United States in arms development. The huge numbers of nuclear weapons, missiles, ships, planes, tanks, and men in arms put a strain on both economies. However, the strain was far greater on the Soviet Union.

Then came President Reagan's plans for a huge increase and modernization of U.S. defenses. One question still debated is whether his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) finally convinced the Soviets they could no longer keep up with the U.S. militarily. SDI sought to develop weapons that could destroy nuclear missiles in flight. If successful, it could have made the



Soviet nuclear missiles obsolete. Did the Soviets' fears about SDI convince them they could no longer keep up with U.S. technology? Historians disagree about this. Some say SDI did have this impact. Others say it worried the Soviets, but it never seemed realistic enough to matter all that much. Whatever the truth about SDI, there seems little doubt the Soviets in the mid-1980s did realize that the arms race as a whole was drastically weakening their economy.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 5.1

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Primary Source 5.5

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Primary Source 5.7

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### Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Some historians say the Soviet economy was simply too weak to keep up the Cold War rivalry with the U.S. in the 1980s. Explain why you do or do not agree with this view.

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

## Geography Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

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### *Reagan and the Russians*

Your group's task is to explore the geography issues related to Ronald Reagan's impact on the Cold War. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

The U.S. and the Soviet Union were two large nations. In terms of other key geographical features, they differed greatly. How might these geographical factors have affected the way the Cold War unfolded?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 5.1, 5.2, and 5.5.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the early 1800s, French writer Alexis de Tocqueville noticed the sudden rise of two great nations, the United States and Russia. He said of them, "Their starting-point is different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe." Tocqueville also noticed key differences between them. For example, he said, "The American struggles against the obstacles which nature opposes to him; the adversaries of the Russian are men. The former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization with all its arms."

Tocqueville does not mention geography. However, he seems to be calling attention to some key geographical factors. America was a huge landmass separated from most other strong nations by two vast oceans. Russia was a huge landmass bordering on many powerful nations and groups. Did this

give the United States an advantage in developing its economic resources? Did it lead Russia to put more stress on defense, security, and the need for central authority? And did these differences contribute in some way to the Cold War and the way it evolved and ended? These are questions worth thinking about—even if there are no final answers to them.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, chose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 5.1

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Primary Source 5.2

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Primary Source 5.5

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

The U.S. and the Soviet Union were two large nations. In terms of other key geographical features, they differed greatly. How might these geographical factors have affected the way the Cold War unfolded?



State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will study several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special historical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

No primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, so you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, then you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

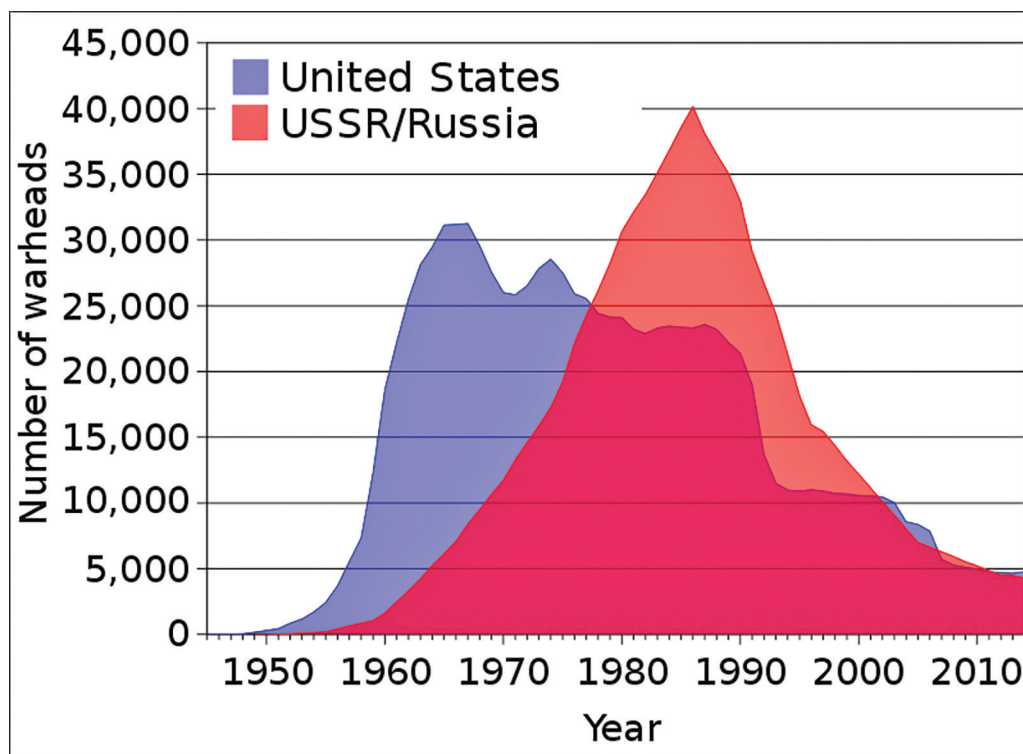
Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

5.I

## U.S. and Soviet Stockpiles

The Cold War remained “cold” because neither side ever dared use all of the nuclear weapons it had amassed to threaten or deter the other side from using its weapons. This graph shows nuclear warhead stockpiles of the United States and the Soviet Union/Russia, 1945–2014. The numbers are total stockpiles, including warheads that are not actively deployed. The graph conveys the frightening nature of the Cold War arms race.



Data Source: Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, "Global Nuclear Stockpiles, 1945–2006," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 62, no. 4 (July/August 2006): 64–66.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

5.2

## Lech Wałęsa and Solidarity in Poland

This photograph is of Lech Wałęsa, leader of a strike by Solidarity at the Lenin Shipyard in Poland in August 1980. Solidarity was the first independent trade union in the Soviet bloc—that is, the Soviet Union and the communist states it controlled in Eastern Europe. Solidarity formed during a strike that Wałęsa is shown leading here. It was one of the first signs of the growing unrest in Eastern Europe that would by the late 1980s end Soviet control over Eastern Europe and soon bring down the Soviet Union itself.



Original Document Source: Giedymin Jabłoński, *Strike at the Vladimir Lenin Shipyard in August 1980* (Gdańsk: European Solidarity Centre, 1980). CC BY-SA 3.0 PL.



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

5.3

## Reagan's "Evil Empire" Speech

U.S. President Ronald Reagan at first took a very hard-line stand against the Soviet Union. On March 8, 1983, he gave a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in which he referred to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." The passages here are from that speech.

**Original Document**

So, I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority. You know, I've always believed that old Screwtape reserved his best efforts for those of you in the church. So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride—the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you withhold your support for our efforts, this administration's efforts, to keep America strong and free, while we negotiate real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals and one day, with God's help, their total elimination.

**Adapted Version**

I urge you to speak out against those who would weaken the United States in both a military and a moral way. Think about old Screwtape, a Devil figure in a C. S. Lewis novel. He put his greatest efforts into swaying those of you in the church. So, when discussing the nuclear freeze proposals, please beware of the temptation of pride. That is, do not give in to the temptation of mindlessly pretending to be above it all. Avoid labeling both sides as equally at fault. This ignores the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire. It is wrong to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding. If you do this, you remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

I ask you to resist those who want you to oppose this administration's efforts to keep America strong and free while we seek new arms agreements. What we want are agreements that achieve real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals. Agreements that one day, with God's help, will totally eliminate all these weapons.

Original Document Source: Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida," March 8, 1983, National Archives and Records Administration, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum. Available online from the Reagan Library at <https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1983/30883b.htm>.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

5.4

## Randall Forsberg and the Nuclear Freeze Campaign

Dr. Randall Forsberg was executive director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. She founded it in 1980 in order to raise questions about U.S. defense policy. This passage is from an interview she did for "War and Peace in the Nuclear Age," a thirteen-part PBS series broadcast in 1989. In the interview, she describes the grassroots activism leading to the national Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign in 1982.

Original Document

**Interviewer:** Does President Reagan's election and the bringing into his administration a bunch of real hard liners, even harder than the Carter people, for sure, the Committee on the Present Danger, does that affect the freeze in any way at that time?

**Forsberg:** . . . It's really going in late '81, early '82, that you have people in the Reagan administration saying things like, you know, with enough shovels we can cover our doors with dirt and protect ourselves from a nuclear war and survive. We want to prevail in a nuclear war. We are prepared for a nuclear shot across the bow. These kinds of statements coming out of the Reagan administration, I think did gradually, not instantly, but gradually over a period of a year or two, and Reagan's Evil Empire speech, create a concern or deepen the concern in the public that as we were getting a new generation of nuclear weapons systems, which had war-fighting capabilities, they were not just for deterrence, but for actually trying to fight and win a war. This was being coupled with an administration that was talking about being prepared to do it. And was adamantly against arms control and refusing to talk to the Soviets at all. So, I think that Reagan did certainly contribute to strengthening the freeze movement and concern about the nuclear arms race that was expressed in that movement.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

**Interviewer:** President Reagan's election brought into his administration a bunch of real hard liners. Some were even harder than the Carter people. For example, the Committee on the Present Danger. Did that affect the freeze in any way at that time?

**Forsberg:** It was in late '81, early '82, that you have people in the Reagan administration saying things like, you know, with enough shovels we can cover our doors with dirt and protect ourselves from a nuclear war and survive. We want to prevail in a nuclear war. We are prepared for a nuclear shot across the bow. I think these kinds of statements from the Reagan administration did gradually create a concern. In particular, his Evil Empire speech deepened the concern in the public. The fear was that we were getting a new generation of nuclear weapons systems which had war-fighting capabilities. That is, they were not just to deter the other side and prevent a war. They were for actually trying to fight and win a war. And this was an administration that talked about being prepared to do it. It was adamantly against arms control, and it refused to talk to the Soviets at all. So, I think that Reagan did certainly contribute to strengthening the freeze movement. The concern about the nuclear arms race was expressed in that movement.

Original Document Source: "Missile Experimental: Interview with Randall Forsberg," November 9, 1987. Available online from Open Vault, WGBH Media, and Archives at: [http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/V\\_F6CC542AF94B434FBC7E1DBE45F07024](http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/V_F6CC542AF94B434FBC7E1DBE45F07024)

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

5.5

## Reagan on Two Key Defense Matters

On March 23, 1983, President Reagan discussed his overall defense plans in a national TV address. These passages are from a backup copy of that address filed in the National Archives. The excerpt deals with two nuclear weapons issues that caused a great deal of controversy during his presidency. The first was his decision to go ahead with earlier plans to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe to counter Soviet SS-20 missiles already in place. The “zero-zero plan” he mentions is what he and Mikhail Gorbachev later agreed to in 1987. The second issue was his idea for a missile defense system. It would be called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), and it would, he hoped, enable the U.S. to shoot down nuclear missiles in flight before they could do any harm.

**Original Document**

Another example of what’s happened: in 1978, the Soviets had 600 intermediate-range nuclear missiles based on land and were beginning to add the SS-20—a new, highly accurate mobile missile, with three warheads. We had none. Since then the Soviets have strengthened their lead. By the end of 1979, when Soviet leader Brezhnev declared “a balance now exists,” the Soviets had over 800 warheads. We still had none. A year ago this month, Mr. Brezhnev pledged a moratorium, or freeze, on SS-20 deployment. But by last August, their 800 warheads had become more than 1200. We still had none. Some freeze. At this time Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov announced “approximate parity of forces continues to exist.” But the Soviets are still adding an average of three new warheads a week, and now have 1,300. These warheads can reach their targets in a matter of a few minutes. We still have none. So far, it seems that the Soviet definition of parity is a box score of 1,300 to nothing, in their favor.

So, together with our NATO allies, we decided in 1979 to deploy new weapons, beginning this year, as a deterrent to their SS-20’s and as an incentive to the Soviet Union to meet us in serious arms control negotiations. We will begin that deployment late this year. At the same time, however, we are willing to cancel our program—if the Soviets will dismantle theirs. This is what we have called a zero-zero plan. The Soviets are now at the negotiating table—and I think it’s fair to say that without our planned deployments, they wouldn’t be there. . . .

Thus far tonight I have shared with you my thoughts on the problems of national security we must face together. My predecessors in the oval office have appeared before you on other occasions to describe the threat posed by Soviet power and have proposed steps to address that threat. But since the advent of nuclear weapons, those steps have been increasingly directed toward deterrence of aggression through the promise of retaliation. . . .

CONTINUED



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

5.5

REAGAN ON TWO KEY DEFENSE MATTERS CONTINUED

What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack; that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?

I know this is a formidable technical task, one that may not be accomplished before the end of this century. Yet, current technology has attained a level of sophistication where it is reasonable for us to begin this effort.

*Original Document Source:* Ronald Reagan, "Strategic Defense Initiative, President's Backup Copy: Address on Defense: March 23, 1983," National Archives and Record Administration of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum. Available online at <https://reaganlibrary.gov/documents/SDI%20speech.pdf>.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

5.6

## A Critique of the "Evil Empire" Speech

This passage is from a *New York Times* editorial by Anthony Lewis criticizing Ronald Reagan's famous "Evil Empire" speech to the National Association of Evangelicals on March 8, 1983. The editorial appeared in the *New York Times* on March 10, 1983.

**Original Document**

When a politician claims that God favors his programs, alarm bells should ring. That is what Ronald Reagan has just done. Speaking to the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Fla., he said that belief in God should make Americans join him in opposing a nuclear freeze and pressing a vast buildup in U.S. weapons. . . .

If there is anything that should be illegitimate in the American system, it is such use of sectarian religiosity to sell a political program. And this was done not by some fringe figure, but by the President of the United States. Yet I wonder how many people, reading about the speech or seeing bits on television, really noticed its outrageous character. Our political sensibilities have become so degraded.

Primitive: that is the only word for it. . . . But it is not funny. What is the world to think when the greatest of powers is led by a man who applies to the most difficult human problem a simplistic theology—one in fact rejected by most theologians?

Original Document Source: Anthony Lewis, "Abroad at Home: Onward, Christian Soldiers," *The New York Times*, March 10, 1983. Available online at <http://www.nytimes.com/1983/03/10/opinion/abroad-at-home-onward-christian-soldiers.html>.



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

5.7

## A Polish Government Report from 1987

This is a Polish government report from August 28, 1987, titled "A Synthesis of the Domestic Situation and the West's Activity." The report deals with what it sees as an "economic crisis" in Poland. It discusses liberalization measures, growing discontent, American support for Solidarity, and opinions in the West on the situation in Poland. The report reflects the deep concerns communist leaders in Poland and elsewhere had at the time just before communist governments fell throughout Eastern Europe in 1989.

### Original Document

A synthesis of the domestic situation of the country and the West's activity. The moods in social segments against the background of the economic situation.

—Generally, anxiety is rising due to the prolonged economic crisis. The opinion is spreading that the economy instead of improving is getting worse. As a result, an ever greater dissonance arises between the so-called official optimism of the authorities ("after all, it's better [now]") and the feeling of society.

—Criticism directed at the authorities is rising because of the "slow, inept and inconsistent" introduction of economic reform.

—Social dissatisfaction is growing because of the rising costs of living. The opinion is spreading that the government has only one "prescription," i.e. price increases. Against this background the mood of dissatisfaction is strongest among the workers.

—[The] belief is growing that the reform has not reached the workplaces, [and there is] a lack of any improvement in management and organization of work.

—Confirmations of the above moods are [the following factors:]

- a) In the period January–July 1987, there were 234 collective forms of protest, i.e. more than in the same period last year;
- b) A total of 3,353 people participated in work stoppages, while only 1,729 people participated in such stoppages last year;
- c) The role of workplace union organizations in inspiring conflicts that threaten work stoppages is rising.

CONTINUED

### **Adapted Version**

This is a summary of the situation inside the country, the West's activity, and the moods of various groups about the current economic situation.

—Anxiety is rising due to the prolonged economic crisis. People increasingly believe the economy is getting worse. As a result, people increasingly distrust the official optimism.

—Criticism of the authorities is rising because of the “slow, inept, and inconsistent” introduction of economic reform.

—People are increasingly angry about the rising costs of living. They feel that the government's only response is to increase prices even more. Against this background the mood of dissatisfaction is strongest among the workers.

—People are also increasingly angry that the workplace is not being reformed. They are frustrated about management and the organization of work.

—The following is some evidence of these bleak moods:

- a) From January to July this year, there were 234 more protest actions than over the same period last year.
- b) A total of 3,353 people participated in work stoppages this year. Only 1,729 people took part in such in such stoppages last year.
- c) A rising number of union-led conflicts have threatened work stoppages.



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

5.8

## An Interview with a Soviet Dissident

Natan Sharansky is a Soviet dissident who spent several years in prison for speaking up for Jews and for human rights in the Soviet Union. In 1978, he was sentenced to 13 years in the gulag, the name used for the Soviet Union's vast system of prisons and labor camps. In 1986, Sharansky was released and allowed to move to Israel, where he became an official in the government. This passage is from "The View from the Gulag," an interview with Sharansky in the June 21, 2004, issue of *The Weekly Standard*.

**Original Document**

I have to laugh. People who take freedom for granted, Ronald Reagan for granted, always ask such questions. Of course! It was the great brilliant moment when we learned that Ronald Reagan had proclaimed the Soviet Union an Evil Empire before the entire world. There was a long list of all the Western leaders who had lined up to condemn the evil Reagan for daring to call the great Soviet Union an evil empire. . . . This was the moment. It was the brightest, most glorious day. Finally a spade had been called a spade. Finally, Orwell's Newspeak was dead. President Reagan had from that moment made it impossible for anyone in the West to continue closing their eyes to the real nature of the Soviet Union.

It was one of the most important, freedom-affirming declarations, and we all instantly knew it. For us, that was the moment that really marked the end for them, and the beginning for us. The lie had been exposed and could never, ever be untold now. This was the end of Lenin's "Great October Bolshevik Revolution" and the beginning of a new revolution, a freedom revolution—Reagan's Revolution.

We were all in and out of punishment cells so often—me more than most—that we developed our own tapping language to communicate with each other between the walls. A secret code. We had to develop new communication methods to pass on this great, impossible news. We even used the toilets to tap on.

*Original Document Source:* Natan Sharansky, "The View from the Gulag" (interview), *The Weekly Standard*, June 21, 2004. Available online at <http://www.weeklystandard.com/article/5446>.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

5.9

## The INF Treaty of 1987

In 1987, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev signed the INF Treaty. This photo shows the signing ceremony in the East Room of the White House. "INF" stands for "intermediate-range nuclear forces." These were the medium-range missiles the U.S. and the Soviets had argued about earlier in Reagan's first term as president. The INF Treaty eliminated all such weapons then deployed in Europe and the Soviet Union.



*Original Document Source:* White House Photographic Office, *President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev Signing the INF Treaty in the East Room of the White House, December 8, 1987*, National Archives and Records Administration, photograph 198588. Available online from the Reagan Library at <https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/photographs/large/c44071-15a.jpg>.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

5.10

## Reagan Speaks to Students at Moscow University, 1988

After Michael Gorbachev became the top Soviet leader in 1985, President Reagan and he began holding “summit” meetings with each other. On a visit to the Soviet Union in May 1988, Reagan gave a speech to students and faculty at Moscow State University. It is considered one of his most famous speeches. These passages are from that speech.

**Original Document**

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists. After a colonial revolution with Britain we have cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations. After a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany and one with Japan, but now the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan are two of our closest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as a sign of strain, but they’re the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more than in my lifetime to see American and Soviet diplomats grappling with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and growth. . . .

Is this just a dream? Perhaps. But it is a dream that is our responsibility to have come true.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free. . . .

We do not know what the conclusion of this journey will be, but we’re hopeful that the promise of reform will be fulfilled. In this Moscow spring, this May 1988, we may be allowed that hope—that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi’s grave, will blossom forth at least in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvelous sound of a new openness will keep rising through, ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

*Original Document Source:* Ronald Reagan, “Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session with the Students and Faculty at Moscow State University,” in *The Public Papers of the President: Ronald Reagan, 1981–1989*, May 31, 1988. Available online from the Reagan Library at <http://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1987/061287d.htm>.

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Write a brief essay explaining what developments in the Soviet Union from 1981 to 1988 might have led Reagan to change his tone and approach to the Soviet Union during those years. In your essay, analyze at least three of the primary sources for this lesson and use them as evidence to support your conclusions.
- ◆ In a small group, read and discuss Primary Source 5.10. In your discussion, consider events in Russia and the world since 1988. Find one or two relevant news stories to discuss. Then address the following question: “Do you think Reagan’s optimistic tone in Primary Source 5.10 was foolish, or might it still be considered realistic today?” Your group should arrive at an answer and prepare a brief presentation to the class. The presentation should summarize your group’s views and relate them to the news stories you have discussed.
- ◆ In a small group, discuss Primary Sources 5.2., 5.3, 5.4, 5.6, and 5.8. Each student should take the part of Lech Wałęsa, Ronald Reagan, Randall Forsberg, Anthony Lewis, or Natan Sharansky. Do further research into these five individuals. Then prepare and perform a brief role-play discussion about Reagan and his policies in the last years of the Cold War.

### Taking Action

- ◆ On November 9, 1989, the communist government of East Germany announced that its citizens could visit West Germany and West Berlin. Within hours, thousands of East Germans climbed over the Berlin Wall freely for the first time since it was built in 1961. More than any other, this event marked the approaching end of Soviet communist control over Eastern Europe. Interview older family members and friends and record their memories of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Ask those interviewed what they remember and what they felt about the meaning and significance of that historic event. Compile these stories into a report and send it to local newspapers or other print or digital outlets and urge these outlets to publish it.
- ◆ Based on your work in the previous assignment, use social media to share with others some of the interview accounts collected. Ask those contacted in this way to comment on these accounts and share their own ideas as to the meaning of the events of November 9, 1989.



## Reagan and the Russians Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a way relevant to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development and Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in-depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

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- 5.9: White House Photographic Office. *President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev Signing the INF Treaty in the East Room of the White House*, December 8, 1987. National Archives and Records Administration photo 198588. Available online from the Reagan Library at <https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/photographs/large/c44071-15a.jpg>.
- 5.10: Reagan, Ronald. "Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session with the Students and Faculty at Moscow State University." In *The Public Papers of the President: Ronald Reagan, 1981–1989*, May 31, 1988. Available online from the Reagan Library at <http://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1987/061287d.htm>.



### Sources for Further Study

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