

# Imperialism & Progressivism

Decision Making in U.S. History



1912  
**By Kevin O'Reilly**



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*Decision Making in U.S. History*

**Imperialism and Progressivism**

By Kevin O'Reilly

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This book is dedicated to Lynn, with all my love.

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# HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

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Think of this book, and the other books in this series, not as a text, but as a menu. As a teacher, you select lessons from the menu. It was never intended that you would have everything on the menu—that would be overeating. [Take a look at the table of contents.] When choosing a lesson, look first at the problems on the student handout(s), and then at the student handout describing these problems’ historical outcomes. If you like what you see, take a look at the lesson plan for ideas on using the handouts. You can teach all of the lessons by giving students a problem handout, having them discuss what they would do, and finally distributing the outcomes handout. You may also consult the “Quick Motivator” section of a lesson plan to use the handouts as a short introduction to class.

On the other hand, you can think of this book as a “how-to” guide for teaching specific decision-making skills while also covering significant events in United States history. The book posits a general guideline of ten distinct skills, organized under the acronym **P-A-G-E** to help students remember these skills. Take a look at the explanation of **P-A-G-E** in the introduction to this book, under the section titled “Guide to Thoughtful Decision Making.” This section explains each of the ten skills and includes examples.

Every lesson in this series analyzes the historical topic in terms of **P-A-G-E**. Each lesson targets specific skills, letting the content and the actual decision in history determine the skills emphasized in the lesson. Take a look at the skills grid for each lesson on page 1 of this book. Handouts are frequently used to focus students on using specific skills. For example, many lessons include a list of questions designed to provoke more questions from students, as well as to give them ideas of the types of questions to ask. Other lessons give students a list of assumptions and ask which they assumed in making their decisions. The other skills have similar handouts.

Whether you try the problem-discussion-outcome approach or concentrate more on specific decision-making skills, I hope these books will help make you a more effective teacher and help your students learn United States history in a way that will help prepare them to make more thoughtful decisions as citizens.

Kevin O'Reilly



# INTRODUCTION

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## **RATIONALE: Hindsight versus Foresight**

When we study history, it is all too easy to sit in judgment of those who came before us. We read it after the fact; we see it in hindsight. Given the benefit of such 20/20 hindsight, some historical figures seem to have been very misguided or downright silly in their decisions. Why didn't they anticipate the consequences of their choices? How could they have been so shortsighted? Sports enthusiasts call this sort of analysis "Monday morning quarterbacking."

However, it's not so easy to laugh at the follies of past decision makers if we are confronted with decisions in history before we learn the actual results. In such a situation, we find ourselves making some of the same mistakes that historical characters made, and we sometimes commit new errors they did not make. This method of studying history, which we might call "foresight history," is far more challenging—and engaging—than the traditional retroactive method to which we are inured.

In short, when we learn history by hindsight we risk becoming more arrogant and complacent. If, on the other hand, we learn history by *foresight*, by casting ourselves in the role of those historical figures and making decisions as they did—without knowing the outcome—we can learn humility and gain a great deal of empathy for them. Students in my classes constantly exclaim, "This is hard!" as opposed to, "This is boring!"

Foresight history also helps students improve key decision-making skills they will use again and again as citizens. Schools of law, medicine, business, and nursing, along with the military and many other institutions, use case-study methods, where students are forced to make decisions about a particular case and then analyze their thinking. If each of these varied disciplines values decision making so much, shouldn't we be training all our future citizens how to make good decisions?

History provides many benefits for those who study it. Historical knowledge can be liberating all by itself, letting us draw back the veil of ignorance and see the present with eyes enlightened by the past. The more knowledge of history we possess, the better we understand our societies and ourselves. Study and evaluation of primary sources, discussions of motives, debates about significance, analyzing causes and effects, and many other strategies are vital to history courses. The lessons here on decision making are meant to support and enhance these other methods of studying history, not replace them with a more "practical" type of history.

# OVERVIEW

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The lessons in *Decision Making in U. S. History* are to be used independently within a standard U.S. history course in middle school, high school, or college. Each book in this series comprises between eight and thirteen lessons. Each lesson includes the following:

1. Introduction: includes an overview of the topic, content vocabulary, and decision-making skills emphasized in the lesson.
2. Lesson plan: includes suggestions for how to use the handouts, how to focus on decision-making skills, how to connect the decision to the larger historical context, how to use video and other supplementary sources, and how to troubleshoot problems, should any arise.
3. Suggested answers: this section features teacher notes about outcomes (student versions of the outcomes are also provided—see number 6 below), references to historians’ interpretations of the topic, decision-making analysis, and suggestions for further research.
4. Sources: includes the specific sources used in the lesson.
5. Problem(s): reproducible handouts used by students to read and analyze the problem.
6. Historical outcome of the problem: what people in history actually did and the consequences thereof.
7. Primary sources and visuals (if any): these are integrated into the lesson itself and are not included merely as window dressing.

Each individual decision-making challenge is referred to as a “problem.” Some lessons have one problem to challenge students, while others contain numerous problems. The handouts for each lesson are reproducible; teachers can also decide to use only selected parts of the handouts, if so desired.

While decision making is the main point of the books, historical content is also very important. These lessons focus on real historical problems that convey powerful lessons about U.S. history. The problems involve important issues relevant both to America’s past and its present: taxation, foreign intervention, regulation of businesses and individuals, immigration, welfare, war, and so forth. In addition, not all of the problems come from the perspective of political leaders: many ask students to consider the perspectives of ordinary Americans such as workers, voters, farmers, African Americans, business owners, Native Americans, and women. Including problems from the perspectives of ordinary people prepares students for their roles as citizens in a democracy and encourages empathy for unfamiliar groups.

Most of the problems are brief—some as short as one paragraph—and can be used as class warm-ups lasting no more than ten minutes. Even with the shorter problems, however, the outcomes can often be quite complex, running on for several pages. The problems may appear deceptively simple, but analyzing them can be complicated. You can best judge how much analysis to include for each problem, and for how long to run each problem and discussion.

On the other hand, some problems are more complicated. These problems deal with crucial turning points in the nation's history. Students will almost certainly need more background information before making decisions, and analysis of these problems could take several class periods. These more involved problems could form the organization for an entire unit of study. For example, in my classes the problem on the New Deal provides me with the bulk of the time and activities on my unit concerning the New Deal. Students learn about the basic New Deal programs, including their advantages and disadvantages, while simultaneously working to improve their decision-making skills.

## **DECISION MAKING**

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### **What is Decision Making?**

As explained in Student Handout 1, decision making involves making a choice when there is no clearly correct answer. Students can derive important lessons about decision making from encountering "messy" problems like these. Even where outcomes do not show a particular choice to be clearly right or wrong, students will still be surprised by some aspects of the outcomes and thereby gain insight into decision making.

### **Decision Making as Experience**

As argued in Student Handout 1, the most powerful way to teach good decision making is through experience. People learn to make good decisions just by making decisions, period. Bad decisions are more instructive, perhaps, in making us more skeptical decision makers, but that isn't stressed in Student Handout 1. Examples from the teaching profession illustrate this negative-reinforcement aspect of decision making. Teachers who just put students into groups without giving specific directions quickly learn not to do it again. Lessons that don't work well are dropped or modified the next time around. Good teaching is basically good decision making, and good decision making is shaped rapidly by previous decisions.

Ordinary people, including students, have an optimistic tendency simply to assume their decisions will result in positive outcomes, rather than making an estimate of the probabilities of certain outcomes. Decision-making experts, on the other hand, have a much more realistic view of these probabilities, due in part to their greater experience with the types of problem with which they often deal. Experience teaches us to be more realistic about outcomes.

Just encountering the problems and outcomes in these books, therefore, can help students improve their decision-making skills in general.

### **Targeting Decision-Making Skills**

As mentioned in Student Handout 1, these books go beyond just decision-making problems and their outcomes. They also provide teachers with a decision-making model and strategies for teaching the skills involved in decision making. Students learn a simple

model that provides basic guidelines for making decisions. This model goes by the acronym **P-A-G-E** (as explained below and in Student Handouts 2 and 3), and it gives support and guidance for student decisions, allows for communication built around specific skills and a common vocabulary, and provides specific criteria for teachers to evaluate student progress on those skills.

It's crucial for the teacher to act as a coach and guide students as they encounter the decision-making problems, in what Reuven Feuerstein refers to as "mediated learning." The teacher's guidance and questions can help students make sense of what they are thinking when they make decisions about historical situations.

The debate among researchers about the relative power of experience versus instruction on decision making is not crucial to these books. Rather, the problems and lessons in these books allow teachers to combine experience and instruction in the form of mediated learning (coaching).

### **Repetition in Order to Master Skills**

These books are based on the hypothesis that several repetitions of decision-making problems and outcomes help improve decision making. That is, a person who has tried 50 problems will most likely have improved his/her decision-making skills more than a person who has tried only ten problems, simply because he or she has had more experience making decisions. There are many problems included in these books, and teachers are encouraged to use them regularly (once or twice per week, perhaps) as warm-ups to start classes or units. It isn't expected, however, that teachers will necessarily use all the problems.

Having experience with a large number of problems also provides students with more historical analogies upon which they can draw. It is striking how often decision makers base their thinking on an analogy (usually a recent one) in looking for ideas to help decide a problem. Having a broader range of analogies allows students to be more skeptical of any analogy suggested, since students are more likely to think of different analogies than the ones offered.

Though many experiences with decision making will help, it is essential that teachers coach students (mediated learning) and have time to reflect on their thinking during decision-making problems. Metacognition (thinking about our own thinking) is vital for improving thinking skills, according to numerous writers. Teachers should therefore allow "postmortem" time after each experience for students to reflect on their thinking, either verbally or in writing (see the section on evaluation for ideas). Teachers are also encouraged to use some of the lessons for lengthier (1–3 class periods), more in-depth analysis of student thinking and the historical topics involved; perhaps two or three lessons could be used for in-depth analysis per semester.

## Individual Choice Versus Historical Context

Research indicates that students generally view the role of individual choices as critical to historical events (for example, viewing Rosa Parks as an important catalyst for the civil rights movement), while professional historians stress the importance of underlying forces (for example, African Americans fighting in World War II, the Cold War, etc. as important causes of the civil rights movement). Students often miss the significance of these underlying forces and do not always recognize the extent to which historical context has constrained the actions of people in the past.

By focusing on decisions by individuals and by groups, the books in this series may seem to perpetuate an overemphasis on the individual vs. historical forces. However, the lessons in these books help students see more historical context, not less. In order to make good decisions, students need to learn a great deal of historical context. All lessons in this book require students to ask questions about context. Each lesson includes a short outcome and a question about why students think that option was tried (e.g., “The Congress rejected the 1790 petition to end slavery. Why do you think it was rejected? Which historical forces at the time led to this outcome?”). Each problem also asks students to think about the historical forces that made it difficult for the individual to make a good decision. In addition, many problems include multiple points of view, which enrich student understanding of context. Finally, students discuss the ways in which the actual historic decision was similar to or different from the decision they made; this emphasizes the role of context in shaping individual choices.

### STRATEGIES

The basic format of the lessons, as explained in the overview, is problem, decision, outcome, discussion. However, many of the subskills of decision making are difficult for students to master. In order to assist students, many lessons put these subskills in a sort of multiple-choice format. For example, to improve the “asking for more information” skill, some lessons include a list of questions from which students can select the ones they wish to ask. To improve “identifying underlying problems,” some lessons list possible underlying problems. To improve “considering other points of view,” some lessons include handouts that put students into different roles (for example, not just looking at labor strike problems from the point of view of the workers, but from the point of view of the owners as well).

### GOALS

The books in this series have four main goals:

- 1. Make history more interesting:**

Simply giving students the problems, having them make decisions, and then telling them what the people involved actually did will keep student interest high. It’s exciting to make decisions before you know what the historical figures actually did. It’s dynamic, open-ended learning. Students enjoy comparing their

decisions to those of their classmates and to the decisions actually made by the historical figures. Even if you decide to use the lessons without giving instruction on how to perform the skills involved in decision making, students will still enjoy learning history this way.

This increased interest should also lead to increased reading comprehension. After all, when students read their texts they will actively search for what actually happened and will want to compare it with what they chose.

**2. Improve decision making through experience:**

The primary way people learn to make better decisions is through the process of making decisions, both good and bad. Students therefore become more sophisticated decision makers with every choice they make. By giving students many chances to make decisions where they can learn from mistakes and surprises, we can speed up the process of making them savvy decision makers. For example, students who decide to have a foreign government overthrown and see many negative consequences will think twice before trying that again, and will be skeptical of such a plan if proposed in the present day. Experience itself becomes the teacher.

**3. More complex ethical thinking:**

Ethical questions will arise regularly, and by discussing their positions students will develop more complex ethical arguments and understandings. Please note, however, that these lessons are not aimed primarily at ethical reasoning. Teachers who want to focus primarily on this should consult *Reasoning with Democratic Values* (2 volumes; by Alan Lockwood and David Harris, New York: Teacher's College Press, 1985).

**4. Improve the use of decision-making skills and reflection on those skills:**

As much as students can improve their decision making through experience, they will develop it that much more if they learn specific subskills, which can then become guidelines for thinking through decision-making problems more carefully. The instruction in these books is based on the skills of the **P-A-G-E** model. The specific elements of **P-A-G-E** are described in the section "Guide to Better Decision Making," and the strategies for teaching those skills are explained below in the section "Teaching Specific Decision-Making Skills."

One of the teaching strategies emphasizes journal writing, in which students reflect on the problems they encounter, including how they could improve their own decision making. If teachers can get them to reflect on how to improve upon decisions they've just made, students will learn to be more reflective in general.

Ideally, we want to train future citizens to approach decision-making problems by asking insightful questions, carefully probing for underlying problems, seeing a problem from a variety of perspectives, setting clear and realistic goals, and imagining consequences.

## EXPLANATION OF P-A-G-E FOR TEACHERS

(See Student Handouts 1–3)

Good decision making involves a number of subskills. The more students can use the subskills, the more complex their thinking will be when they make decisions. In order to help students recall the subskills involved in decision making, these books offer a simple acronym—**P-A-G-E**. The acronym is only meant to help students recollect the subskills rather than provide an actual formula for making decisions; decision-making problems are too complex and varied for step-by-step formulas. For instance, in one problem, students will need to focus on envisioning unintended consequences, while in another, historical context will be more important. Research indicates that expert decision makers don't follow step-by-step models. The **P-A-G-E** acronym consists of guidelines only, not specific steps or points that must be followed.

## PROBLEM

Student Handout 3, “P-A-G-E Explanations and Examples,” discusses the specific parts of **P-A-G-E**. The first section focuses on analyzing the problem, explaining what some experts call “framing.” Framing seems to have a variety of meanings for different people. The handout emphasizes finding the underlying problem in an attempt to keep things simple for students. It also asks, “What’s really going on here?” in order to help students uncover underlying problems.

According to Gary Klein, experts (people with a great deal of experience in a particular field, such as nursing, firefighting, or chess) “recognize” particular problems as being of one type or another. Once they make this recognition (i.e., once they frame it or represent it a particular way), experts can make very quick and successful decisions—that’s why they’re experts! In making these recognitions, experts draw upon analogies they’ve learned through experience. Thus, the section of the handout that discusses framing is related to the section on analogies. Experiments with expert chess players have shown that recognition is extremely important. When pieces were placed on a board in completely random fashion, experts could remember the placement no better than novices. But when the pieces were arranged in a way similar to placements in a game, experts could remember the placements with a single glance and project ahead several possible moves.

How students see or frame a problem depends partly on how the problem is worded. To help students become more aware of wording, some problems are phrased in two different ways: for example, half the class could get the problem worded using positive language, while the other half gets it worded with negative language. After students make their decisions, the class can discuss the effects of different wording on their decisions. Was it a big factor?

Political Scientist James Voss believes that the way people perceive problems in foreign policy acts as a key variable in the decisions they make. He believes that problem representation (which is similar to framing) constrains what we do thereafter. For

example, if we see a problem as a case of communist aggression, we will make different choices than if we see it as a typical boundary dispute between neighboring countries. Questions included with some problems help students become more attuned to problem representation.

The section on assumptions is greatly simplified compared to the literature on assumptions, which delineates several different types of assumptions (presuppositions, working assumptions, etc.). The primary method used in these books to teach students to recognize their own assumptions is by asking them to identify which of a specific menu of assumptions they made. When they see a list of possible assumptions, they can better recognize which ones they've made. This strategy seems more effective than having students read a lengthy explanation on types of assumptions.

## **ASK FOR INFORMATION**

Asking questions is crucial in good decision making. The more people know about background sources and context, the better they will understand the real problem.

The “Guide to Thoughtful Decision Making” also emphasizes asking questions about analogies (“How is the historical case different from this decision-making problem?”), but you should also encourage students to think of historical analogies in the first place. Students will often think about a problem in terms of a personal analogy: for example, “I don’t like it when people criticize me, so it’s wrong for a country to make a harsh speech against another country.” Probing for personal or historical analogies, teachers should ask students where they got their ideas about what is really going on in a problem.

## **GOALS**

The section on goals includes setting clear, realistic goals and generating numerous options for accomplishing those goals. Questions about ethicality have also been included in this section, since ethics are related to setting goals.

## **EFFECTS**

The section on effects/consequences includes both long-term, unintended consequences and short-term possibilities of what could go wrong. Gary Kline argues that the ability to run mental simulations—that is, to envision what could go wrong and to imagine positive and negative consequences—is a vital skill in decision making. Every decision-making problem in this series emphasizes unintended consequences and things that could go wrong.

## **EVALUATING STUDENTS**

There are numerous ways to evaluate student progress in both content and decision-making skills. Here are a few examples:



- Quiz students on the vocabulary included in the relevant lesson(s)
- Have each student keep a decision-making log, as outlined in Student Handout 3. It's a good idea to copy the handout onto colored paper: you can then tell students after analyzing the outcome of a problem to turn to their green (for example) decision-making log sheet and record their thoughts. The right column requires students to reflect on their thinking.
- Have students keep a journal in which they comment on:
  - the decision actually made in history
  - what the actual decision makers did well or poorly
  - historical constraints on the decision makers
  - what the outcome of the decision reveals about that time period
  - the decision made by the student and what he/she did well or poorly
  - the "lessons" of this decision-making problem
- Have students write a "history" of an event after the class has participated in a decision-making problem on that event and has discussed the outcome. I've required students to include at least two elements of **P-A-G-E** in their historical analysis.
- As a test question, have students make a decision about a problem you haven't used in class. Give them the problem and instruct them to make a decision and explain their thinking according to **P-A-G-E**. You have criteria in the suggested answers for grading their work.

# EVALUATION TIPS FOR STUDENT HANDOUT 5

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Have students complete Handout 5, in which they evaluate a sample historical decision (Theodore Roosevelt on the 1902 coal strike). Below are eight elements of **P-A-G-E** to consider when grading student responses to this question. Students need only address four out of the eight, and they only need to suggest ideas for the ones they do address. For example, I give credit to students who suggest any possible underlying problem or ask any reasonable question.

- **Underlying problem:** Students should ask whether Roosevelt considered the following: how social Darwinist philosophy might have influenced owners; the inequality of power between owners and workers; and the fact that many Americans favored a *laissez-faire* approach to the economy
- **Point of view:** Did Roosevelt see the problem from the owners', workers', or consumers' points of view? (It seems he largely considered the consumers'.)
- **Ask about context:** Students should ask at least one question. Possibilities include: Is this action constitutional? How long has the strike been going on? Can owners afford to increase pay? Has there been any violence? What does the public think about this dispute? Have presidents interfered in strikes before? What happened when they did? Is the price of coal rising, falling, or remaining steady? Are coal companies' profits rising, falling, or remaining steady?
- **Ask about analogies:** In what ways is this strike similar to or different from earlier strikes? Are these differences important?
- **Goal:** Roosevelt might have had the following goals:
  - o Preserving economic growth
  - o Promoting fairness
  - o Avoiding conflict
  - o Keeping a supply of coal available to consumers
  - o Getting reelected

Give no credit if students don't ask how realistic the goals are.

- **Options:** Should Roosevelt have considered other options besides getting involved in negotiations and threatening to take over and run the mines?
- **Unintended consequences:** Students should consider the long-term consequences of Roosevelt's involvement in negotiating the strike, and in threatening to take over the mines. (Workers would be more likely to try to involve the government in future labor disputes; expanding the power of government could possibly move the country toward socialism; business interests could become hostile toward the Republican Party.)
- **Play out the option:** Roosevelt should have considered what could have gone wrong:
  - o The Supreme Court might have struck down any action to seize the mines
  - o Soldiers might not have been able to run the mines effectively
  - o The government would have placed itself in competition with other privately run coal companies. In such a situation, while other companies

would be looking to turn a profit, the government's goal would be merely to keep coal available to the public. Thus, the government could charge lower prices, which could end up hurting the profits of the privately run coal companies.

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# GUIDE TO THOUGHTFUL DECISION MAKING

## Student Handout 1

### Welcome to “Foresight” History!

The problems in the *Decision Making in U. S. History* series will challenge you to make choices about events in United States history before you know what actually happened in those events. This is learning history in a foresighted way—first you decide, then you find out what really happened—rather than as hindsight history, where you just find out what happened. You will get at least two benefits from this method of learning history: First, you will improve your decision-making skills. Someday, when you avoid buying a “lemon” used car that would have wasted thousands of dollars, you can thank your history teacher for helping you build up your decision-making skills. Second, it’s fun to learn history as though it’s a cliffhanger mystery, where you’re eager to find out if your decision worked or ended in disaster. But don’t forget to concentrate on the actual historical decision that was made and how it turned out. You can learn a lot about your own decision making through these problems, but you’re mainly in class to learn history and to understand what really happened, not what could have happened.

### What is Decision Making?

You’ve learned about problem solving in other courses such as math and science, and you’ve encountered problem solving when you’ve tried to build something or fix something. Decision making resembles problem solving in some ways (for example, it involves defining a problem and thinking of alternatives), but it’s different from problem solving in that there is no one right answer. The lessons in this book involve “messy” problems: even long after the event, people often disagree about what the best decision was or should have been.

### Decision Making as Experience

Experience teaches you how to make good decisions. Every decision that you make—whether good or bad—better equips you to make good decisions in the future. For example, you would probably feel safer being treated by a doctor who had a lot of experience than by a brand new doctor. The historical problems your teacher gives you will provide you with experience in making decisions in general, and will help you become a better decision maker in your role as a citizen. You won’t just have learned about history, you will have experienced it! For some of these lessons, you will feel that you made good decisions; for others, you may feel that you’ve made errors in judgment. As you go along, try to reflect on your experiences as well as on your thinking about decision making.

## **P-A-G-E Guide to Decision Making**

While experience is the most important way to learn to make better decisions, it's also helpful to learn some basic decision-making skills so that you know what areas to target in order to improve your overall decision making. Handout 2 contains an acronym, **P-A-G-E**, that provides you with guidelines for making better decisions. These aren't rules you have to follow; they are just meant as helpful tips you can use to improve your thinking about decision making.

Handout 3 explains and gives examples for each part of the **P-A-G-E** guide to decision making. Keep it in your notebook for reference as you make decisions about situations in U.S. history. Every single **P-A-G-E** guideline will not necessarily apply to each decision-making problem you encounter. You (with the assistance of your teacher) will have to determine which guidelines will work best with which problems.



# P-A-G-E ANALYSIS FOR DECISION MAKING

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## Student Handout 2

<b>Decision-Making Analysis</b>
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**P=Problem:**

- Identify any **underlying problem**: What's really going on here?
- Consider **other points of view**: How do others see this situation?
- What are my **assumptions**? **Emotions**?

**A=Ask for information (about):**

- **Historical context**: What is the history and context of this issue?
- **Reliability of sources**: Does my information come from experts on this topic? Do the sources have a reason to lie? Is the information supported by evidence?
- **Historical analogies**: What has been done in the past about situations like this? In what ways do these other situations differ from this situation?

**G=Goals:**

- What are my main **goals**? Are they **realistic**?
- Generate **options** to help achieve these goals. Are they **ethical**?

**E=Effects:**

- Predict **unintended consequences**. What are some long-term effects?
- **Play out the options**. What could go wrong?

# P-A-G-E EXPLANATIONS AND EXAMPLES

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## Student Handout 3

### PROBLEM

#### Underlying problem:

Sometimes a decision-making situation will seem very difficult until you recognize that an underlying problem exists. For example, suppose two people come in for marriage counseling because they have been arguing a lot about money. The counselor is going to look for an underlying problem (such as unfulfilled needs) that might have led to spending more money. A student doing poorly in school might turn things around by discovering she needs glasses—the underlying problem. Please remember that you should not just repeat or rephrase the problem: instead, you need to look for what's behind it, for what's causing it. Underlying problems are not openly given as part of the decision-making situation—you have to figure them out on your own.

Another way to think of this skill is “the ability to see what is really going on.” Some people call this “framing” the problem: in other words, by putting a “frame” around the heart of the problem and excluding unimportant parts, you discover what's really important. You need to call on your own personal experiences in order to see what's really significant. In history, you do this by making analogies. In a sense, you need to say, “The problem we are facing now is like a problem people faced before [this is an analogy], so I'd better do *this*.” The way you see (or frame, or represent) a problem influences the decision you eventually make.

#### Example:

*Bob's grades have been much lower for the last three months in history class. He says he's bored in class, and that he'll improve his grades when he really needs to.*

List at least two possible underlying problems for Bob's lower grades. What's really causing his problems?

#### Other points of view:

Other people are always involved in decisions in history. We need to consider their points of view as we make decisions about history, just as we need to consider other points of view in our own lives today.

Example:

*My brother Mark is angry with me for borrowing his car three times. But he's wrong to be angry. I needed to get to work each time I borrowed the car.*

Rewrite this problem from Mark's point of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

Sometimes after we make a decision, we realize that we had made an assumption that we didn't even know we were making until it was too late.

Emotions are part of being human, so they represent a legitimate part of the decision-making process. We do, however, need to be aware of our emotions during the decision-making process. Emotions, especially frustration and anger, can sometimes lead us to make irrational choices. People frequently become frustrated and say, "I've had enough of this situation. Let's just do something!" But they often come to regret the rushed choices they made under such circumstances. They would have benefited from saying to themselves, "Okay. I'm getting frustrated, but I still need to take the time necessary to make a good decision."

Studies have shown that when people feel pessimistic or are in a bad mood, they exaggerate the possible negative consequences of decisions; similarly, when they feel optimistic or are in a good mood, they overestimate positive consequences.

Emotions and gut feelings are unavoidable and natural, but thinking the situation through is crucial to making good decisions. We wouldn't want the President to decide about nuclear missiles in Cuba based solely on his gut feeling—we'd want him to gather information, consider several options, predict the possible consequences for millions of people, and so forth. As decision makers, we need to account for the role of emotion and gut feelings in our decisions and be aware of them as we choose.

Example for assumptions:

*Player to teammate: "We'll have no trouble beating Central. After all, Central lost to Suburban, and we beat Suburban the first game of the year."*

What is this player assuming?

Example for emotions:

*Suppose you have two children and are trying to decide whether to buy life insurance. An insurance ad shows a boy who can't go to college because his father died and had no life insurance.*

To what emotion does the ad appeal?

<b>ASK</b>
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**Ask about historical context (history of the issue; context in the world):**

Asking questions about both the historical background and the present context of a problem are both essential for getting the information necessary to make a good decision. If you don't know the background, you will have difficulty deciding on the best solution. Every problem has a backstory, and we need to find out what that story is. The key is to ask questions that will help you obtain the necessary information.

Example:

*You are 17 years old, and you have been thinking about buying a car. You work part time after school, about ten hours per week. Your parents have told you that you'll have to pay for the car yourself. You go to a used car dealership and the salesman shows you a used car that costs \$2000.*

What questions should you ask before you buy it?

**Ask about reliability of sources:**

Information is crucial to making good decisions, but we need know what the sources of our information are and consider the reliability of those sources. Basing a decision on bad information from questionable sources is a recipe for disaster. You can evaluate sources by asking if the person giving the information has a reason to lie, if the person is a primary source, if other sources support this information, if the person is an expert on the topic, what the person's bias is on the topic, or if the person has been reliable in the past.

You should always be probing for disagreements among sources. Be wary if no disagreements seem to exist. It might mean your advisers are engaging in "groupthink," where they all get pulled to the same option without thoroughly thinking through other options or considering what could go wrong. Always try to find people who disagree with a proposed option. If you can't find one, ask tough questions yourself.

Example:

*The car salesman says this used car is in perfect condition.*

How reliable is the salesman? What reasons might you have to distrust him?

**Ask about historical analogies:**

It's natural to compare the problems we encounter to other, similar situations that have occurred in the past. In fact, one reason we study history in the first place is to build a deeper understanding of our world today through learning about historical events/analogies. You should try to think of analogies to the problems you encounter. As mentioned above in the section on underlying problems, you derive your understanding of what is important in a problem (framing) from analogies. (Example: "This problem is

like that situation George Washington was in at Trenton during the American Revolution.”) The more you draw on your knowledge of history, the more likely you are to fully understand a decision-making problem.

However, analogies are tricky because important differences often exist between the problems we encounter now and the historical cases we use to guide our decisions. We should always evaluate analogies by asking, “How do the two cases differ? In what ways are they similar? Are they similar enough to justify the conclusion?” We should also consider whether other, more appropriate analogies exist that could provide us with better guidance.

Example:

*Suppose you drove in a race at a parking lot near a mall a month ago. You raced your five-year old Toyota Corolla, and your time was 36.8 seconds. Margaret told you that she drove in a race last Sunday and her time was 28.2 seconds. She says this proves she is a better race driver than you are.*

What are two questions you could ask to determine whether Margaret is really a better driver?

## GOALS

### **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**

We can’t make good decisions if we are unclear about our goals. Once we establish goals, we can more easily set priorities and use them as a basis for choosing between options.

However, establishing goals isn’t enough. The goals we set need to be realistic. Some decisions in history have been catastrophic because the decision makers didn’t notice that they had unrealistic goals. It didn’t matter how carefully they exercised their other decision-making skills—because their goals were unrealistic, they would never achieve them.

Example:

*You’re out of school and need a job, since you live on your own and have expenses (rent, car payments, food, heat, insurance, etc.). You’ve got two offers. The first one is close to where you live and pays a lot more money, but it’s doing work you wouldn’t like. The second job is farther away and pays less money (but enough to cover your expenses), but it’s doing something that you really like.*

What do you do? After you decide, list your goals and ask how realistic they are.

### **Generate options to help achieve my goals. Are they ethical?**

After you've made a decision, you don't want to be stuck thinking, "Oh, I wish I'd thought of that option before I decided!" At the same time, though, you don't want to become paralyzed trying to think of every possible option, no matter how remote. Nevertheless, important decisions should spur us to take the time to consider a number of options. We should also consider whether the options we come up with are ethical.

Example:

*You are 25 years old, single, work full-time ten miles from where you live, and drive your compact car to work. In recent months, gas prices have risen to very high levels. Your main goal at this point is to save money.*

**What options do you have for coping with these price increases?**

<b>EFFECTS</b>
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**Predict unintended consequences:**

Most of the time, predicting unintended consequences will be more important than any other thinking you do about a problem. For some problems, it may be enough just to see the situation from other points of view or to ask questions about background or context. However, considering consequences will do more to help you avoid that awful feeling you get when you've made a bad decision.

Example:

*Suppose you are 35 years old and have a son and a daughter, ages five and two. The company you work for is asking you to move to a different state. You can refuse and take a pay cut.*

If you make the move, what unintended consequences might it have on you and your family in ten years? Guess at what the effects of the move might be.

**Play out the option. What could go wrong?**

Here, you need to think about short-term effects, as opposed to predicting unintended consequences, which focuses more on long-term effects. For example, say you're playing the role of president and decide to get a law passed to help solve a problem. You have to take into account the fact that Congress has the constitutional power to pass laws, and thus to get your law enacted you need to convince Congress to approve it. By noticing that the approval of Congress is vital to the success or failure of your decision, you've identified something that could go wrong, and need to plan accordingly (overcoming opposition by talking to individual members of Congress, thinking of another option as backup, etc.).

Example:

*Suppose you are 30 years old and working at a job you like pretty well. You get an offer to work at a job for higher pay that is further away.*

If you take the job, what might happen? List two or more things that could go wrong.

# Student Handout 4

## What I learned about P.A.G.E. from this topic (2 examples)

# **EVALUATING DECISION MAKING**

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## **Student Handout 5**

A coal strike broke out in the winter of 1902. President Theodore Roosevelt decided to intervene in the strike for the following reasons:

- The owners of the mines were making plenty of money, so they could afford to give workers the small wage increase they had requested.
- The owners had refused to negotiate with the workers, so something needed to be done to resolve the situation.
- The strike took place during the winter, causing a shortage of coal for heating homes exactly when it was needed most.
- Roosevelt might have thought, “Heck, I’m the president. I should be able to straighten this crisis out.”

Roosevelt involved himself in negotiations between the workers and owners. He felt, however, that the owners weren’t really making an effort to solve the problems in the coal mines, so for the good of the country he threatened to send in U.S. soldiers to take over and run the mines. The owners wouldn’t receive any of the money from the sale of this coal.

**Evaluate President Roosevelt’s thinking according to P-A-G-E.**

**P:**

**A:**

**G:**

**E:**



# IMPERIALISM AND PROGRESSIVISM

## Introduction

### OVERVIEW

This volume consists of 10 lessons—five that focus on progressive reforms and changes within the United States, and five that look at foreign policy in an age of imperialism. As with the other volumes in the *Decision Making in U.S. History* series, this book does not attempt to cover every major topic from the era. Rather, lessons were constructed around interesting decision-making problems.

### SKILLS GRID FOR THIS VOLUME

X = part of lesson

E = emphasized in the lesson

Skill	Lesson									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Underlying problem	E			E	X		E		E	
Point of view	X	X	X		X			E	X	X
Assumptions/emotions	X			X						X
Ask—context	E	X	E	X	E	X		E	X	X
Ask—sources	X		E							E
Ask—analogies								X		
Goals? Realistic?	E	X	X	X	X		X			X
Options? Ethical?		E	X	E		X				E
Unintended consequences	X	E	X	E	E			X		
Play out option	X	E			X	E		X	E	E

# LESSON 1: CRISIS IN CUBA, 1898

## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

Though some historians argue that the United States had already looked to expand overseas before 1898, the Spanish-American War represented the first time the U.S. had taken possession of colonies as a result of winning a military conflict. This lesson has students focus on asking questions. Students receive a menu of questions that can help them make their decision, but they'll only have access to a limited number of answers. The problem in this lesson involves a clear case of historical forces outweighing personal choices (those of President McKinley). Students can learn a great deal by understanding these historical forces.

### VOCABULARY

- José Martí—Inspirational leader of the Cuban rebels; died a martyr
- Guerrilla fighters—Small paramilitary forces, without uniforms, who fight few traditional battles. Guerrillas blend in with the local population or hide in the countryside, usually in small groups.
- General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau (a.k.a General Weyler)—Spanish general in Cuba, dubbed “the Butcher” for his “reconcentration camp” policies, which led to widespread starvation
- Reconcentration camps—The Spanish moved the Cuban population to camps in order to keep an eye on them and to clear the countryside of civilians, thus making it easier for them to hunt down Cuban rebels
- U.S.S. *Maine*—U.S. battleship that exploded and sank in Havana Harbor. The U.S. government blamed the explosion on a Spanish attack.
- De Lome letter—Letter from a Spanish official that insulted President McKinley by claiming that the president had bowed to public opinion regarding the crisis with Spain
- Manifest Destiny—Belief that the U.S. was destined to spread democratic ideals and forms of government throughout the world
- “Survival of the fittest”—Social-Darwinist belief regarding competition for survival or predominance that is used to justify many business and social practices
- Captain Alfred Mahan—American naval commander who emphasized the importance of military power on the high seas
- GDP (gross domestic product)—The measure of all goods and services an economy produces in a year
- Depression—An economic downturn characterized by high unemployment and a decline in the GDP
- Party platform—The stated positions of a political party on various issues; these positions are called planks because actual platforms upon which politicians of the time spoke were constructed from wooden planks

- Theodore Roosevelt—U.S. president who was assistant secretary of the navy at the time of the Spanish-American War; favored American expansion; leader of the Rough Riders
- Rough Riders—A volunteer U.S. cavalry regiment composed of cowboys and ranchers that Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood was organized at the start of the Spanish-American War
- Embalmed beef—Meat that was allegedly injected with toxic chemicals; might have killed several American soldiers

<b>DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED</b>
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- Identify any underlying problem
- Consider other points of view
- Recognize emotions
- Ask about historical context
- Ask about reliability of sources
- Establish realistic goals
- Generate options
- Consider unintended consequences
- Play out the options

# LESSON PLAN

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## **A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (two 40-minute class periods)**

### Procedure:

Have students read Handout 1 and decide individually on an answer to question 1. Next, break the class into small groups and have students discuss and answer the question. Bring the class back together and ask for their responses. Which option did they favor? Ideally, students will say they think other options exist besides negotiating further or going to war with Spain. If no one makes this point, however, ask students to list other options. Some possibilities:

- The U.S. could purchase Cuba. In fact, President McKinley seriously considered asking Congress to raise \$300 million in order for the U.S. to buy the island, but Congress didn't like the idea, believing it didn't make sense to buy Cuba from Spain when Spain was probably going to lose it to the Cubans anyway. Spanish leaders rejected the sale for two reasons: (1) their queen wanted to pass Cuba on to her son, and (2) Spanish leaders felt that selling off any part of the empire would be a dishonor to Spain and would diminish the country's world standing.
- Spain could allow Cuba autonomous rule while the island remained part of the Spanish empire. McKinley also considered this option seriously and tried to influence the Cubans to accept it. The Cubans, however, refused to settle for anything less than full independence.

Distribute Handout 2, which contains a list of 16 questions about the crisis. Each group should pick six questions they would like to have answered. When the groups have selected their questions, they will then come to the teacher to get printed copies of the answers to those questions. (Make copies of Handout 3 and separate the answers into piles arranged by question number.). Groups should next decide whether the U.S. should go to war with Spain. Walk around the room to see if students have any follow-up questions.

Bring the class back together. Ask for a show of hands as to how many students would have the U.S. go to war, how many would continue to negotiate, and how many favor other options. Have students discuss their answers.

Give students Handout 4, which describes the actual decision McKinley made and its effects. Discuss the outcomes and compare them to the decisions students made. If you want to discuss the historical reasons behind the decision to go to war, use Handout 5, as described below in the "Placing the Actual Decision into Historical Context" section. You can also make copies of Handout 3 for the entire class, since it contains the answers to all 16 questions and gives information regarding the historical reasons behind the U.S. decision to go to war.

Have students read the Platt Amendment (the primary source on Handout 6) and answer the questions that follow it. Discuss students' answers.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what, if anything, they would have done differently now that they know the outcomes. Which decision-making skills did they find especially important in coming to conclusions about these issues? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the “Decision-Making Analysis” section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Distribute Handout 5 (“Analyzing President McKinley’s Decision”) and have students answer the three questions. Tell students to refer to the answers for the questions they asked, since these answers relate to various aspects of historical context (economics, military power, etc.). Since students only have the answers to the six questions their group asked, you may want to copy and distribute then answers to all 16 questions before discussing the decisions students made.

### Connecting to Today:

Have students compare recent humanitarian crises (for example, Cambodia in 1973, Somalia in 1993, Rwanda in 1994, Bosnia/Kosovo in the late 1990s, or Darfur/Sudan circa 2003–2007) to the one that took place in Cuba in 1898. Given what students now know, under what circumstances do they think the United States should send troops to stop a humanitarian nightmare? Have them write a policy position for the president.

### Troubleshooting:

This lesson has a lot of specialized vocabulary, which you may want to review with students before starting the problem. Particularly challenging concepts include depression, manifest destiny, social Darwinism, and party platforms. Also, some students may not understand the ways in which diplomacy works—for example, the fact that Spain has an ambassador in Washington and that the U.S. has an ambassador in Madrid, and so forth.

## **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (40 minutes)**

Assign Handout 1 as homework, also giving students Handout 3 (which has the answers to all the questions). In class, ask for a show of hands to see how many students favor going to war and how many want to continue negotiations. Next, have students pair up and discuss their decisions and reasoning. Come back together as a class and ask how many students changed their minds after discussing their decisions with their classmates. Distribute Handout 4 (which has the actual historical decision and outcomes) and discuss.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

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(For outcomes and analysis for students, see Handouts 4 and 5.)

## PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S THINKING

According to historian John Offner, the yellow press and other sensationalist reporting had little to do with the onset of the Spanish-American War. By 1896, both the U.S. Congress and the general public had become sympathetic to the rebels before most of the sensationalist reporting occurred. Very real horrors in Cuba had outraged many Americans; thus, the newspapers' exaggerations of events on the island catered to—rather than shaped—public opinion.

Traditional views of the Spanish-American War portray McKinley as a weak president pushed into war by politics and the yellow press. Some historians disagree, giving McKinley high marks for controlling the situation while continuously keeping open the possibility of negotiating a peaceful solution to the crisis. These historians argue that McKinley, who had seen many horrifying casualties during the Civil War, tried every option to avoid U.S. conflict with Spain. When Spain refused to negotiate, McKinley reluctantly chose war.

Other historians feel McKinley hesitated to take a decisive position. According to historian Ivan Musicant, McKinley never recognized that the Spanish were simply using delaying tactics. Musicant asserts that McKinley should have realized that the differences between Cuban rebels and Spain could not be resolved, and should have pushed for Cuban independence much earlier. For example, McKinley could have forced independence for Cuba after the de Lome letter had embarrassed the Spanish, or after the *Maine* disaster. As long as the Spanish thought they could keep McKinley from taking clear action, they had no need to face the reality that only Cuban independence would resolve the crisis.

Historian Richard Hofstadter has argued that the depression of the 1890s made Americans more sympathetic to underdogs such as the Cubans and also made them more inclined to favor aggressive action. Hofstadter states, “Men often respond to frustration with acts of aggression and allay their anxieties by threatening acts against others.”

Some historians view Stewart Woodford, the American ambassador to Spain, as inconsistent: sometimes he was naïve and easily tricked by Spain's delaying tactics; at other times he showed great insight into the dilemma Spain faced regarding Cuba. This lesson includes some of Woodford's more hopeful comments as well as some of his good advice.

One of President McKinley's secretaries, George Cortelyou, claimed that 90% of letters sent to the White House supported the president's peaceful approach to the crisis. This

evidence does not appear on Handout 1 because the secretary most likely made the comment in order to defend the president, and because this statement doesn't match any of the other evidence showing that the public was pushing for war.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem**
- **Consider other points of view**
- What are my assumptions? **Emotions?**

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- **Reliability of sources**
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- **Predict unintended consequences**
- **Play out the options: what could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Underlying problem:** A key to understanding this crisis is deciding whether Spain had the ability to effectively rule Cuba. If not, that underlying problem could provide the impetus to push the United States toward war. Another underlying problem was the growing political power of the United States and the increasing weakness of Spain.
- **Other points of view:** Students must consider the points of view of both the Spanish and the Cubans. The Spanish felt granting Cuba independence or surrendering the colony to American control would dishonor their country and diminish their world standing. The Cuban rebels believed they could win independence and thus didn't need to settle for autonomy under the Spanish or accede to some other compromise.
- **Emotions:** Did students become frustrated? Were they swayed by General Weyler's actions, or by the photograph of the sunken *Maine*? Did their emotions help or hurt their decision?
- **Ask about historical context:** As mentioned in the introduction (and as highlighted on Handouts 2 and 3), the lesson aims to help students refine their skills at asking relevant questions.

- **Ask about reliability of sources:** Ambassador Woodford was sometimes naïve, as noted earlier. President McKinley should not have relied on him as a source, as he was sometimes much too hopeful for peace.
- **Goals:** It's important to be clear about goals. What was the main goal of the U.S. in the crisis? Was the U.S. liberating Cuba from Spanish rule? Spreading democracy? Maintaining stability in the Western hemisphere? Expanding U.S. territory and power? It's also crucial to set realistic goals. As mentioned earlier, some historians feel McKinley should have decided earlier to go to war, claiming it was the only solution to the crisis. They also argue that the disparity in power between an increasingly strong United States and an increasingly weak Spain meant military action had a very good chance of resolving the crisis.
- **Consider the consequences:** Some of the long-term consequences (some unintended) of the war appear in numbers 5–13 of Handout 4. How many of these consequences did students anticipate?
- **Play out the options. What could go wrong?** Some of the short-term consequences (including things that went wrong) of the war appear in numbers 1–4 of Handout 4. How many of these consequences did students anticipate?



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# LESSON 1: CRISIS IN CUBA, 1898

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## Vocabulary

- José Martí—Inspirational leader of the Cuban rebels; died a martyr
- Guerrilla fighters—Small paramilitary forces, without uniforms, who fight few traditional battles. Guerrillas blend in with the local population or hide in the countryside, usually in small groups.
- General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau (a.k.a General Weyler)—Spanish general in Cuba, dubbed “the Butcher” for his “reconcentration camp” policies, which led to widespread starvation
- Reconcentration camps—The Spanish moved the Cuban population to camps in order to keep an eye on them and to clear the countryside of civilians, thus making it easier for them to hunt down Cuban rebels
- U.S.S. *Maine*—U.S. battleship that exploded and sank in Havana Harbor. The U.S. government blamed the explosion on a Spanish attack.
- De Lome Letter—Letter from a Spanish official that insulted President McKinley by claiming that the president had bowed to public opinion regarding the crisis with Spain
- Manifest Destiny—Belief that the U.S. was destined to spread democratic ideals and forms of government throughout the world
- “Survival of the fittest”—Social Darwinist belief regarding competition for survival or predominance that is used to justify many business and social practices
- Captain Alfred Mahan—American naval commander who emphasized the importance of military power on the high seas
- GDP (gross domestic product)—The measure of all goods and services an economy produces in a year
- Depression—An economic downturn characterized by high unemployment and a decline in the GDP
- Party platform—The stated positions of a political party on various issues; these positions are called planks because actual platforms upon which politicians of the time spoke were constructed from wooden planks
- Theodore Roosevelt—U.S. president who was assistant secretary of the navy at the time of the Spanish-American War; favored American expansion; leader of the Rough Riders
- Rough Riders—A volunteer U.S. cavalry regiment composed of cowboys and ranchers that Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood was organized at the start of the Spanish-American War
- Embalmed beef—Meat that was allegedly injected with toxic chemicals; may have killed several American soldiers

# LESSON 1: CRISIS IN CUBA, 1898

## Student Handout 1



### PROBLEM

It is April 1898. You are Republican President William McKinley, and the U.S. is facing a crisis in Cuba. For more than 300 years, the Spanish government has controlled Cuba as its colony, but for the past three years, Spain has faced an all-out rebellion on the island. The Cuban rebels, inspired by their martyred leader, José Martí (who was killed in battle in 1895), have destroyed coffee and sugar crops and disrupted the economy. They are waging a guerrilla war in which rebel soldiers blend in with the civilian population and deploy hit-and-run attacks on the Spanish. No longer a great world power, Spain has limited resources with which to fight the rebels.

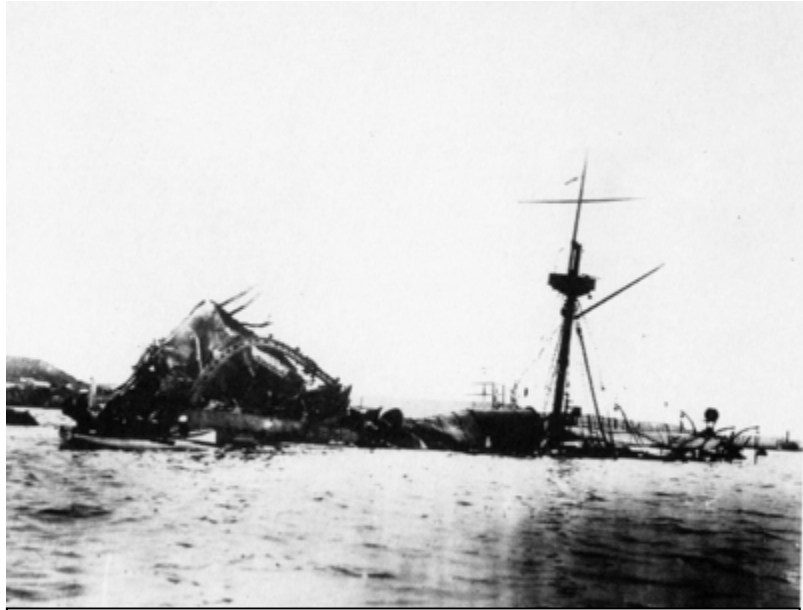
Spain had been losing the fight when they put General Weyler in charge of Spanish forces in Cuba. Weyler moved civilians into concentration camps so that the rebels couldn't vanish into the general population. The camps posed a major dilemma for the rebel soldiers: if they joined the civilians in the camps, the camp guards would control them; but if the rebels remained in the countryside, Spanish soldiers could easily attack them without creating civilian casualties. The American press has strongly criticized the Spanish (many refer to General Weyler as "The Butcher") and has printed many articles favorable toward the Cuban rebels.

In 1897 you sent a close friend, William Calhoun, to Cuba on a fact-finding mission. Calhoun returned with a bleak report, saying the Spanish were mistreating civilians and

really couldn't control the island. He recommended that the U.S. send troops to Cuba to end the conflict. You sent a note demanding that Spanish leaders reform their policies concerning Cuba. In the summer of 1897, a more liberal government came to power in Spain and made some reforms, such as removing General Weyler and allowing Cuba some independence under Spanish rule (a situation called "autonomy") in November of that year. The situation, however, grew more dangerous in January as fighting intensified in Cuba, with riots erupting in Havana. You decided to send a battleship, the U.S.S. *Maine*, to protect American citizens in Havana.

In February, the crisis worsened. American newspapers publicized a private letter written by the Spanish ambassador, Enrique Dupuy de Lome (the letter was stolen and leaked to the press), in which he called you a weak leader who gives in to public demand. Soon after, the *Maine*, while moored in Havana, sank in a mysterious explosion. The U.S. Naval Court of Inquiry made its report a few weeks ago on March 24, ruling that an external explosion, possibly from an underwater mine, sank the *Maine*. A Spanish commission, however, ruled that the incident was an accident.

You demanded that Spain declare a truce to the fighting, put an end to the concentration camps, and grant Cuba some form of independence. You declared that if the Spanish could not come to an agreement with the Cubans, you, as U.S. president, would act as the final arbiter of a settlement. Now, in April, Spanish leaders have replied that they will agree to a cease-fire if the rebels request one. They also have agreed to settle the dispute over the *Maine*, discontinue the concentration camps on the western half of the island, and increase aid to the Cuban people. In their statement, they made no mention of Cuban independence or your offer to arbitrate the dispute.



The wreckage of the U.S.S. *Maine*

## QUESTIONS

1. The world is waiting to hear your decision. Should the U.S. negotiate further or go to war with Spain?
2. What do you think President McKinley actually did?

# **LESSON 1: CRISIS IN CUBA, 1898**

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## **Student Handout 2**

You can get answers from your teacher for six of the following 16 questions:

1. What are the economic and humanitarian situations in Cuba?
2. What beliefs underlie U.S. foreign policy? Do Americans favor expansion?
3. How strong is the U.S. economy? How large are U.S. exports?
4. What is the military situation between Cuban rebels and the Spanish army?
5. How large are U.S. investments in Cuba? How do American businesses view the prospect of war?
6. With an election approaching in a few months, what are Democrats and Republicans saying?
7. How do U.S. diplomats view the crisis in Cuba?
8. How have American newspapers reported the crisis?
9. How does the American public feel about the crisis?
10. How do foreign governments view the crisis?
11. How do the Spanish public and government view the crisis? How has the war affected the Spanish economy?
12. How strong is the U.S. army and navy compared to those of the Spanish?
13. Are the Cuban rebels likely to compromise with Spain? Are the rebels popular with the Cuban people? Are they capable of running a government?
14. What are the views of Americans who oppose war?
15. What's happening in my (President McKinley's) personal life?
16. How economically powerful is the United States compared to other countries, particularly Spain?

# LESSON 1: CRISIS IN CUBA, 1898

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## Student Handout 3

### 1. What are the economic and humanitarian situations in Cuba?

American businessmen in Cuba report that Cuban society is falling apart. A man named C.F. Koop testified to Congress that he had seen children begging for food and thousands dead in the area he visited during January and February. He estimated that between 500,000 and 600,000 had died. Another businessman named Edward Atkins also reported high death rates in concentration camps in the area near his plantation.

Earlier this month, Redfield Proctor, a Republican senator who until recently had pushed for negotiations with Spain, made a speech on the horrors of the concentration camps and the widespread starvation in Cuba. He called for America to go to war with Spain in order to remedy the situation. "It is not peace nor is it war," he said. "It is desolation and distress, misery and starvation." He explained that the concentration camps were like prisons. "Torn from their homes, with foul earth, foul air, foul water, and foul food or none, what wonder that one-half have died and that one-quarter of the living are so diseased that they cannot be saved?... Little children are still walking about with arms and chest terribly emaciated, eyes swollen, and abdomen bloated to three times the natural size. The physicians say these cases are hopeless."

Proctor continued, "I went to Cuba with a strong conviction that the picture had been overdrawn; that a few cases of starvation and suffering had inspired and stimulated the press correspondents, and that they had given free play to a strong, natural, and highly cultivated imagination... I could not believe that out of a population of 1,600,000, two hundred thousand had died within these Spanish forts... within a few months past. To me the strongest appeal is not the barbarity practiced by Weyler nor the loss of the *Maine*, if our worst fears should prove true... but the spectacle of a million and a half people... struggling for freedom and deliverance from the worst misgovernment of which I ever had knowledge."

### 2. What beliefs underlie U.S. foreign policy? Do Americans favor expansion?

During most of the 19th century, the U.S. has stayed out of European affairs and has warned European powers neither to interfere with nor try to control any of the independent nations of Latin America (a policy set forth by the Monroe Doctrine). Meanwhile, the U.S. government has expanded across the North American continent and pushed aside Native Americans, whom many whites viewed as "holding back civilization." Most Americans believe in Manifest Destiny—the idea that the nation is destined to spread its democratic ideals and institutions throughout the world. Many also believe that Charles Darwin's concept of "survival of the fittest" applies to countries as well as species, and that America has to keep expanding if it wants to survive.

In the past decade or so, some American leaders have pushed for expansion overseas. Captain Alfred Mahan, the U.S. military's leading naval strategist, has called for a powerful navy to protect American shipping. He urges the U.S. to establish strategic bases that can resupply ships with coal. Some strategic thinkers fear that a strong European power, such as Germany, could gain control of Cuba, which would threaten American prospects for building and running a canal in Nicaragua or Panama.

### **3. How strong is the U.S. economy? How large are U.S. exports?**

The U.S. economy, measured by the gross domestic product (GDP), is four times what it was 30 years ago. Some feared that such rapid growth would result in overproduction, with U.S. manufacturers producing more goods than consumers could buy. This concern was heightened by the four-year depression (characterized by high unemployment and a major decline in GDP) that ended last year. Many people believe overproduction caused the depression, and they believe the U.S. can avoid further problems by expanding exports. Although exports account for only 9% of all manufactured products, they are very important to companies that produce oil, sewing machines, and agricultural machinery. Singer Sewing Machines and Standard Oil, for example, are known all over the world. Exports have increased by four times over the past 35 years. The U.S. exports about 15% of its iron and steel, 25% of its sewing machines, 57% of its oil, 25% of its wheat, and 70–80% of its cotton. Even industries that don't export a high percentage of their products could stand to gain if new markets opened up.

### **4. What is the military situation between Cuban rebels and the Spanish Army?**

Your military advisers tell you that the fighting in Cuba has reached a stalemate—neither side can get the upper hand. Spanish leaders say they have a new strategy that will ultimately defeat the rebels. Other sources say that most of the Spanish army in Cuba is suffering from illness or afraid to go into the countryside at night. Morale is very low, most soldiers are poorly trained, and they haven't been paid for nine months. Out of the 200,000 soldiers the Spanish have sent to Cuba, 140,000 have either died, left the island in ill health, or ended up in military hospitals. Almost every poor Spanish family who couldn't purchase an exemption from military service has had at least one son die or become very ill. The rebels, about 30,000 in number, have limited ammunition but high morale and the support of most Cubans (about 90%, according to an American in Cuba). The rebels control the eastern end of the island and much of the countryside at the western end. The Spanish control Havana and other cities on the western end.

The rainy season begins in May and lasts until October. The Spanish will have to cease their offensive operations once the rain starts. The rebels can then try to extend their control to new areas.

Spain simply does not have the resources to fight an endless war. The Spanish have no real chance of defeating the rebels and will almost certainly lose the island.



### **5. How large are U.S. investments in Cuba? How do American businesses view the prospect of war?**

The U.S. has great economic interests in Cuba. Ninety-four percent of Cuba's sugar production and 87% of all Cuban exports went to the U.S. during the 1880s and 1890s. America has \$50 million in investments in Cuba, including stakes in many sugar plantations, railroads, and bridges. The ongoing rebellion in Cuba threatens these investments and has distracted the U.S. government from dealing with aggressive attempts by imperialistic European powers (particularly Germany and Russia) to monopolize trade with China.

Business leaders worry that war with Spain might hurt the U.S. economy, which has just begun to recover from a depression. When Congress passed a resolution supporting Cuban independence (and risking war) in December 1896, the price of U.S. stocks dropped steeply. War could disrupt trade, increase government deficits, and use up valuable resources needed elsewhere. The stock market has not performed well since March 17th, due to the uncertainty about Cuba and its effects on the American economy. In March and April, however, most business leaders started pushing for war. The *Wall Street Journal* wrote that the speech by Redfield Proctor on the horrors of Spanish rule in Cuba "converted a great many people in Wall Street who have heretofore taken the ground that the United States had no business to interfere in a revolution on Spanish soil." Many businessmen want the dispute with Spain to end, even if it requires military intervention. *Bankers Magazine* argued that "so many of our citizens are so involved in the commerce and productions of the island, that to protect these interests...the United States will have eventually to force the establishment of fair and reasonable government."

### **6. With an election approaching in a few months, what are Democrats and Republicans saying?**

The Republican platform in the 1896 election called for Cuban independence, along with the annexation of Hawaii; the construction of an American-owned canal in Central America; and a reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine. Expansionists, such as Theodore Roosevelt, say the U.S. needs to take strong action in Cuba. Other Republicans haven't said much publicly, trying to give you, as president, room to negotiate or adopt whatever policy you think best.

The Cuban crisis, however, has escalated over the past two months, and more and more congressmen, especially Democrats, have pressed for the U.S. to take strong action. Democrats argue that Republicans won't go to war over Cuba because big business opposes war. Democrats may be able to convince voters that Republicans are weak on military affairs and that they simply do whatever big business tells them. If voters agree, the Republicans will lose many seats in Congress in the upcoming fall elections. Henry Cabot Lodge, a prominent Republican senator, wrote that if the Republicans refused to go to war, the Democrats would sweep to victory in the coming elections. Republican leaders in Congress are now asking you to take strong action regarding the Cuban crisis: they want a Republican president, rather than the Democrats, to lead the country into war.

## 7. How do American diplomats view the crisis in Cuba?

The American ambassador to Cuba sympathizes with the Cuban rebels and feels the U.S. should attack Spain and take over Cuba.

The American ambassador to Spain, Stewart Woodford, sent this note from Madrid on April 10: "In view of Spanish government [granting a cease-fire]...I hope that you can obtain full authority from Congress to do whatever you shall deem necessary to secure immediate and permanent peace in Cuba by negotiations... I hope that nothing will be done to humiliate Spain, as I am satisfied that the present government is going, and is loyally ready to go, as fast and as far as it can."

A few months ago, however, Woodford had said that the Spanish officials feared that showing weakness regarding Cuba would lead to the downfall of its government: "They prefer the chances of war, with certain loss of Cuba, to the overthrow of the Dynasty [the Spanish queen]."

## 8. How have American newspapers reported the crisis?

Here are some headlines from U.S. newspapers:

- "All Cuba Aflame," *New York World* (February 20, 1897)
- "200,000 People Are Starving. General Weyler Trying 'To Kill Off the Breed'," *New York World* (April 15, 1897)
- "Whole Country Thrills With the War Fever," *New York Journal* (after the *Maine* explosion)
- "Destruction of the War Ship *Maine* Was the Work of an Enemy," *New York Journal*
- "Inactivity of the Administration Condemned," *New York World* (February 22, 1898)
- "Spain Is Now Actively Preparing for War," *New York World* (February 28, 1898)
- "FOR WAR! \$50,000,000!" *New York Journal* (March, 1898)
- "Terrible Portrayal of Spain's Misrule in Cuba," *New York World* (March 18, 1898)
- "President Favors Diplomacy, Congress Favors Force," *New York World* (March 26, 1898)
- "War Spirit in Congress Overwhelms McKinley," *New York World* (March 30, 1898)
- "Spain's Reply...Points to War," *New York World* (April 1, 1898)

The American press has reported heartbreaking stories of Cuban civilians dying because of cruel Spanish policies. The papers have published few, if any, reports on cruel or harmful actions on the part of the rebels.

### 9. How does the American public feel about the crisis?

Since the beginning of the rebellion in 1895, the American public has sympathized with the Cubans. Americans have avidly followed stories of U.S. citizens being mistreated by the Spanish. In one case, José Delgado, a sugar planter, showed his U.S. citizenship papers when accosted by Spanish troops; the Spanish officer in charge didn't believe Delgado's papers were authentic and had him shot. Another famous case involved Ricardo Ruiz, who had become an American citizen in Philadelphia. In Cuba, Ruiz was arrested and charged with attempting to blow up a train. He died 12 days later in solitary confinement.

In New York City, a group of Cuban Americans, known as the *Junto*, actively supports the Cuban rebels and has provided them with supplies, including guns and ammunition.

Some religious leaders have urged that the U.S. government negotiate with Spain, but the U.S. public in general wants war, and patriotic sentiment is running high. Audiences at theaters go wild, stamping, cheering, and weeping at the playing of the "Star-Spangled Banner." One person in Missouri said, "Everything is war talk up in our part of the country, and patriotism is oozing out of every boy who is old enough to pack feed to the pigs." Many people are angry that you, the president, haven't taken action against Spain. Protesters in Colorado and Virginia have hung up dolls and mannequins of you in effigy, and Republican leaders have received many angry letters. In the streets, Americans yell, "Remember the *Maine*! To hell with Spain!" Congress also seems to want war, and if you don't do something about the crisis in Cuba soon, Congress may exercise its war-making power.

### 10. How do foreign governments view the crisis?

Your diplomats report that Spain has tried to get other nations on its side, specifically Austria, Germany, and France. A rumor has arisen that the great powers of Europe feel the Spanish deserve time to see if they can defeat the rebels. Most diplomats, however, feel the Spanish cooked up this rumor to get the U.S. to back off. Britain, France, and Germany rely heavily on American trade and need to maintain good relations with the U.S. Your diplomats are confident that all three countries will stay out of a war between the U.S. and Spain. The American ambassador to Spain, Stewart Woodford, has said, "I believe that most Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans regard Cuba as within the legitimate zone of American influence." These other governments, however, don't want Spain to be humiliated or thrown into turmoil.

The German Emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, wants his nation to become a great naval power. The Germans would like to establish a naval base in the Caribbean, so they would gladly welcome an opportunity to see the U.S. distracted and possibly weakened by a war with Spain. On the other hand, it's too risky for any European power to act on its own and support Spain against the U.S., since other countries in Europe might then side with the Americans. With the major European powers all competing against one another for colonies, trade, and military supremacy, it's unlikely they will act together and take a side regarding the Cuban situation.

### **11. How do the Spanish public and government view the crisis? How has the war affected the Spanish economy?**

Three months ago (in January) riots broke out in Madrid, the Spanish capital. Protesters were upset with the reforms in Cuba (which removed General Weyler and gave Cubans more freedom), feeling that they showed weakness on the part of the government. The Spanish public wants the government to crush the Cuban rebellion. A newspaper in Spain argued against any cease-fire in Cuba and warned, "To abandon Cuba in the midst of a rebellion offended the nation's dignity; to give it to the Yankees...would be even more humiliating." Another Spanish paper stated, "It is better to weep over lost loved ones than to live in shame and dishonor."

The Spanish government fears that giving up Cuba without a fight could lead to a revolt by the Spanish army. The U.S. ambassador to Spain, Stewart Woodford, said that the Spanish public believes that without U.S. aid the rebellion in Cuba will run out of steam. He also believes Spanish leaders fear that showing weakness regarding Cuba could lead to the downfall of the government. "They prefer the chances of war, with certain loss of Cuba, to the overthrow of the Dynasty [the Spanish queen]," Woodford noted.

The three-year war in Cuba has crippled Spain's government and economy. To wage a war against the U.S. (or even to continue the war against the Cuban rebels), Spain will have to borrow a significant amount of money. Spain's currency, the peseta, has already dropped in value, so entering into a war with the U.S. could cause Spain's finances to collapse. Rising food costs and bread shortages in some Spanish towns have already led to protests and riots. Spanish leaders realize the U.S. is much stronger economically and marveled at a recent congressional bill that allocated \$50 million to upgrade the military, without the U.S. government having to borrow any of that money.

On April 10, Spain's ambassador to the U.S., Polo de Bernabe, notified Secretary of State John Sherman that the Spanish queen would call for an immediate suspension of the fighting in Cuba and an end to the concentration camps, and would also accept reports from Spanish and American investigations into the explosion of the U.S.S. *Maine*.

### **12. How strong is the U.S. army and navy compared to those of the Spanish?**

American generals claim that the U.S. military can raise 100,000 men in 24 hours and get them ready for action in a couple of weeks. Other evidence indicates problems. The entire American army currently consists of 26,000 men. The U.S. can get many volunteers, but supplying a large army poses a problem. Much of the equipment the army uses is old and outdated: for example, the army has very little smokeless powder for rifles, and many of the rifles themselves are single-shot rather than repeating. The military supply system is slow and bureaucratic, and the railroads are not prepared to move large numbers of soldiers to Florida (where generals would assemble troops for fighting in Cuba).

The U.S. navy, however, is much stronger than that of the Spanish, whose ships have outdated armaments. Spanish ships are also poorly supplied and even have inferior maps

by which to navigate. Spain has tried to make up for the difference in naval power by purchasing two modern cruisers from Brazil, but the U.S. Congress neutralized this move by passing a \$50 million military-spending bill in March and using some of the money to buy the same two cruisers from Brazil. The U.S. also has a strategic geographic advantage because Cuba lies much closer to the U.S. than it does to Spain, making it easier for the Americans to re-supply and reinforce its troops.

After much debate, the U.S. military decided last summer on a plan for a war with Spain. Most of the navy will go to Cuba to blockade the island; the army will then follow up with a land invasion. The U.S. will also attack another of Spain's colonial possessions, sending the Asiatic Fleet to bombard the city of Manila in the Philippines. The U.S. military does not plan to attack other Spanish islands or Spain itself.

**13. Are the Cuban rebels likely to compromise with Spain? Are the rebels popular with the Cuban people? Are they capable of running a government?**

The rebels will not compromise. They want independence and will do whatever they can to get it. The U.S. recently passed a \$50 million military-spending bill, which the Cuban rebels believe shows that the U.S. has plans to take their side and go to war with Spain over Cuba. The rebels therefore feel they have no need to compromise with Spain.

While the U.S. government doesn't officially support complete independence for Cuba, many congressmen do. Meanwhile, the *Junto*, a group of Cuban Americans in New York City, has actively supported the rebels and provided them with supplies, including guns and ammunition.

Many Americans don't believe the Cuban rebels are capable of setting up their own government. For example, U.S. General Samuel Young has said, "the insurgents (rebels) are a lot of degenerates, absolutely devoid of honor and gratitude. They are no more capable of self-government than the savages of Africa." Also, an American reporter stated that if the rebels governed Cuba, the island would be subject "to a reign of terror—to the machete and the torch, to insurrection and assassination... [In order] to save Cuba, we must hold it."

An observer you sent to Cuba told you that rather than establishing independence, wealthy and middle-class Cubans favor having the United States take over the island. He said wealthy and middle-class landowners fear that disorder will result if the rebels end up running the island.

The American consul-general in Cuba, Fitzhugh Lee, says that although the rebels have collected taxes in the areas they control, they haven't made reforms or passed laws. Without the support of the Cuban upper class and the ability to enforce their authority, it's hard to envision the rebels running the island effectively.

However, other American observers feel the rebels have the support of all classes of Cubans. In 1895, Paul Brooks, the owner of a sugar plantation on the eastern end of the

island, said that all groups were involved with the rebel movement. The only reason that wealthy and middle-class landowners didn't publicly support the rebellion was because they feared the Spanish would confiscate their land. Another American recently stated that the rebels have the support of as much as 90% of the Cubans.

#### **14. What are the views of Americans who oppose the war?**

Some opposed to the war do not think the U.S. should get involved in the Cuban crisis, viewing it instead as a colonial conflict that's none of America's business.

Other opponents feel war will lead to the U.S. becoming an imperial power—a development they believe will ultimately lead to increased militarization, undermined democratic institutions, and a violation of America's commitment to freedom. One such opponent, Moorfield Storey, has said war would cause the U.S. to “reach out for fresh territory, and to our present difficulties would be added an agitation for annexation of new regions which, unfit to govern themselves, would govern us. We should be fairly launched upon a policy of military aggression, of territorial expansion, of standing armies and growing navies, which is inconsistent with the continuance of our institutions. God grant that such calamities are not in store for us.”

#### **15. What's happening in my (McKinley's) personal life?**

You have told your doctor that you fear seeing piles of dead bodies, like those you saw when you were a sergeant and major in the Civil War. You told your doctor, “I have been through one war; I have seen the dead piled up, and I do not want to see another.”

You also told a friend, “Mrs. McKinley has been in poorer health than usual. It seems to me I have not slept over three hours a night for over two weeks... The Spanish fleet is in Cuban waters, and we haven't enough ammunition on the Atlantic seacoast to fire a salute.”

#### **16. How economically powerful is the United States compared to other countries, particularly Spain?**

The U.S. is much stronger economically than any other country in the world. Its national income (a measure of the size of the whole economy, like GDP) is almost three times that of Britain or Germany, the next strongest countries, and many times higher than that of Spain. The U.S. is the world's leading energy consumer and produces more coal and steel than Britain and Germany combined. America has better farm machinery and transportation, and produces more oil, iron, and automobiles than any other country. For certain products, the U.S. produces almost as much as all the European countries combined.

The U.S. has flooded European countries with cheap crops and industrial goods, which has changed the economies of Europe and allowed the U.S. to accumulate almost one-third of the world's gold.

# LESSON 1: CRISIS IN CUBA, 1898

## Student Handout 4

### OUTCOMES

#### What Actually Happened:

The U.S. declared war and defeated Spain in only six weeks, winning two great naval battles (one in the Philippines and one in Cuba) and a major land battle in Cuba. One American diplomat referred to the conflict as the “splendid little war.” The U.S. took temporary control of Cuba, along with Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Questions arose as to whether the U.S. should keep each of the islands permanently. Before the war, Congress had passed the Teller Amendment, which stated that after the U.S. had overthrown the Spanish in Cuba, it would return control of the island to the Cuban people. However, even though the U.S. did eventually withdraw from Cuba in 1902, American leaders required that the Cubans agree to the Platt Amendment, which (among other things) gave the U.S. the right to send troops to Cuba and restore order whenever the U.S. government felt it necessary. The Platt Amendment also allowed the U.S. to establish a naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

The U.S. kept control of Guam and Puerto Rico; the fate of the Philippines is the subject of a later decision-making problem.

Here are some of the short-term and long-term effects of the war. How many of these did you consider?

#### **Short-term effects:**

1. Major logistical problems arose for the U.S. military. The army planned to assemble its troops in Tampa, Florida. But Tampa had only two railroad lines serving it, and those lines were in competition with each other. Thus, each railroad wouldn't allow the other to use its tracks or equipment. Railroad lines were jammed with freight cars for 50 miles. In addition, no one had marked which cars contained which supplies, so officers had to break into them one by one until they found what they needed. Soldiers also wore heavy woolen uniforms, which were inappropriate for fighting in Cuba's tropical climate.
2. During the war, more than ten times as many Americans died of disease than of wounds suffered in battle. It turned out that the U.S. had brought far more troops than it needed to battle the Spanish; only a small percentage ever saw action. The rest languished in camps during the hot Cuban summer, where poor hygiene and tropical conditions led to vast outbreaks of malaria, dysentery, and yellow fever. Furthermore, the soldiers ate cheap tinned meat known as “embalmed beef,” (allegedly injected with toxic chemicals) that caused dire illness and many deaths.
3. The navy didn't have enough ships to carry all of its men, supplies, and equipment. Most horses had to be left behind, and some soldiers went into battle without vital equipment.

4. The U.S. occupation of Cuba lasted two years, which cost a great deal of money and created resentment among the Cubans.

**Long-term effects (unintended consequences):**

1. It was obvious to everyone, including citizens in Spain and the United States, that Spain was no longer a major world power and that the U.S. had become one. This quickly affected the ways in which the U.S. dealt with situations in Asia, Latin America, and Europe, especially after the start of World War I.
2. The war established a precedent regarding censorship and the use of propaganda in the U.S. The army did not want newspapers to publish negative reports on the war, so it tried to control the flow of information.
3. For the first time in years, America fielded a truly national army, helping somewhat to heal the painful divisions the Civil War had caused between the North and the South.
4. The war established Theodore Roosevelt as a war hero and boosted the idea of the frontiersman as a great fighter. Roosevelt had led the Rough Riders, a volunteer cavalry regiment composed of ranchers and cowboys.
5. The U.S. took control of Puerto Rico, Guam, and other islands and effectively became an imperialist power—for better or worse. Pressure on the U.S. government to build a canal through Nicaragua or Panama increased. If a canal were constructed, the U.S. navy could more quickly travel from ocean to ocean and defend U.S. possessions. A canal would also lead to greater emphasis on security in the entire Caribbean area. The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which stated that the U.S. had the right to interfere in Latin American countries to make sure they paid their debts, reflected increased U.S. power in the Caribbean that resulted from the Spanish-American War.
6. Americans felt justified in spreading democracy to Cuba, which set a precedent. The U.S. would later try to spread democracy to other nations, such as Mexico a decade later.
7. Many Cubans resented the Platt Amendment, which limited their independence and granted the U.S. permission to send troops in at any time. They felt dependent on the U.S., not free to pursue their own policies. Many of them believed they had been on the verge of defeating the Spanish in 1898, and that the U.S. got involved



Col. Theodore Roosevelt, c. 1898



in order to prevent the Cubans from becoming fully independent. The needs and desires of the Cuban people had seemingly gotten lost in the larger battle between a declining imperial power (Spain) and an up-and-coming imperial power (the U.S.). Even the name given to the conflict—it became known as the Spanish-*American War*, even though the U.S. had only been involved in the battle for six weeks—seemed to ignore all the fighting and suffering on the part of the Cubans.

8. After the end of U.S. occupation, Cuban governments became corrupt and inefficient. The U.S. sometimes took the side of dictatorships in Cuba. In addition, although a small percentage of the Cuban population became very wealthy, most remained desperately poor. American investors gained control over much of the island's resources. Resentment against this corrupt system and against American domination helped lead to the communist revolution under Fidel Castro in 1959.

# LESSON 1: CRISIS IN CUBA, 1898

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## Student Handout 5

### President McKinley's Thinking:

When President McKinley entered office in 1897, the American public and most congressmen already sympathized with the Cuban people. McKinley wanted to avoid war, but he felt more strongly that the conflict between the rebels and Spain had to end. The crisis could result in a Spanish victory, a rebel victory, semi-independence under the Spanish for the Cuban people, or the purchase of Cuba by the United States—but it had to end. In 1898, however, domestic political concerns and the heightening of the crisis narrowed McKinley's options. The publication of the de Lome letter in February 1898 made negotiation with the Spanish less probable because it had insulted the U.S. president and incensed the American public. The letter also showed that the Spanish hadn't been negotiating seriously. Still, McKinley accepted Spain's apology, hoping the public outcry would die down. Unfortunately for him, the *Maine* exploded soon after. Based on early reports, McKinley believed the explosion to be an accident. He set up a commission to investigate and then waited. In the meantime, he allowed Senator Redfield Proctor to sail to Cuba to judge the situation. Proctor, a close friend of McKinley's who was greatly respected, gave a speech to the Senate in March in which he described widespread starvation in Cuba and recommended U.S. action to end the suffering. McKinley saw the text of the speech beforehand and still allowed Proctor to give it, indicating that he now had become much more comfortable with going to war. When the commission report on the *Maine* ruled that a mine (indicating an attack, not an accident) had caused the explosion, McKinley knew the U.S. would be going to war with Spain.

Meanwhile, Democrats in Congress hoped they could portray McKinley and the Republicans as weak leaders and thereby gain seats in Congress when elections took place in the fall of 1898. Republican congressmen pressured McKinley to take action before Congress did, so that it would appear that the president was leading the fight against Spain. Nevertheless, McKinley tried negotiating first. The American ambassador to Spain, Stewart Woodford, hoped Spain would compromise, even though he also reported that the queen of Spain would choose to fight a losing war to the U.S. rather than give in to American demands (thus disgracing Spain).

McKinley hoped for a cease-fire between the Spanish and the Cuban rebels, followed by a negotiated compromise. The rebels, however, felt they had the upper hand and thus had no reason to negotiate. They didn't like the idea of a cease-fire either, since the upcoming rainy season would work to their advantage militarily and provide them with an opportunity to extend control over more of the island.

Thus, all three groups—the Cubans, the Spanish, and the Americans—didn't really want to compromise. Public opinion and domestic political concerns had pushed Spanish and American leaders to take positions that prevented a peaceful resolution; Cuban leaders, meanwhile, had no need to make concessions.

As early as 1896, the American public had begun to sympathize with the rebels in Cuba. When American newspapers, competing for readers, started printing sensational stories after 1896, public sympathy for the rebels increased even more. Some stories were certainly exaggerated, but many real horrors had occurred in Cuba. Congress, meanwhile, was even more committed to ending the atrocities than the American public was. Congressmen based their views on official reports as well as newspaper reports.

In his message to Congress, McKinley asked U.S. senators and representative to make a decision about the crisis. He recounted a history of the events in Cuba in order to show that the U.S. had been patient but could no longer allow the conflict and suffering there to continue. Congress quickly passed a resolution authorizing the president “to intervene at once to stop the war in Cuba” and “secure permanent peace and order.” McKinley had asked for—and Congress had granted—the power to use force against Spain.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did your decision compare to that of President McKinley? Explain how your reasoning differed from his.
2. Do you feel McKinley’s decision was more of a personal one, a practical one, or one shaped by historical forces?
3. Which of the following was the most important factor in the U.S. entering a war against Spain in 1898?
  - a. Politics in the U.S. (public opinion, elections)
  - b. Economics (trade, investments, finance, economic power)
  - c. Beliefs (capitalism, democracy, Manifest Destiny, social Darwinism, religion)
  - d. Technology (improved transportation, such as steel ships and coal power; improved communications, such as undersea cables, cheaper printing costs, and mass marketing of newspapers; improved weapons)
  - e. Power (militarily, the U.S. was much stronger than Spain)
  - f. Personal experiences and characteristics of President McKinley (his childhood, his Civil War background, personality traits such as assertiveness and intelligence)

# LESSON 1: CRISIS IN CUBA, 1898

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## Student Handout 6

**Primary Source:** *The Platt Amendment, 1903* (excerpt)

**Article I.** The Government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes, or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island...

**Article III.** The Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty...

**Article VII.** To enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations, at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. The U.S. required the Cuban government to agree to the terms of this amendment before American troops would withdraw from the island. Why do you think the U.S. did this?
2. How much independence does this amendment allow Cuba?
3. How do you think Cubans at the time viewed this amendment?

# LESSON 2: THE PHILIPPINES CRISIS, 1899

## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

The controversial U.S. decision to take over the Philippines had painful, unintended consequences for both the United States and the Philippines. In this lesson, see how many of these consequences students manage to predict. The debate over the Philippines raised fundamental philosophical questions about American government and political ideals—questions that were debated repeatedly in other decision-making situations throughout the 20th century.

### VOCABULARY

- Emilio Aguinaldo—Leader of the rebels in the Philippines
- Self-determination—The right of a people to choose its own government
- Guerrillas—Small paramilitary forces, without uniforms, who fight few traditional battles. Guerrillas blend in with the local population or hide in the countryside, usually in small groups.
- Atrocity—Act of extreme cruelty, often involving killing and/or torture
- Censorship—Occurs when a government or other authority prevents information from being published or publicized
- Literacy—The ability to read
- Annexation—Incorporating an area or country into an existing nation

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Consider other points of view
- Ask about historical context
- Set realistic goals
- Generate options
- Consider the ethicality of the options
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out the options

# LESSON PLAN

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## **A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period)**

### Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and have students answer the questions individually; they should write down whether they would have the U.S. take over the Philippines or grant the Filipinos independence. Next have students discuss their decisions in small groups. The handout only provides two options; see if students can generate any others. (Handout 4 discusses two others: give the islands back to Spain and grant the islands independence under a U.S. protectorate [to be defended by the U.S., not occupied]. You may prefer to tell students about these other two options before they start discussing their decisions.)

Handout 1 mentions Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden." You can have students read and analyze the entire poem (which can be easily found on the Internet), but in my experience students often need a lot of guidance in understanding the poem, so I recommend analyzing the poem as a class, one stanza at a time.

Bring the class back together and discuss their answers. You may want to have students raise their hands to show who favors each of the various options.

After students make their decisions, let them know about the historical outcomes by distributing either Handout 2 or Handout 3. Handout 2 describes gruesome tortures that may be upsetting to some students; if this is a concern, use the outcomes on Handout 3, which omits these descriptions.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students to read Handout 5, which includes primary source letters from soldiers fighting in the Philippines. Did reading these letters change students' views of the U.S. decision to get involved in the Philippines? If they had they read them earlier, would it have affected the decisions they made during the lesson?

Ask students what they might have done differently, if anything, now that they know the actual outcomes. Which decision-making skills did they find particularly important in deciding these issues? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they think they did well or poorly in terms of **P-A-G-E**. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

The questions at the bottom of Handout 4 help students to consider the relative importance of historical context, as opposed to personal choices.

### Connecting to Today:

The United States has dealt with guerrilla warfare several times since the Philippine War, most notably in Vietnam and Iraq. In light of what happened in the Philippines, when do students think the U.S. should send troops abroad to fight guerrillas? Have them write a policy position for the U.S. president.

### Troubleshooting:

Some students confuse the different spellings of Philippines (country) and Filipinos (people). You may want to take a moment to clarify this for the class.

As mentioned earlier, Handout 2 describes gruesome tortures that may be upsetting for some students. If this is a concern, use Handout 3 as an alternative.

## **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (15–25 minutes)**

Assign Handout 1 as homework. The next day in class, ask students to raise their hands to show how many would take over the Philippines and how many wouldn't. Discuss their opinions for a few minutes, and then ask if anyone would like to change their decision. Distribute Handout 3 (which includes the abbreviated list of outcomes) and ask students what surprised them and what they learned about decision making from these results.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 2 and 3.)

Historians disagree about whether another colonial power (such as Germany) might have seized the Philippines if the U.S. had chosen not to hold onto it. Some maintain that if the U.S. had kept the islands as a protectorate (without stationing troops there), other countries still would have been deterred from trying to take over the Philippines for fear of risking a conflict with the U.S. Others claim the risk of losing the Philippines to another colonial power was too great for the U.S. to take the chance of merely keeping the islands as a protectorate.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- \* - **Consider other points of view**
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- \* - **Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Other points of view:** Students should consider the points of view of the Filipinos, European countries, and the Japanese, among others. Regarding the U.S., students should consider the point of view of Americans who were opposed to imperialism. Anti-imperialists hotly debated U.S. actions regarding the Philippines. Did students anticipate this response? Did they have responses of their own ready?
- **Ask about context:** Beliefs about racial superiority were prevalent at this time. Industrialization had made the United States powerful, and communications improvements made Americans more aware of events around the world. The



Progressive Era of reforms had begun, and this impulse to improve the lives of the poor in the U.S. may have contributed to an international desire to improve other societies as well: for example, reformers attempted to improve society in the Philippines by building schools, reducing the spread of disease, etc.

- **Goals: realistic?** One of the biggest questions this lesson brings up is whether it was realistic for the U.S. to fight in a guerrilla war. In actuality, the U.S. army could fight this type of war, and the American public did go along with the war. However, when the U.S. later fought an anti-guerrilla campaign in Vietnam, a large portion of the public didn't support the war. Discontent on the home front, combined with an inability to defeat the enemy militarily, eventually forced the U.S. government to pull out.
- **Generate options:** Did students come up with four or more options? The protectorate option is especially interesting; it solves one of the problems (that another country might take over the Philippines) while avoiding another (fighting a guerrilla war). McKinley might not have explored this possibility enough. The U.S. could have made a statement that it wasn't responsible for Filipino actions, but it wouldn't allow any other country to take over the Philippines. Whether McKinley made a mistake regarding this option, students should at least consider it.
- **Consider ethicality:** This may be the biggest question of all: Is it right for the U.S. to take over a country to help it achieve democracy, even if the country's people don't want it to? Can taking over another country really further democracy? At the time, supporters argued that keeping the Philippines was the least of several evils. The country eventually achieved a level of democracy and prosperity. Could it have done this without U.S. assistance?
- **Consequences:** Some of the consequences are detailed in the descriptions of the outcomes on Handouts 2 and 3.
- **Play out the options:** Some of the short-term effects and their complications are also described on Handouts 2 and 3.

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## **LESSON 2: THE PHILIPPINES CRISIS, 1899**

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### **Vocabulary**

- Emilio Aguinaldo—Leader of the rebels in the Philippines
- Self-determination—The right of a people to choose its own government
- Guerrillas—Small paramilitary forces, without uniforms, who fight few traditional battles. Guerrillas blend in with the local population or hide in the countryside, usually in small groups.
- Atrocity—Act of extreme cruelty, often involving killing and/or torture
- Censorship—Occurs when a government or other authority prevents information from being published or publicized
- Literacy—The ability to read
- Annexation—Incorporating an area or country into an existing nation

# LESSON 2: THE PHILIPPINES CRISIS, 1899

## Student Handout 1

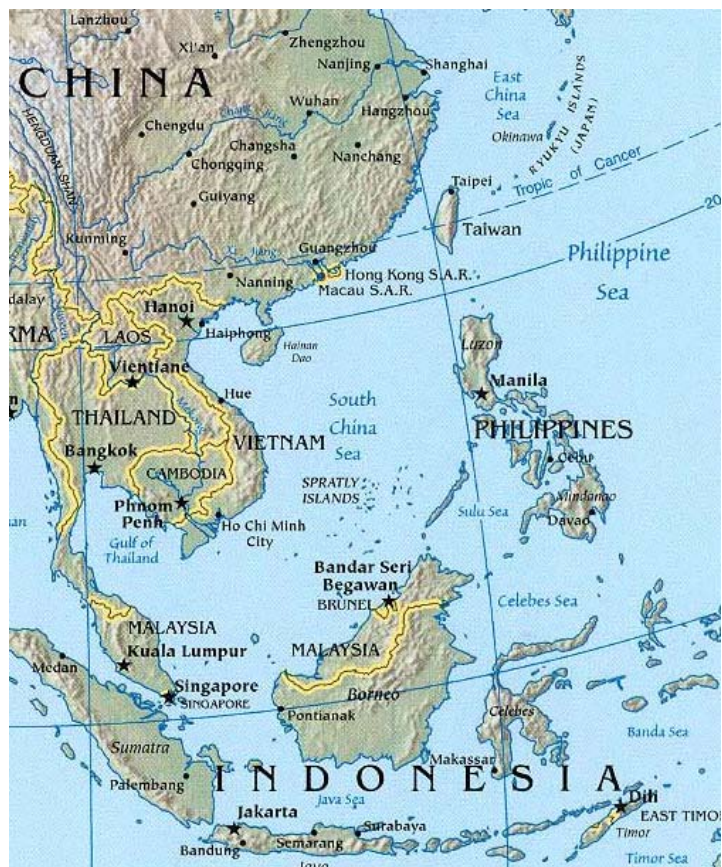


### PROBLEM

The year is 1898, and you are President William McKinley. As president, you have a decision to make. The Spanish-American War was fought over Cuba, but the U.S. also defeated the Spanish in the Philippines, a nation made up of more than 2000 islands. The Filipinos did not take part in negotiating the Spanish surrender, nor did any Cubans or Filipinos participate in the Treaty of Paris, which formally ended the war. Upset at being left out, Filipino leaders have met to form their own government. You have to make a decision about whether to grant the Philippines independence or claim it as a colony. U.S. diplomats in Manila, Hong Kong (China), and Singapore believe Emilio Aguinaldo, who led the Filipinos in their fight for independence against the Spanish, would like the U.S. to take over the country.

Those who favor U.S. acquisition of the islands have made several arguments to support their case and have made the following claims:

1. The U.S. could establish a naval base in the Philippines so that American ships could transport and store coal and goods on their way to and from China.
2. If the U.S. doesn't assume control of the Philippines, some other imperial power such as Germany or Japan will.
3. The Filipinos will greatly benefit under U.S. control. Having lived under the Spanish for hundreds of years, they are unfamiliar with democracy. If the U.S. grants the Philippines independence right away, the country will



fall into anarchy. America needs to assume control so that it can teach the Filipinos how to run their country. The U.S. would then gradually withdraw over a period of years.

Opponents of taking the Philippines have countered with these arguments:

1. Taking control of the Philippines goes against the American belief in self-determination (i.e., that people should rule themselves). How can Filipinos learn to rule themselves unless they begin to actually do it?
2. If the Philippines eventually becomes part of the U.S., Filipinos will acquire the rights of U.S. citizens, and many may decide to come to the U.S. Assimilating the Filipinos would be impossible; one person even argued that “there are spotted people” as well as “striped people there.” In short, to many Americans, Filipinos have a strange appearance, language, and culture, and are just too different to be eventually allowed to become Americans.
3. Some military leaders have voiced concerns that the U.S. can’t effectively defend the Philippines—especially if the Japanese decide to attack—because the islands are too far away. In addition, the political and military situations in East Asia are volatile right now, and a real possibility exists that war could break out. If the U.S. took over the Philippines, it could more easily be drawn into such a war.

The press mostly favors American acquisition of the islands. Prominent Republicans, such as Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Albert Beveridge, received enthusiastic responses from crowds when they argued that the U.S. should retain the Philippines. Republicans won solid majorities in Congress in the November elections, showing that the public supports Republican policies in general. When you, the president, personally asked voters what to do about the Philippines, most felt the U.S. should keep the islands as a naval base.

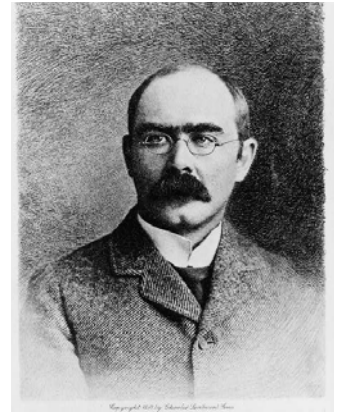
Some have cited economic reasons for acquiring the Philippines. Senator Orville Platt told you that “Manila [capital of the Philippines] has become one of the most important ports of the Orient.” Congressman William Smith argued, “If we take the Hawaiian Islands, hold on to the Philippines, and cultivate good neighborship with the Orient [China], to which they are key, the expansion of our commerce will be augmented [increased] a thousand fold.” Senator Beveridge called the Philippines the key to the “illimitable markets” of China.

As sentiment in favor of acquiring the Philippines has risen, more businessmen are supporting the idea. The National Association of Manufacturers advocates keeping the Philippines “for the protection and furtherance of the commercial interests of our citizens in the Far East.” A State Department paper projects that every year the U.S. will have a larger surplus of manufactured goods and that America would need new markets and customers in foreign countries to buy these goods. The paper maintains that the Philippines could help open up new sources of trade and provide access to new markets. Overall, a majority of U.S. businessmen favor keeping the Philippines, but their support is mild, not strong. They like the idea of new markets, but they’re not completely convinced that U.S. acquisition of the Philippines will result in increased business.

Farmers initially opposed acquisition of the Philippines because they didn't want to compete with cheap labor there. Now many farmers have become more open to taking the islands. Labor leaders are also divided on the issue, with a majority opposed to acquisition because they, too, don't want to face the prospect of cheap labor from the Philippines flooding the U.S.

Protestant missionaries have come out solidly in favor of taking the islands because it will provide them an opportunity to convert the Filipinos from Catholicism. Protestants form a large base of support for your reelection bid in 1900. German Americans oppose annexation because they foresee an eventual clash with Germany as the U.S. expands. They also believe expansion will reduce rights in the U.S. as it has in Germany under the expansionist leaders Otto von Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm.

You are aware that it took many years for the British to subdue citizens in India in order for them to take that colony, and years of bloody fighting for the French to acquire Algeria. It may be very difficult to take over a large territory (more than 2000 islands) inhabited by a racially and culturally different people. A British writer, Rudyard Kipling, has written a poem titled "The White Man's Burden," in which he argues that despite the difficulties, the United States should take on the "white man's burden" to spread democracy to the Philippines. In his opinion, the Filipinos may despise the U.S. ("The blame of those ye better/The hate of those ye guard"), but it must do it for their sake—it's their burden.



Rudyard Kipling

The following statements are paraphrased from a December 1898 U.S. Senate debate over the treaty regarding U.S. acquisition of the Philippines:

- George Hoar (Republican, MA): It's vulgar to take an empire.
- Knute Nelson (Republican, MN): We should take the islands to spread Christianity. We're ministering angels, not despots.
- George Vest (Republican, MI): We fought the American Revolution against colonialism. The Constitution doesn't grant power to the federal government to take colonies.
- Henry Cabot Lodge (Republican, MA): We must support the president and take our place among the great powers by acquiring the Philippines.
- William Jennings Bryan (Democrat, NE): When an individual steals he's called a kleptomaniac. When a country steals it's called "destiny."
- Claude Swanson (Democrat, VA): It will take at the very least 50,000 soldiers and several years to subdue hidden guerrillas in disease-infested jungles.
- Thomas Reed (Republican, ME): If we acquire the Philippines, we may be forced to take eight million barbarians and semi-barbarians (Filipinos) into the U.S.

## QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Everyone is waiting for your decision. Does the U.S. acquire the Philippines or grant the Filipinos independence?
2. What do you predict President McKinley actually did?

# LESSON 2: THE PHILIPPINES CRISIS, 1899

## Student Handout 2

### OUTCOMES

President McKinley and his advisers decided to keep the Philippines. Here is a short list of the unintended consequences of that decision. Which of these consequences did you anticipate?



“Our Boys Entrenched Against the Filipinos”

1. Fighting broke out between the U.S. and the Philippines. It’s unclear which side started it, but racist views of non-whites by American soldiers and tension over occupation by American troops were two contributing factors. General E.S. Otis, the commander in charge of U.S. troops in the Philippines, publicly stated that he wanted to provoke a fight. At first, the Americans wiped out many of the Filipinos in large-scale battles. Then the Filipinos switched to guerrilla tactics. The war dragged on for three years (1899–1902) with the following results:
  - a. Guerrilla fighters frequently ambushed American troops and then hid their weapons, picked up farm tools, and pretended to be farmers. They set up booby traps (such as pits with sharpened bamboo sticks) to injure American soldiers.



- b. Guerilla fighters also tortured American prisoners. A U.S. patrol reported finding an American prisoner who had been buried alive up to his neck: "His mouth had been propped open with a stick, a trail of sugar laid to it through the forest. Millions of ants had done the rest."
- c. American troops also committed atrocities after U.S. troops were "hacked to pieces" near the town of Malabon. "We got orders to spare no one," recalled Anthony Michea, an artilleryman. "We went in and killed every native we met, men, women, and children. It was a dreadful sight." Some historians feel American atrocities were not widespread, while others feel it was very common. (See the letters from U.S. soldiers for examples.)
- d. In some areas American troops sent Filipinos to concentration camps to separate the civilians from the rebels. Outside these camps, everyone was considered an enemy. This was the very same policy Americans condemned Spanish General Weyler ("The Butcher") for in Cuba.
- e. The American commander ordered that captured guerrillas be denied prisoner-of-war status (in a parallel to today's "enemy combatants"), thus opening the door to torture. Americans often used the "water cure" to force prisoners to give information. Several U.S. soldiers would hold a man under a faucet, while another held his mouth open as water poured into the prisoner's mouth. If the Filipino prisoner didn't answer the questions, an American soldier would stomp on the prisoner's stomach, making him vomit. The procedure would then be repeated. One U.S. general argued that the Filipinos were not civilized, so Americans did not have to follow rules of civilized warfare.
- f. The American press reported these atrocities, which led to hearings in the Senate.
- g. In the Philippines, U.S. generals censored any American newspaper articles critical of U.S. strategy or actions, or that said the war would be difficult. General Otis, in particular, said that the U.S. had almost won the war at every stage in the war. Each American attack was "the last stroke of the war," and each battle was called a "complete success." He didn't want newspapers printing articles reporting that the U.S. wasn't close to victory. The American censor told reporters, "Of course, we all know that we are in a terrible mess out here, but we don't want the people to get excited about it. If you fellows will only keep quiet now we will pull through in time without any fuss at home." The censor asked for ten days. The reporters waited a month, and then signed a collective statement saying that General Otis had deliberately misrepresented the real situation in the Philippines. As a result, General Otis threatened to arrest the reporters.
- h. Significant protests against the war broke out in numerous U.S. cities. War supporters criticized the protesters for undermining American soldiers. The war divided the country.



General E.S. Otis,  
American commander  
in the Philippines



- i. Many American soldiers hated the war and were critical of some of their military leaders (especially General Otis). For example, newspapers published headlines such as, “No Friend for Otis Among the Volunteers” and “Soldiers Call Otis a ‘Foolish Old Woman.’ “
  - j. Some American soldiers had racist views of Filipinos, calling them “niggers” and “Injuns” (they had fought American Indians just prior to the war). In fact, at the World’s Fair in St. Louis in 1904, the Filipinos were part of a colonial exhibit called “The Philippine Reservation.”
  - k. At the height of the war, about three-fourths of the entire U.S. army, approximately 70,000 men, were in the Philippines fighting the insurgents.
  - l. The U.S. suffered losses of 4234 killed and 2818 wounded. The war cost the U.S. \$600 million (about \$30 billion in 2002 dollars). Approximately 20,000 Filipino soldiers were killed and 200,000 civilians died, mostly from starvation. U.S. troops killed more people in the Philippines in three years than the Spanish had killed in 350 years. U.S. military forces were able to defeat the rebels partly due to mistakes in strategy by rebel leaders, but primarily because of their advanced military technology (Gatling guns, artillery, and Krag rifles, for example) and better supplies.
2. When the U.S. acquired the islands, it built roads, hospitals, and bridges, and increased the country’s literacy rate from 20% to 50%, the highest rate in all of Southeast Asia. English was taught in the schools and became the dominant language (which is one reason Filipinos work in large numbers for American companies today). Many teaching techniques, however, were culturally inappropriate for the Philippines. For example: “A is for apple” (because apples are not grown on those islands); John and Mary in the snow (because there is no snow there); and patriotic lessons about George Washington. Americans also improved the Philippine court and tax systems and reduced disease in the country.
3. In 1916 the U.S. was the first western power to grant some form of self-rule to a colony when it did so with the Philippines. The U.S. also promised independence at some point in the future (but didn’t specify when). In 1933 the U.S. promised independence in ten years. After World War II, the U.S. was the first colonial power to grant a colony independence.
4. In the Philippines, democracy didn’t work as well as many U.S. leaders had hoped. Throughout the 20th century, rich families dominated the government, and many Filipino leaders were seen as puppets of American interests. Poor people couldn’t vote. Nevertheless, the Philippine government was one of the most democratic in Southeast Asia until the 1960s.
5. The islands’ economy steadily increased, as it was tied to U.S. imports and exports. The Philippines was one the richest countries in Southeast Asia until the 1960s, though rich families dominated the economy while most Filipinos remained poor. The overall improvement of the Philippine economy began an American tradition of helping societies worldwide.
6. U.S. military leaders stuck to a plan to defend the Philippines, even though they knew it would be difficult to prevent a Japanese attack. In a 1941 World War II battle, the Japanese captured the islands after five months of bitter fighting. The U.S. lost approximately 25,000 soldiers. Approximately 10,000 Americans died in

the Bataan Death March, when the Japanese forcibly marched thousands of captured, starving soldiers to a prisoner-of-war camp about 100 miles away. Captives were denied food and water for several days. Those who fell behind were killed.

7. American consumers benefited from U.S. acquisition of the islands, since the cheap raw materials obtained in the Philippines reduced the price of many goods, which in turn reduced the cost of living. Some American businesses also benefited from increased exports to Asia.
8. As a result of the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines, Asian countries viewed the United States as imperialistic. The author of an article in the *Japan Times* stated, "The whole world sank with despondency at the sight of Republican America behaving like a cruel, tyrannical and rapacious Empire in the Philippines and particularly to the broken-hearted people of Asia who are beginning to lose all confidence in the humanity of the white race." Years later, communist leaders such as Mao Zedong and Ho Chi Minh played on Asian dislike of America.
9. Protestant missionary work increased in the Philippines and China.
10. In what were referred to as the "Insular Cases," the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the U.S. Constitution did not apply to the Filipinos. This ruling went counter to all national traditions and precedents, in which new territories became states with their residents holding equal rights to those living in the original states.
11. The decision to keep the Philippines strengthened the power of the presidency compared to that of Congress, since the president had made the decision to acquire the islands and subsequently administered the new colony.
12. In the Philippines, the U.S. confronted a dilemma that arises to this day. Should the U.S. emphasize human rights, or stability for American interests? The U.S. acquired the Philippines partly as a naval base but also to expand trade in the area. These national goals pushed the U.S. into a brutal war, one that violated the human rights of thousands of Filipinos and led the U.S. to employ the same type of concentration camps it had condemned the Spanish for using in Cuba.

# LESSON 2: THE PHILIPPINES CRISIS, 1899

## Student Handout 3

### SHORT OUTCOMES

President McKinley and his advisers decided to keep the Philippines. Here are some of the unintended consequences of that decision. Which of them did you anticipate?

1. The Filipinos fought a guerrilla war against U.S. forces in which both sides engaged in torture and execution of prisoners.
2. U.S. generals censored the American press in the Philippines, setting a precedent for censorship in later wars.
3. Significant protests against the war broke out in numerous U.S. cities. War supporters criticized the protesters for undermining American soldiers. The war divided the country.
4. Many American soldiers hated the war and were critical of some of the military leaders. Some also despised the Filipinos, calling them “niggers” and “Injuns” (they had fought Indians just prior to the war).
5. The U.S. suffered losses of 4234 killed and 2818 wounded. The war cost the U.S. \$600 million (about \$30 billion in 2002 dollars). Approximately 20,000 Filipino soldiers were killed and 200,000 civilians died, mostly from starvation. U.S. troops killed more people in the Philippines in three years than the Spanish had killed in 350 years.
6. When the U.S. took over, it built roads, hospitals, and bridges, and increased the literacy rate from 20% to 50%. English was taught in the schools and became the dominant language (which is one reason Filipinos work in large numbers for American companies today).
7. In 1916, the U.S. became the first Western power to grant some form of self-rule to a colony when it did so with the Philippines.
8. The country achieved a level of democracy, but poor people couldn’t vote, and rich people dominated the government.
9. Until the 1960s, the Philippine economy expanded greatly, as it was tied to U.S. imports and exports.
10. As predicted, the U.S. could not effectively defend the Philippines, and in a World War II battle against Japan, it lost approximately 25,000 soldiers, many of whom died in the Bataan Death March.
11. Asian countries began to view the U.S. as cruel and imperialistic. Years later, communist leaders such as Mao Zedong and Ho Chi Minh played on Asian dislike of America.



Filipino soldiers returning to camp

# **LESSON 2: THE PHILIPPINES CRISIS, 1899**

## **Student Handout 4**

### **PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S THINKING:**

McKinley and his advisers felt they had four options regarding the Philippines: (1) return the Philippines to Spain, (2) grant the country independence, (3) allow independence but take on the Philippines as a U.S. protectorate, or (4) acquire the Philippines as a colony. Having just fought a war against Spain, the U.S. refused to consider option 1. The Filipinos would undoubtedly rebel against Spain, which would cause widespread bloodshed. Option 2 could easily lead to another country, probably Japan or Germany, taking over the Philippines. This was the common belief in Washington. Granting independence to the Philippines would put the U.S. in the position of taking responsibility for the islands without being present to control them. Option 3, holding the islands as a protectorate, would keep other countries from conquering the Philippines but would make the U.S. responsible for Filipino actions, such as their treatment of foreigners. One member of the McKinley administration stated, "No responsibility without control." Some historians believe McKinley did not give option 3 much consideration. As mentioned on Handout 1, several U.S. diplomats felt rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo wanted the U.S. to acquire the islands. These diplomats, however, were not reliable sources of information: Aguinaldo wanted independence.

President McKinley decided on option 4, acquiring the Philippines. In the Senate, he pushed for annexation and made deals with some senators to get the treaty passed. The most thorough examination of the Philippines showed that most Filipinos wanted independence, not rule under the U.S. McKinley never saw this report, so he never had this information on which to base his decision.

In private, McKinley claimed that he was forced to take the Philippines. A professor at Cornell told McKinley he didn't want to head a commission on the islands because he opposed overseas expansion. President McKinley replied, "Oh, that need not trouble you. I didn't want the Philippine Islands either..."

### **QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

1. Was President McKinley's decision more of a personal decision that changed history, or was his decision shaped more by historical forces?
2. Which of the following was the most important factor in the decision for the U.S. to enter war to acquire the Philippines in 1899?
  - a. Politics in the U.S. (public opinion, elections)
  - b. Economics (trade, investments, finance, economic power)
  - c. Beliefs (capitalism, democracy, Manifest Destiny, social Darwinism, religion)

- d. Technology (improved transportation, such as steel ships and coal power; improved communications, such as undersea cables, cheaper printing costs, and mass marketing of newspapers; improved weapons)
- e. Power (militarily, the U.S. was much more powerful than the Philippines)
- f. Individual choice by President McKinley (his childhood, background in the Civil War, personality, assertiveness)

# LESSON 2: THE PHILIPPINES CRISIS, 1899

## Student Handout 5

### Primary Source: U.S. soldiers' letters from the Philippines

1. Lieutenant Samuel Lyon to his wife, Oct. 9, 1899, and June 17, 1900:

“Between you and me Molly, I think we are making a big mistake in taking the Philippines. I believe it would be a mistake to annex them if they wanted, and I think the mistake becomes a national crime when we force them by superior strength in numbers, enormous financial advantages and mental supremacy to become subjects of our republic... There is no saying where the new policy of ‘expansion’ (which really means ‘conquest’) will end—what internal dissensions and what external entanglements may result. It is very well to say, as the exponents of expansion all do, that ‘it is our duty to elevate the people of the Philippines,’ etc., but a first duty of a nation is to our people.”

“I am disappointed in the United States, but it is still my country. I am sure the American people will see the right thing to do sooner or later. I only hope they see it in time.”

2. Captain Matthew Batson to his wife, April 23–May 4, 1899, pp. 47–48:

“One of the prettiest little towns we have passed through is Apolit... The 17th Infantry came into this place the other night and literally destroyed it—looted, ransacked, burned it—and we propose to civilize, Christianize these people... We come as a Christian people to relieve them from the Spanish yoke and bear ourselves like barbarians.”

3. Captain Matthew Batson to his wife, October, November, December, 1899, pp. 120–21:

“At present we are destroying this district, everything before us. I have three columns [of soldiers] out, and their course is easily traced by the smoke from burning houses. Of course, no official report will be made of everything.”

4. Letter from unidentified soldier to his parents, printed in the *Kingston* (New York) *Evening Post*, May 8, 1899:

“The town of Titatia was surrendered to us a few days ago, and two companies occupy the same. Last night one of our boys was found shot and his stomach cut open. Immediately orders were received from General Wheaton to burn the town and kill every native in sight; which was done to a finish. About 1000 men, women and children were reported killed. I am probably growing hard-hearted, for I am in my glory when I can sight my gun on some dark skin and pull the trigger.”

5. Letter from Corporal Sam Gillis to his parents, printed in *San Francisco Call*, April 15, 1899:

“We make everyone get into his house by 7 pm, and we only tell a man once. If he refuses we shoot him. We killed over 300 natives the first night. They tried to set the town on fire. If they fire a shot from a house we burn the house down and every house near it, and shoot the natives, so they are pretty quiet in town now.”

6. Letter from unidentified soldier, published in *Soldiers' Letters*:

Coloocan was supposed to contain seventeen thousand inhabitants. The Twentieth Kansas swept through it, and now Caloocan contains not one living native.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is your reaction to these letters? Would your reaction have been different if the letters recounted Filipino torture of Americans (described on Handout 2)?
2. What effects do you think these letters had on the soldiers' families and the general public?
3. How reliable are these letters as sources of information about the Philippine War?

# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

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## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

The Panama Canal treaty is possibly the greatest example of lobbying in all of U.S. history. The policies of the U.S. government were swayed by the conniving of just two lobbyists working for the interests of the Panama Canal Company of France. It should be interesting to see if your students become suspicious that something or someone is influencing the information they get.

### VOCABULARY

- Civil war—A war within a country between two or more groups for control of all or part of the country
- Yellow fever and malaria—Deadly diseases carried by mosquitoes
- Locks—Portions of a canal where boats can be lifted or lowered to the next level of water
- Lobbying—Speaking to lawmakers in order to influence their vote
- Panama Canal Company—French company that tried to build a canal in Panama.
- Imperialism—When one country dominates another, economically, politically, or culturally
- Roosevelt Corollary—Added to the Monroe Doctrine, this addendum says the U.S. has the right to force Latin American countries to pay their debts

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Consider other points of view
- Ask about historical context
- Ask about reliability of sources
- What are the goals, and are they realistic?
- Are the options ethical?
- Predict unintended consequences



# LESSON PLAN

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## **A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period)**

### Procedure:

There are two problems in this lesson. Distribute Handout 1, which asks which route should be chosen for the canal, and have students read it silently and decide what they will do. Next, divide the class into groups and have students discuss their choices. Students can ask questions (these are not the questions in the lesson, which are for Handout 3). Bring the class back together. Have each group report on its decisions and explain. After groups have reported, hand out the actual historical decisions (Handout 2) or tell the class what actually happened, emphasizing the role of lobbyists in the actual decision. Did any students suspect the influence of lobbyists?

Distribute Handout 3 for the second problem (on Colombia in 1903). Again, have students decide what they will do, break into small groups, and discuss their choices. Now, however, you will also give students Handout 4, containing nine questions. Each group can ask any three of the questions. They'll come to your desk for the answers to their three questions (you'll need to make copies of Handout 5 and cut the copies into individual answers) and read them out loud back in their groups. Each group will decide what they will do. Bring the class back together. Each group will then report on its decision and explain its reasoning. After all groups have reported, hand out the actual historical decisions or tell the class what actually happened. You could have students consider the Panamanian point of view by distributing the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty on Handout 7, focusing on the second question of whether students would vote for the treaty if they were Panamanian leaders.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they would have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions about these issues? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Place the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students the following: Did certain historical factors cause the United States to choose the Panama route over the Nicaragua route, or were the actions of individuals more important? Were historical forces or individual actions more crucial in forming U.S. support for the Panamanian revolt?

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students the following: Do lobbyists still have influence over laws today? (Students might have heard of famous lobbying scandals, such as the Jack Abramoff scandals.) Is lobbying a legitimate part of government? What, if anything, should be done about it? Should lobbying be restricted when it comes to foreign-policy questions, such as the Panama Canal? Should the U.S. government restrict lobbying by foreign persons or companies?

### Troubleshooting:

This is a complicated event. Some students may have difficulty keeping straight who was doing what, and which events happened in which order. You might want to display a timeline of the events after students read Handout 1. Then you might want to add to the timeline after students read Handout 3. It's also easy for students to forget that Panama was a part of Colombia, so keep reminding them.

### **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–20 minutes)**

Do only the second problem (Handout 3). Assign Handout 3 as homework, along with the answers to all the questions (Handout 5). In class, ask for a show of hands as to whether students will encourage the revolutionists and whether they will use U.S. forces to help the rebels. Have students pair up and discuss their decision and reasons. Then come together and discuss as a class and ask how many changed their minds. Hand out the actual decision and outcomes (Handout 6) and discuss.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 2 and 6.)

President Roosevelt asked if he had argued well in defending his decision to take Panama from Colombia. One of his advisers responded, “You certainly have. You have shown that you were accused of seduction and you have conclusively proved that you were guilty of rape.”

One historian (Miner) thinks the U.S. diplomat in Colombia gave poor advice about why the Colombian senate rejected the treaty and what was really happening with Colombian politics. Another historian (Zimmermann) feels the diplomat was experienced and gave good advice.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- \* - **Consider other points of view**
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- \* - **Reliability of sources**
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- \* - **Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences**
- Play out the options. What could go wrong?

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Consider other points of view:** From the historical record, it’s unclear whether any top U.S. leaders ever looked at the rejection of the Hay-Herran Treaty from the point of view of the Colombians. Did students?
- **Ask about historical context:** The nine questions below (and questions that students ask on their own) will give students practice deciding which questions are most important in making decisions. These questions are especially important in this lesson.
- **Ask about reliability of sources:** Students should notice that some of the information is swayed in favor of Panama and the revolution in Panama. The

effects of two lobbyists on the outcomes of the problems are explained on Handouts 2 and 6. Students should also ask if the diplomats were experts on Colombia or at least Latin America. Most of the advisers were competent, but Secretary of State Hay was known as a weak negotiator.

- **What are your goals, and are they realistic?** Roosevelt had information that indicated the revolution would be successful and that the new Panamanian government would make a deal to let the U.S. build and operate a canal. Therefore, the goal to build a canal was realistic, assuming that the sources of the information were reliable. The goal of bringing democracy or even stability to Panama was much more questionable.
- **Ethical issues:** As outlined below in the “Consequences” section, the U.S. violated its own stand on allowing other countries to deal with their own internal problems as they see fit. There were no widespread human rights abuses in Panama, so how was the U.S. justified in aiding a Panamanian rebellion against Colombia?
- **Consequences:** The consequences are mainly beneficial, as outlined on Handout 6. Economically, Panama benefited from the canal, but most of the people who benefited were elites who then controlled Panamanian society. The U.S. was linked to imperialism, which tarnished its reputation for dealing fairly with other countries. Do the opinions of other countries regarding the U.S. (called soft power) matter? Is the U.S. hurt as a country if many countries in Latin America see it as a bully?

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# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

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## VOCABULARY

- Civil war—A war within a country between two or more groups for control of all or part of the country
- Yellow fever and malaria—Deadly diseases carried by mosquitoes
- Locks—Portions of a canal where boats can be lifted or lowered to the next level of water
- Lobbying—Speaking to lawmakers in order to influence their vote
- Panama Canal Company—French company that tried to build a canal in Panama.
- Imperialism—When one country dominates another, economically, politically, or culturally
- Roosevelt Corollary—Added to the Monroe Doctrine, this addendum says the U.S. has the right to force Latin American countries to pay their debts

# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

## Student Handout 1



### PROBLEM

The year is 1902, and you are President Theodore Roosevelt. Congress is about to vote on whether to build a canal through Nicaragua or Panama. Until very recently, nearly everyone thought the canal would be built through Nicaragua. In fact, a U.S. commission on the matter recommended the Nicaragua route. Then, three years ago, Congress decided to set up a new commission to study and compare the Nicaragua route to the Panama route (Panama is a state in Colombia). This new commission recommended Nicaragua, but then six weeks later changed its opinion and recommended Panama. Here are arguments for each route.



Build the canal in Nicaragua:

1. Nicaragua is not as mountainous as Panama, where engineers will face major problems, so it will be easier to build there.
2. Panama is prone to earthquakes.

3. The Panama Canal Company has said it would charge \$128 million for its equipment and land concession in Panama, which would make the Panama route more expensive. The company's ownership of the canal route in Panama expires in 1904. After that, the equipment could be taken over by the Colombian government.
4. Currently, there is great political unrest in the Panama region of Colombia. In fact, Colombia is facing a civil war. It's too risky to build a canal in such a politically unstable area.
5. Yellow fever and malaria are widespread problems in Panama.
6. Nicaragua is closer to the U.S. than Panama, making supplying the project less of a problem.

Build the canal in Panama:

1. The planned Panama route is only 49 miles long (a 12-hour ship voyage), while the planned Nicaragua route is 184 miles long (a 33-hour voyage).
2. There would be only five locks necessary for the proposed Panama route, but eight for Nicaragua.
3. In Nicaragua, an artificial harbor would have to be built at both ends of the canal, but the Panama route would require the construction of just one (there's already a usable harbor at one end). In addition, a city is located at either end of the Panama route.
4. Because of the longer route, the greater number of locks, and the necessity of building harbors, yearly maintenance costs in Nicaragua would be \$1.3 million higher than in Panama.
5. There is already a railroad along the route in Panama, which will reduce construction costs. The French Panama Canal Company has already dug part of the canal and has a lot of equipment already there that the U.S. could purchase. The engineering problems in Panama are known, but the engineering problems in Nicaragua are unknown. Recently, the company lowered its equipment price to \$40 million, making the Panama route cheaper to build. (The total cost for the Nicaragua route is \$190 million; the total for Panama, \$184 million.)
6. Nicaragua has its share of earthquakes as well as volcanic eruptions. In one of this issue's most dramatic and important speeches, Senator Mark Hanna of Ohio used maps to show there had been frequent earthquakes along the proposed canal route in Nicaragua. A month ago, as Congress was debating the bill to decide which route to choose, the argument came up about volcanic eruptions in Nicaragua. Representatives from the Nicaraguan government claimed that no volcanoes had been active in the country since 1835. The following day, there was a Nicaraguan



Senator Mark Hanna



postage stamp on every senator's desk, each stamp displaying an image of an active volcano. Congressmen could see that the Nicaraguan government recognized on its stamps that the country has active volcanoes, despite its claim that there were none. The volcano pictured on the stamp actually erupted just a few months ago.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which route do you favor, and why?
2. Will you try to influence Congress, possibly by having a senator speak in favor of one of the routes?

# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

## Student Handout 2

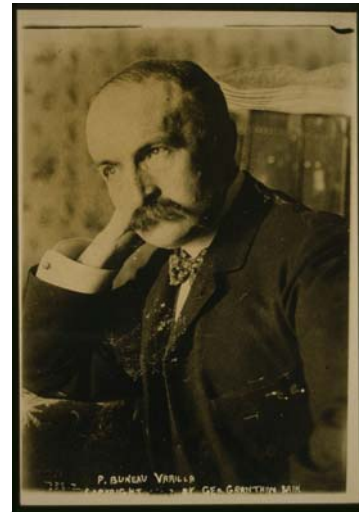
### OUTCOMES

You might have made up your mind as to which route was better, based on the strength of the arguments. The arguments were also important to many people in the actual event. However, with all this money at stake, there was a lot of lobbying taking place, which was key to the U.S. decision to choose the Panama route. It was one of the greatest lobbying payoffs in U.S. history. In the problem, there are three clues that lobbying was at work.

First, why was there a second commission on the route after everyone, for the most part, had agreed on the Nicaragua route? The Panama Canal Company, which was trying to sell its equipment and land concession to the U.S., could only do that if the U.S. built in Panama. The company hired an American lawyer, Nelson Cromwell, to influence the U.S. government to choose Panama as the canal route and to arrange the sale of the company's equipment and land concession to the United States. Cromwell almost single-handedly persuaded Congress to appoint a new commission. He also hired a press bureau in the U.S. to publicize favorable information about the Panama route, and he testified in front of Congress about the advantages of Panama. Then he lobbied individual congressmen to vote for a new commission.

Six weeks later, the new commission chose Panama for the route, which may have been due in part to lobbying by President Roosevelt (who was influenced by a friend who was favorable to the Panama route). But it may also have stemmed from the Canal Company's lowering its price (a result of intense lobbying by Frenchman Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a member of the Panama Canal Company board). At a later point, it seems President Roosevelt may have influenced a senator to speak in favor of the Panama route, although the evidence isn't conclusive.

The second clue is the date (1904) when the Panama Canal Company would lose its land concession (and perhaps the ownership of its equipment) in Panama. The company had an obvious reason to push for Panama and to seal an agreement quickly, while it could still make money. This clue is supported by the willingness of the company to lower its price by more than two-thirds to \$40 million.



Philippe Bunau-Varilla

The third clue is the stamps that appeared on every senator's desk. That was the work of Bunau-Varilla, who bought up enough stamps and placed them on the congressmen's desks.

Senator Hanna's speech is not a clue, since any senator can speak on an issue without having been lobbied. However, in this case, Hanna *had* received a \$60,000 campaign contribution to the Republican Party from Nelson Cromwell on behalf of the Panama Canal Company.

On the strengths and weaknesses, the Panama route was probably better than the Nicaragua route. Even so, the decision to build the canal through Panama was also the result of a very clever lobbying effort. Both Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla believed in the Panama route, but both also stood to gain a huge amount of money and a great deal of prestige by convincing the U.S. government to change such an important decision. Did you recognize the clues that intense lobbying was taking place behind the scenes? Did you ask questions about some of the suspect information presented in the problem?



Constructing the Panama Canal

# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

## Student Handout 3

### PROBLEM

The year is 1903, and you are President Theodore Roosevelt. You want to dig a canal through Central America, the two best spots being Nicaragua and Panama. At this point, you feel Panama is the better of the two locations. Panama is part of the country of Colombia, so the U.S. has negotiated a treaty (called the Hay-Herran Treaty) with the Colombian government in order to build the canal in Panama. Colombia has agreed to sell the rights to build the canal for a fee of \$10 million up front and \$250,000 per year. The U.S. would be entitled to protect its people and equipment in the canal zone, an area six miles wide along the path of the canal, but Colombia would still be the ruling authority there. The U.S. would pay the French-owned Panama Canal Company \$40 million for its equipment and land concession in Panama. The U.S. Senate ratified the treaty, but this past week, the senate in Colombia voted unanimously to reject the treaty. The negotiations to build a canal in Panama have stalled. According to the Spooner Act, the president is to try to build a canal in Panama. If there is a problem in Panama, the president can then switch and negotiate with Nicaragua (with whom the U.S. has friendly relations) to build the canal there. Reports to the White House and the State Department show that Colombia's president, José Marroquin, has persuaded his country's senate to vote against the treaty in order to command a higher price from the U.S. government for the canal.

A Frenchman named Philippe Bunau-Varilla has come to the United States to speak to you. He is one of the directors of the Panama Canal Company. He tells you the Panamanians are preparing to revolt against Colombia for their independence. He is in close contact with the Panamanian rebels and knows their intentions. The rebels are hoping the U.S. will use force to prevent the Colombian army from crushing the revolt. If the revolt is successful, the rebels hope the U.S. will give diplomatic recognition to the new republic of Panama, which would give it legitimacy. In exchange, Panama will agree to have the U.S. build the canal there on terms favorable to the U.S.

### QUESTIONS

1. Will you encourage the Panamanian rebels to revolt against Colombia?
2. Will you use American military forces to assist the revolt in Panama?

# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

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## Student Handout 4

### CONTEXT QUESTIONS

1. What are the chances of a Panamanian revolt achieving success? If the U.S. intervenes, will the Colombians fight U.S. forces?
2. What is the history of Panama, including the historical relationship of Panama to Colombia? Is this a legitimate revolt or something dreamed up by a handful of people?
3. How will other countries view U.S. intervention in Panama?
4. Suppose the revolt succeeds. Will the Panamanians be able to run their own country, or will the U.S. be forced to occupy the country to keep order?
5. If the U.S. negotiates a treaty with Panama to build a canal, will Congress ratify (agree to) the treaty?
6. If the revolt succeeds, will the Panamanians definitely sell the U.S. the rights to the canal?
7. Who are the rebel leaders?
8. Why did the Colombian senate vote against the canal deal agreed to by its own government (the Hay-Herran Treaty)?

# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

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## Student Handout 5

### **1. What are the chances of a Panamanian revolt achieving success? If the U.S. intervenes, will the Colombians fight U.S. forces?**

According to your advisers, the chances for a successful revolt are quite good. The governor appointed by Colombia to rule Panama is sympathetic to the independence movement. The small number of Colombian soldiers in the province can be bribed not to fight.

Geography is a key factor. Panama is separated from the rest of Colombia by dense jungle. So the Colombians would have to send troops by ship, which the U.S. could easily block with its strong navy. Without troops in Panama, the Colombians will not be able to stop the revolt.

The rebels are militarily weak, but they claim they have the support of most Panamanians, which is crucial to winning.

It's extremely unlikely the Colombians will fight. To get troops to shore, they would have to fight the U.S. navy, which is much stronger than theirs.

### **2. What is the history of Panama, including the historical relationship of Panama to Colombia? Is this a legitimate revolt or something dreamed up by a handful of people?**

Colombia never has been able to completely control Panama. For example, Colombia has asked the United States to restore order to the province four times in the past 57 years. The people of Panama are generally known as rugged individualists who admire the free market and independence. They benefit from free trade and don't want to be handicapped by Colombian regulations that would restrict their trade. Their economy and politics are separate from Colombia. Panama has few natural resources, so its citizens greatly benefit from the trade traveling through the area via the railroad, and they would benefit even more if a canal were built.

According to the region's history and your advisers, the revolt is legitimate. A group of Panamanians in New York City is trying to secure American assistance for the revolt, but there is no doubt that the revolt is real. The attorney for the Panama Canal Company and one of its board members have met with the rebels, assuring them of their support.

**3. How will other countries view U.S. intervention in Panama?**

Other countries in Latin America won't like it, but they don't really have the military, political, or economic power to really challenge the United States.

**4. Suppose the revolt succeeds. Will the Panamanians be able to run their own country, or will the U.S. be forced to occupy the country to keep order?**

The independent streak among the Panamanians shows they have the desire to run the country themselves. They will surely have problems, but their passionate desire for independence will get them through without the need for our troops to occupy the country.

**5. If the U.S. negotiates a treaty with Panama to build a canal, will Congress ratify (agree to) the treaty?**

Some members of Congress will be against a treaty to build a canal in Panama, though not many, based on previous support in Congress for building the canal. Also, the U.S. is riding a wave of patriotism following the Spanish-American War and supports this kind of bold action. Many Americans would view the opposition of a canal treaty as unpatriotic.

**6. If the revolt succeeds, will the Panamanians definitely sell the U.S. the rights to the canal?**

Yes, they will definitely sell the rights to build the canal as promised. But it's not just a promise. The Panamanians know their prosperity depends primarily on geography. They have few natural resources—no minerals (such as gold or copper) and little land suitable for farming—so they depend on revenue from people traveling through. A canal is their ticket to greater prosperity.

**7. Who are the rebel leaders?**

According to your advisers, about half the rebel leaders have been executives for the Panama Railroad. The railroad has made great profits from trade across Panama. If the canal were built somewhere else, the railroad would be out of business (due to the diversion of trade to the canal, which would make transport cheaper and faster), whereas if the canal were built in Panama, the railroad would make money by transporting goods to people who work for the canal. Most of the rest of the rebels are wealthy individuals from a variety of occupations. These people would also benefit from trade going through Panama, as well as trade with the U.S. All of these individuals are united in their desire for independence.

**8. Why did the Colombian senate vote against the canal deal agreed to by its own government (the Hay-Herran Treaty)?**

While the administration of the Colombian president isn't entirely on the side of democracy (he has people arrested for political reasons), he isn't really a dictator either (as mentioned on Handout 3). The country is fighting a civil war, and the capital city, Bogotá, has been under siege at times. More than 100,000 Colombians have died in the fighting, and guerrilla warfare terrorizes much of the countryside. Colombia's president does not really control the senate. The Colombian senate is outraged by the treaty, since it states that the U.S. will pay four times as much to the French Panama Canal Company for its equipment and land concession as it will to the Colombian government for a large area of its land. The government decided this payment arrangement was so unfair that it started pressuring the Panama Canal Company to pay the government some of the \$40 million it received from the U.S. One proposal would require the company to pay \$10 million to the Colombian government to approve the sale of the concession to the United States. The U.S. secretary of state, however, has stated that the \$40 million paid to the Panama Canal Company couldn't be taken by or divided with the Colombian government. Naturally, this statement humiliates the Colombian senate.



# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

## Student Handout 6

### OUTCOMES

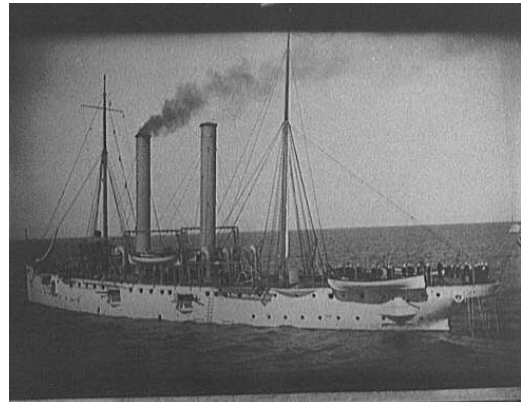
President Roosevelt encouraged the Panamanians to revolt for independence, and he sent a warship (the U.S.S. *Nashville*) to block Colombia from landing troops in Panama to crush the rebellion. The revolution was successful and nonviolent. Panama, supported by the U.S., declared its independence.

A key factor in U.S. policy on Panama was the personality of President Roosevelt. He became angry with the Colombian senate for refusing to ratify the first treaty (the Hay-Herran Treaty) to build the canal. He came to the conclusion that the president of Colombia was using the senate as an excuse not to ratify the treaty, as shown in this quote:

President Marroquin, through his minister, had agreed to the Hay-Herran Treaty of January 1903. He had the absolute power of an unconstitutional dictator to either keep his promise or break it. He was determined to break it. To furnish himself an excuse for breaking it he devised the plan of summoning a congress especially called to reject the canal treaty. This his congress—a congress of puppets—did, without a dissenting vote.

Roosevelt thought President Marroquin was a dictator who could control the vote. Actually, the government of Colombia was very weak. The Colombian senate voted on its own against the treaty because the terms of the treaty were so unfavorable to Colombia. Roosevelt refused to investigate to find out the truth. He called the Colombians “blackmailers” and “cutthroats,” seeing only a situation in which poor leadership had stopped an agreement that would have helped its citizens. Roosevelt said he would not get involved in the revolt in Panama. Nevertheless, he did send ships to the area and order American forces to prevent Colombian troops from quashing the revolt. He, as well as the secretary and assistant secretary of state, also met with Bunau-Varilla and assured him to some extent that the U.S. would protect Panama from Colombia (“[T]his government will do as it has done in the past,” Roosevelt said.)

As with the problem on Handout 1 regarding the two canal routes, lobbying in the U.S. was key to what happened in the Panamanian revolt. Why, for example, would the U.S. secretary of state insist that Colombia not negotiate for some of the \$40 million from the Panama Canal Company (described in the answer to question 8), when it was obvious that such a demand would probably cause the Colombian senate to vote down the treaty?



The U.S.S. *Nashville*

Nelson Cromwell, lobbyist for the Panama Canal Company persuaded Secretary of State Hay to take this position. In addition, the U.S. supported the Panamanian rebels partly as a result of assurances given by the lobbyist Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a director of the Panama Canal Company, to Secretary Hay and President Roosevelt that the new country would quickly agree to a canal deal. Meanwhile, Nelson Cromwell was assuring the rebels that he would support the revolt. Bunau-Varilla also met with the rebels, showing them a plan of military operations, a declaration of independence, and a flag designed by his wife. Did you suspect all this lobbying was going on at this time?

You couldn't know this from the problem, but there was a great deal of lobbying surrounding the treaty to build the canal in Panama. While the revolt was unfolding, Bunau-Varilla got the Panamanians to appoint him to negotiate the canal treaty with the U.S. on Panama's behalf. He was in Washington DC and immediately negotiated with Secretary of State Hay. Hay offered terms, but Bunau-Varilla rewrote the terms to be much more favorable to the U.S. For example, where the U.S. requested the power to protect property in the zone, Bunau-Varilla's version gave the U.S. complete control over the canal zone "as if it [the U.S.] were the sovereign of the territory." The Panamanian constitution gave the U.S. the right to "intervene in any part of Panama," which hadn't been requested by the U.S. In addition, the canal zone would be ten miles wide, rather than the six miles requested by the U.S.

Panama sent two of its own negotiators to help write the treaty and told Bunau-Varilla not to make any agreements until their men arrived. Bunau-Varilla worked around the clock and signed the treaty before the Panamanian officials arrived in Washington.

In sum, a director of the French Panama Canal Company, who was not Panamanian, negotiated a treaty for the new country of Panama in violation of that country's orders to wait. Bunau-Varilla offered the U.S. more favorable terms than the U.S. had requested. The deal made millions of dollars for the French company of which Bunau-Varilla was a director, while it hurt Panama, taking into account what the Panamanians could have negotiated for themselves. Bunau-Varilla claimed that he wanted to make sure the treaty passed the U.S. Senate. Panama saw it differently. They saw the treaty as a complete sellout of their country. In the 1970s, a Panamanian documentary film was made about this treaty, titled *The Treaty No Panamanian Signed*.

#### Unintended consequences:

- For the next 60 years, the leaders of the revolt and their descendents dominated Panama. The country was undemocratic politically and polarized economically, with a handful of people prospering while most were desperately poor. Panama became essentially a colony of the U.S. The 1903 treaty gave the U.S. power over Panama's economy and foreign policy. After the treaty, U.S. investments in Panama skyrocketed. In 1913, the United Fruit Company of Boston owned more than 20% of all private property in Panama. The U.S. also dominated Panamanian trade. In 1930, more than two-thirds of Panama's imports and 94% of Panama's exports were with the U.S. Nevertheless, the canal and U.S. investments brought

more prosperity to Panama than the country would have otherwise seen. Throughout the 20th century, Panama was one of the most prosperous countries in Central America. Even its poor citizens were better off than the poor in neighboring countries.

- Leaders of other Latin American countries, especially Mexico, opposed U.S. support for the revolution in Panama, seeing it as a threat to the independence of every other Latin American country and a clear case of Yankee imperialism.

In the United States, some newspapers condemned the revolution and treaty. The *Chicago American* called it “a rough-riding assault upon another republic over the shattered wreckage of international law and diplomatic usage.”

- Building the Panama Canal altered U.S. policy in Latin America. The U.S. intervened in Latin America in order to keep the region stable to protect the canal’s shipping traffic. A year after the treaty, President Roosevelt announced the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which said that the U.S. would act as a policeman in Latin America to ensure that countries paid their debts, so outside countries would have no excuse to intervene.



Roosevelt (center) visits the canal construction site

In 1912, Congress investigated the U.S. role in the 1903 Panama revolt, which revealed the roles played by Nelson Cromwell and Philippe Bunau-Varilla as lobbyists who had greatly influenced U.S. decisions. In later years the U.S. government, which needed good relations with Colombia in order to get rights to drill oil, apologized and paid the country \$25 million for its role in the Panama revolt.

Although we can’t know for sure, with a little patience and a few million dollars more, the U.S. likely could have gotten the rights to dig the canal through an agreement with Colombia. This would have made the canal treaty appear much more legitimate than it ultimately did. Latin American charges of Yankee imperialism could have been replaced by goodwill toward the U.S.

# LESSON 3: CANAL BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

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## Student Handout 7

**Primary Source:** *Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty*, November 18, 1903 (excerpt)

### ARTICLE I

The United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama.

### ARTICLE II

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity [forever] the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said Canal of the width of ten miles extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the center line of the route of the Canal to be constructed... The Republic of Panama further grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of any other lands and waters outside of the zone above described which may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal or of any auxiliary canals or other works necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said enterprise.

### ARTICLE III

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II of this agreement and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said Article II which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority...

### ARTICLE VIII

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all rights which it now has or hereafter may acquire to be property of the New Panama Canal Company and the Panama Railroad Company as a result of the transfer of sovereignty from the Republic of Colombia to the Republic of Panama over the Isthmus of Panama and authorizes the New Panama Canal Company to sell and transfer to the United States its rights, privileges, properties and concessions as well as the Panama Railroad and all the shares or part of the shares of that company...

### ARTICLE XIV

As the price or compensation for the rights, powers and privileges granted in this convention by the Republic of Panama to the United States, the Government of the United States agrees to pay to the Republic of Panama the sum of ten million dollars (\$10,000,000) in gold coin of the United States on the exchange of the ratification of this

convention and also an annual payment during the life of this convention of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$250,000) in like gold coin, beginning nine years after the date aforesaid...

#### ARTICLE XXII

The Republic of Panama renounces and grants to the United States the participation to which it might be entitled in the future earnings of the Canal under Article XV of the concessionary contract with Lucien N. B. Wyse now owned by the New Panama Canal Company and any and all other rights or claims of a pecuniary nature arising under or relating to said concession, or arising under or relating to the concessions to the Panama Railroad Company or any extension or modification thereof... Done at the City of Washington the 18th day of November in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and three.

JOHN HAY [SEAL]

P. BUNAU-VARILLA [SEAL]

#### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is the most favorable part of the treaty for the United States? For Panama?
2. If you were a leader of Panama, would you vote for this treaty? Explain.

# LESSON 4: PROGRESSIVE REFORMS, 1906–1913

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## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

Progressivism was a movement rather than an organized group of people with specific goals. The one element that united each supporter of the Progressive movement was a desire to reform. Their reforms differed in many ways from each other. Some people wanted social control while others wanted more freedom and less control. This lesson introduces students to Progressive reforms by focusing on ways students might choose to reform society in the first decade of the 20th century. Whether the term “Progressive” is useful (one historian thinks it is not), questions about reforming society are timeless and engage students in interesting decision making.

This lesson could be more like a unit, since it touches on many of the major Progressive reforms. Students could be given the problems to introduce the unit on Progressivism and then be given readings to explore what was done in more detail and to further evaluate those reforms.

### VOCABULARY

- Progressive movement—Reformers in many different areas, economic, political, and social, around the turn of the 20th century
- Child-labor laws—Laws to prevent or limit child labor
- Workers’ compensation—Money paid to workers if injured on the job, or to workers’ families if killed on the job, without having to prove negligence by owners
- *The Jungle*—Upton Sinclair’s muckraking novel about the meatpacking industry
- Poison Squad—Group of subjects, overseen by Dr. Harvey Wiley, who ingested foods and drugs to determine the effects of additives
- Meat Inspection Act—Progressive reform to ensure high-quality meat (“U.S.D.A. Inspected”)
- Pure Food and Drug Act—Requires labeling of certain additives to food and drugs
- Millionaire’s club—Slang term implying that rich people controlled the Senate
- Trust—A group formed by businesses with the intent of achieving a monopoly
- Boss Tweed—Corrupt political boss of New York City’s Tammany Hall
- Direct election of senators—Allows the people, rather than state legislatures, to elect senators; a way to break up the “millionaire’s club”
- Initiative—When citizens start a bill by obtaining a minimum number of signatures
- Referendum—When citizens vote directly on a bill

- Recall—When citizens vote on whether to remove a government official (often a judge)
- Direct primary—When citizens vote on which candidate from each party will run in the final election
- Progressive income tax—When people with higher incomes are taxed at a higher percentage
- Zoning—When local governments control how land is to be used; for example, preventing residential land to be used for commercial purposes
- Sterilization—Medical procedure to prevent someone from having children

<b>DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED</b>
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- Identify underlying problems
- Recognize assumptions
- Ask about historical context
- What are my goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options. Are they ethical?
- Predict unintended consequences

# LESSON PLAN

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## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (two 40-minute class periods)

### Procedure:

There are two basic ways to teach this lesson. Handout 1 confronts students with problems without the proposals that Progressives made to solve those problems. So, if you use this approach, the emphasis will be more on generating options. Handout 2 includes Progressive proposals to solve the problem, so the emphasis is on evaluating the options.

Using Handout 1: Distribute Handout 1 and divide students into small groups. Assign one of the five problems to each group. After brainstorming possible solutions to the problem, have each group reports its solutions to the whole class, along with which solutions the group members favor. List the solutions on the board. Ask students if they set a goal before proposing options to achieve their goal. How do their proposed solutions match up with their goal? Many students will likely not have thought of a goal, so this question will be a helpful reminder. If they have not thought of goals, have students go back and set goals. Then have them reconsider their options in light of the goal.

In the second phase, have students vote on the possible solutions to each problem. Which do they favor and why? Or, you could copy and distribute the proposals the Progressives actually made (Handout 3), and compare student proposals to those. You could also have students vote on those Progressive proposals.

Using Handout 2: Distribute Handout 2 and divide students into small groups. Assign one of the five problems to each group. Have students decide which proposals they support for their problem. Call on the group for Problem 1 to explain to the class which proposals they favor and why. The other class members can ask questions or make comments. Have the entire class vote on the proposals they favor for Problem 1. This process is repeated for Problems 2–5. For Problem 2, students as a class can ask two of the following questions:

1. What is the public's view of the issue of food safety?
2. How does the food industry feel about the issue of food safety?
3. What have other industrialized countries done to address this issue?
4. Why have so many bills addressing this issue been defeated over the past 27 years?
5. What are the arguments against the proposed Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act?

Read the answers from Handout 4 to the two questions that get the most student votes.



Distribute Handout 3 with the actual decisions and outcomes. Discuss these outcomes. What surprised students? Which programs did they predict would be adopted?

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they would have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions about these issues? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the “Decision-Making Analysis” section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students what long-term historical trends were taking place that would lead to so many proposals for reform. (The United States was industrializing, urbanizing, and modernizing rapidly at the beginning of the 20th century. Immigrants were flooding into the country. These changes were causing difficulties for many U.S. citizens. Naturally, people in a democratic country responded by trying to reform the system to protect themselves from the negative effects of these changes. There was also a growing middle class that felt it held the power to make things better. People in other industrial countries were also pushing reforms at this time. So it was not unusual for Americans to desire improvement.)

### Connecting to Today:

Which of these reform proposals are still with us today? What do the outcomes of the reforms show us? Write a policy position for the president about the factors that make certain reforms worthwhile.

### Troubleshooting:

The problems about the trusts, tariff, and income tax involve a number of economic concepts. You might want to review some of these before tackling that problem: supply, demand, monopoly, comparative advantage, trade, opportunity cost, consumers, and producers. Students will need to understand these concepts to predict the consequences of various proposals.

## **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–20 minutes)**

Only do one or two of the problems. You could do one of the problems as representative of the complex debates over Progressive reform proposals. Assign the problem from Handout 2 for homework and have students pair up and discuss their decisions in regard to the proposals for that problem for about two minutes. Ask students to vote on the various proposals. You could discuss the reasons for student votes and possibly have students revote.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 2. The Progressives adopted all of the proposals listed on Handout 2, except #15 and #20.)

## **PROBLEM 1—WORKERS’ WAGES AND CONDITIONS**

The Progressives proposed and passed the following:

- Limited hours for workers per week, especially for women
- Laws to limit—or eliminate in some industries—child labor
- Laws requiring workers compensation

## **PROBLEM 2—FOOD SAFETY**

The Progressives proposed and passed the following:

- Meat Inspection Act
- Pure Food and Drug Law, setting up the Food and Drug Administration

## **PROBLEM 3—CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT**

The Progressives proposed and passed the following:

- Secret ballot so people can be free of influence when they vote
- Direct election of senators, breaking the control of the wealthy on the Senate
- The initiative and the referendum, so citizens can propose laws and vote on them to get around legislatures that aren’t responsive to the wishes of the people
- The recall, so citizens can remove a corrupt politician from office right away, rather than having to wait until the next election
- The direct primary, allowing citizens to choose candidates for themselves
- A law stating that more officials had to be elected rather than appointed

## **PROBLEM 4—INEQUALITY/MONOPOLIES**

For the problem of inequality, the Progressives proposed and passed:

- A progressive income tax, which taxes the rich at a higher rate than the poor
- A reduction in the tariff, as tariff rates tended to fall more heavily on poorer people (since an increase of a certain amount, say one dollar, was a larger share of a poor person’s income than that of a wealthy person’s income)

Two specific proposals were made to address the problem of monopolies:

- The first proposal, by Theodore Roosevelt, was called the “New Nationalism.” In it Roosevelt argued that, for the good of the people, the government must regulate big business. Big business was and is a part of modern American society.

Breaking it into smaller businesses, Roosevelt argued, would be going backwards. He said the U.S. needed to accept the fact that big business is a permanent part of our society, one that does a lot of good but that needs to be regulated by the government to prevent and punish bad behavior on the part of businesses.

- The second proposal, by Woodrow Wilson, was called the “New Freedom.” In it he argued that U.S. government must break up trusts. The best way to ensure that products are made and marketed efficiently, he said, is to have a free market. The market weeds out inefficient businesses or businesses who charge too high a price. Since trusts interfere with the free market, Wilson said they should be broken into smaller businesses.

## **PROBLEM 5—CITY PROBLEMS**

The Progressives proposed and passed the following:

- Simplified city governments to make them get things done more quickly. That way, people wouldn’t need to pay off officials to speed up the process.
- Adoption of a city manager system in some cities. Since the city manager wasn’t elected, he or she wouldn’t be influenced as much by city politics.
- Elimination of political parties at the level of city government, also reducing political influence

## **OUTCOMES OF THESE PROPOSALS**

(Outcomes are on Handout 3. These are additional notes.)

## **PROBLEM 1—WORKERS’ WAGES AND CONDITIONS**

Ask students why people at the time might be opposed to limiting working hours, enacting child-labor laws, and creating workers’ compensation. (Limiting hours for women could make female labor less desirable and end up hurting women; child-labor laws were opposed by parents who felt they needed their children to work to make ends meet; some employers did not want the increased cost of workers’ compensation, into which they were forced to make regular contributions.)

## **PROBLEM 2—FOOD SAFETY**

The conservative economist Milton Friedman devotes a chapter of his book *Free to Choose* to the negative effects of regulations made by agencies such as the Food and Drug Administration.

These regulations were minimal compared to similar ones made in Europe. At the turn of the century, Americans were more suspicious of government than were citizens of other industrialized countries.

### **PROBLEM 3—CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT**

All of these political reforms made the U.S. more democratic. The secret ballot, direct election of senators, initiative, referendum, recall, and direct primary all gave more power to the people. But they also decreased the power of political parties. Some people questioned the need for any political affiliation, if all political functions (candidates, runoffs, the laws themselves) could be decided without a party. Consequently, more voters became independents, and voter participation decreased. Since many were not part of a larger group (political party), voters were not as energized and stayed home more often.

### **PROBLEM 4—INEQUALITY/MONOPOLIES**

The income tax reduced inequality in America. While such inequality may engender a certain amount of economic growth, inequality of wealth may weaken political equality. Can those with more money buy more political power?

The Progressives actually enacted both proposals in regard to monopolies, regulating some trusts and breaking up others. Today, the U.S. government still regulates many aspects of big business. Such regulations have been the subject of great debate, starting in the late 1870s. But the government also breaks up monopolies, such as AT&T. The debate continues on the merits of breaking up or regulating big business.

Were students swayed to vote for option 15 (government takeover of trusts) because of the positive way it was phrased?

### **PROBLEM 5—CITY PROBLEMS**

Ask students if they know what kind of government their own city or town has today. Is it known to be efficient and honest? Can people in the city or town get things done quickly? Have there been charges of mismanagement or corruption? What has the city or town done to keep water clean?

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem**
  - Consider other points of view
- \* - **What are my assumptions?** Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
  - Reliability of sources
  - Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- \* - **Generate options to help achieve these goals Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences**
  - Play out the options. What could go wrong?

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify underlying problems:**
  - a. An underlying issue of all five problems concerns changes due to industrialization. These changes led to an industrial workforce (#1), mass-produced food (#2), inequality (#4) and thus opportunities for corruption (#3), and the growth of cities and bureaucracies (#5). The Progressives recognized the underlying problem to some extent when they proposed workers' protection laws, the regulation of food, and the regulation (rather than elimination) of big business.
  - b. A second underlying problem is the relationship of the economic system to the political system. If wealthy individuals control the political system, how can any reforms succeed? They will presumably be twisted by the legislature (or the president, or the courts) to benefit the rich. Again, the Progressives seemed to recognize this problem and sought to overcome it by putting more power into the hands of ordinary Americans. The Progressives certainly didn't overcome the problem completely. For example, according to historian Gabriel Kolko, regulatory agencies were often dominated by the businesses they regulated.
  - c. A third underlying problem is the general anti-government attitude of Americans. Like other industrializing societies, many Americans wanted to reform society in order to reduce the problems of industrial growth. The expansion of government in the Progressive Era, however, was much less than in other countries. Americans had a heritage of individual initiative and skepticism of the government.

- **Assumptions:** Proposals 13, 14, and 15 all assume the problem is the monopoly. However, there were few pure monopolies, so anti-monopoly reforms would not help the economy very much. Oligopolies, in which a few businesses may influence prices and limit competition, were much more common in the U.S. at this time. Many of the biggest corporations, such as Standard Oil, actually lost market share (the percentage of the whole market they controlled) from 1900 to 1920. Higher-than-market prices might have corrected themselves, as competitors were attracted to these lucrative industries. Assumptions are also examined in question 3 on Handout 3 in regard to proposal 11 on the progressive income tax.
- **Ask about context:** European countries were also seeing growth of big business. If this is a natural result of modern industrialization, perhaps breaking up large companies doesn't make sense. Maybe the benefits they bring outweigh the disadvantages.
- **Set goals and generate options:** The focus of this lesson, if you use Handout 1, is on generating options to deal with the five problems described in the handout. However, the options chosen (not just brainstormed) should have corresponded to their goals, and should be realistic. Remind students that setting goals is important.
- **Consequences:** The short-term and long-term consequences for the proposals for the five problems are described on Handout 3 (Outcomes).

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# LESSON 4: PROGRESSIVE REFORMS, 1906–1913

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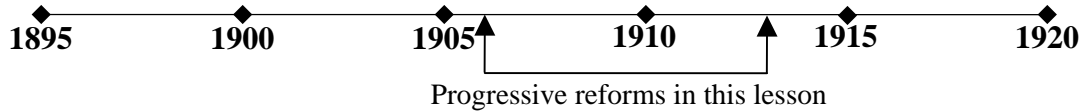
## Vocabulary

- Progressive movement—Reformers in many different areas, economic, political, and social, around the turn of the 20th century
- Child-labor laws—Laws to prevent or limit child labor
- Workers’ compensation—Money paid to workers if injured on the job, or to workers’ families if killed on the job, without having to prove negligence by owners
- *The Jungle*—Upton Sinclair’s muckraking novel about the meatpacking industry
- Poison Squad—Group of subjects, overseen by Dr. Harvey Wiley, who ingested foods and drugs to determine the effects of additives
- Meat Inspection Act—Progressive reform to ensure high-quality meat. (“U.S.D.A. Inspected”)
- Pure Food and Drug Act—Requires labeling of certain additives to food and drugs
- Millionaire’s club—Slang term implying that rich people controlled the Senate
- Trust—A group formed by businesses with the intent of achieving a monopoly
- Boss Tweed—Corrupt political boss of New York City’s Tammany Hall
- Direct election of senators—Allows the people, rather than state legislatures, to elect senators; a way to break up the “millionaire’s club.”
- Initiative—When citizens start a bill by obtaining a minimum number of signatures
- Referendum—When citizens vote directly on a bill
- Recall—When citizens vote on whether to remove a government official (often a judge)
- Direct primary—When citizens vote on which candidate from each party will run in the final election
- Progressive income tax—When people with higher incomes are taxed at a higher percentage
- Zoning—When local governments control how land is to be used; for example, preventing residential land to be used for commercial purposes
- Sterilization—Medical procedure to prevent someone from having children



# LESSON 4: PROGRESSIVE REFORMS, 1906–1913

## Student Handout 1



The year is 1906, and you are a member of the U.S. Congress. Over the past few decades, the U.S. has grown tremendously in terms of its size, population, and economy. Countries in Europe are undergoing similar changes: larger businesses engaged in mass production, and the migration of the labor force from farm to city. But there are still many problems. You have to decide what to do about each of the problems listed below. After you make a list of possible solutions, choose the one you think is best. Base your decision on whether it will be good for the country, not on trading votes or what will help your own area, state, or reelection prospects. Brainstorm possible solutions to the following problems:

### **PROBLEM 1—WORKERS’ WAGES AND CONDITIONS**

Workers face dangerous working conditions in many industries, including the steel, meatpacking, and mining industries. Industrial accidents kill about 35,000 workers each year and maim about 500,000. In some industries, workers must prove the company’s negligence before they can collect compensation. Few workers can afford to go to court to prove negligence. In addition, wages are extremely low. Workers have formed unions and gone on strike to improve pay and conditions and to shorten the number of hours they must work per week (currently about 60–84 hours per week). Owners have generally defeated strikes with lockouts, with blacklists, by hiring scabs, and by getting the government to side with them against workers.

### **PROBLEM 2—FOOD SAFETY**

The way food is sold has changed over the past 30 years. With improved transportation, food is delivered and sold to larger markets. But the greater distances and greater time to deliver food has meant that chemicals have been added to many foods, and packaging has become more important. In the past 27 years, 190 bills have been introduced in Congress to regulate food and medicines, but only eight have passed. Last year, Upton Sinclair’s novel *The Jungle* argued that the meat industry has very poor sanitation and sells diseased and contaminated meat.

Recent magazine articles have revealed many problems with food. In addition, Congress investigated various foods in 1898 and 1902 and revealed that additives were harming people. For example, charcoal is added to pepper, bleaching agents are added to molasses, and milk is watered down. In 1902, Dr. Harvey Wiley, chief chemist at the

Department of Agriculture, led “Poison Squad” experiments, which seemed to show the connection between food additives and poor health. Wiley feels that chemical additives are sometimes necessary, but only rarely. He wants accurate labeling of all ingredients.

In addition, some companies make misleading statements about their products. In 1905, *Collier's Weekly* ran a series of articles about medicines in America. The investigative reporter stated, “Gullible America will spend this year some seventy-five millions of dollars in the purchase of patent medicines. In consideration of this sum it will swallow huge quantities of alcohol, [and] an appalling amount of opiates and narcotics.” Cocaine and opium relieve pain but turn many users into drug addicts. Other medicines contain large quantities of alcohol (as much as 44%), leading to higher rates of alcoholism. Some medicines are 99% water—not harmful, but a complete fraud.



Workers at a meatpacking plant

### PROBLEM 3—CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT

Government at all levels was corrupt to some extent in the Gilded Age (1865–1900). Presidents, senators, and representatives received campaign contributions from special-interest groups, and especially from big business. Senators are elected by state legislatures, which has led to the election of many wealthy businessmen as a result of backroom deals. The Senate was cynically referred to as the “millionaire’s club.”

Election fraud is common, especially since people vote in public. People can see how others vote, since the election ballots for each party are of different colors. Many government workers are installed by elected officials, often leading to the appointment of unqualified people, including campaign workers.

### PROBLEM 4—INEQUALITY/MONOPOLIES

According to the magazine *Arena*, the gap between wealthy and poor has increased during the past decade. The magazine estimates that about 1% of the population owns about 50% of the wealth, while 50% of the people own almost nothing. Government statistics also attest to the widening gap between rich and poor, even as the middle class is growing. The newly rich build huge mansions and other extravagances, while the poor live in rundown tenements.

The economy is growing at an amazing yearly rate of 6% (3% is considered good). Big business is also growing rapidly. In the past eight years, more than 4200 companies have merged into only 257. The 300 largest companies own more than 40% of the industrial wealth of the country. The formation of trusts by large companies illustrates the problem of the wealthy having unfair advantages. Monopolies or near-monopolies in industries such as sugar, steel, oil, meatpacking, railroads, and chemicals provide huge profits for their owners, since monopolies can gouge consumers with higher, noncompetitive prices.

### PROBLEM 5—CITY PROBLEMS

More and more these days, Americans live in cities, partly due to high immigration and migration from farms. Unfortunately, cities have many problems, such as high crime rates, overcrowding, and poor sanitation. For example, Pittsburgh, PA has one of the highest death rates of any large city in the world, due mainly to its impure water supply. The rate of venereal disease is also high and increasing.

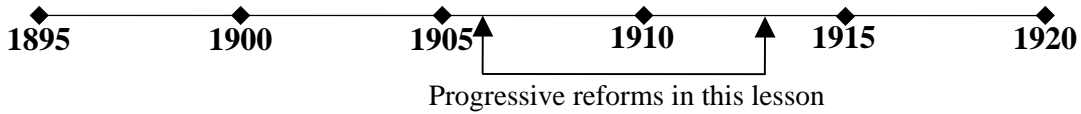
Corrupt urban bosses, who commit fraud and take kickbacks on city contracts, run many cities. For example, in the 1870s, Boss Tweed made \$2 million on a courthouse that was supposed to cost \$250,000. If you need something done quickly in a city, you must to pay a bribe to “grease the wheels” of the slow, bureaucratic city government. Specific examples of corruption have been documented in Lincoln Steffens’s book *The Shame of the Cities*, which was published this year. Even where there aren’t political bosses, cities are having a hard time expanding services (housing, schools, sanitation, etc.) and keeping up with such rapid growth.



Lincoln Steffens

# LESSON 4: PROGRESSIVE REFORMS, 1906–1913

## Student Handout 2



The year is 1906, and you are a member of the U.S. Congress. Over the past few decades, the U.S. has grown tremendously in terms of its size, population, and economy. Countries in Europe are undergoing similar changes: larger businesses engaged in mass production and the migration of the labor force from farm to city. But there are still many problems. For each of the following problems, the Progressives have proposed solutions. Decide whether you would vote for or against the proposal based on whether it will be good for the country, not on trading votes or on what will help your own area, state, or reelection prospects.

### PROBLEM 1—WORKERS' WAGES AND CONDITIONS

Workers face dangerous working conditions in many businesses, including the steel, meatpacking, and mining industries. Industrial accidents kill about 35,000 workers each year and maim about 500,000. In some industries, workers must prove the company's negligence before they can collect compensation. Few workers can afford to go to court to prove negligence. In addition, pay is extremely low. Workers have formed unions and have gone on strike to improve wages and conditions and to shorten the number of hours they must work per week (currently about 60–84 hours per week). Owners have generally defeated strikes with lockouts, blacklists, by hiring scabs, and by getting the government to side with them against workers.



Child laborers in a glassmaking factory

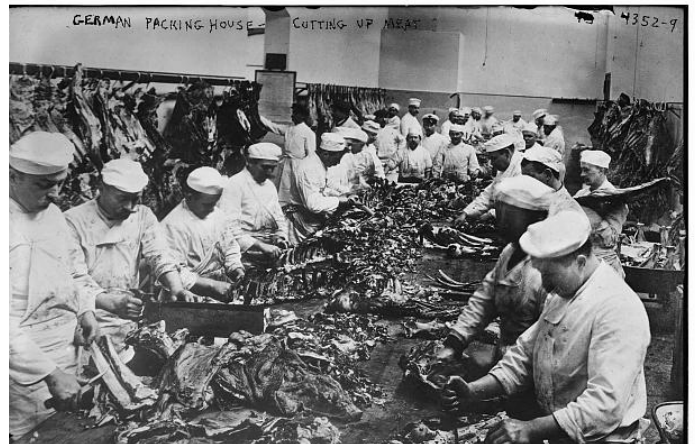
### PROPOSALS FOR PROBLEM 1:

1. Limit hours for workers per week, especially for women  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:

2. Enact laws to limit—or eliminate in some industries—child labor  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
3. Enact laws requiring workers' compensation. Owners would have to pay (compensate) workers who are injured on the job, whether or not workers could prove it was the owners' fault for the injury.  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:

## PROBLEM 2—FOOD SAFETY

The way food is sold has changed over the past 30 years. With improved transportation, food is delivered and sold to larger markets. But the greater distances and greater time to deliver food has meant that chemicals have been added to many foods, and packaging has become more important. In the past 27 years, 190 bills have been introduced into Congress to regulate food and medicines, but only eight have passed. Last year, Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* argued that the meat industry has very poor sanitation and sells diseased and contaminated meat.



Workers at a meatpacking plant

Recent magazine articles have revealed many problems with food. In addition, Congress investigated various foods in 1898 and 1902 and revealed that additives were harming people. For example, charcoal is added to pepper, bleaching agents are added to molasses, and milk is watered down. In 1902, Dr. Harvey Wiley, chief chemist at the Department of Agriculture, led "Poison Squad" experiments, which seemed to show the connection between food additives and poor health. Wiley feels that chemical additives are sometimes necessary, but only rarely. He wants accurate labeling of all ingredients.

In addition, some companies are making misleading statements about their products. In 1905, *Collier's Weekly* ran a series of articles about medicines in America. The investigative reporter argued, "Gullible America will spend this year some seventy-five millions of dollars in the purchase of patent medicines. In consideration of this sum it will swallow huge quantities of alcohol, [and] an appalling amount of opiates and narcotics." Cocaine and opium relieve pain but turn many users into drug addicts. Other medicines

contain large quantities of alcohol (as much as 44%), leading to higher rates of alcoholism. Some medicines are 99% water—not harmful, but a complete fraud.

Now two new proposals, described below, have been introduced: the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act.

**PROPOSALS FOR PROBLEM 2:**

4. The Meat Inspection Act: Meat would be inspected by government officials who would stamp the meat that passed inspection (“U.S.D.A. inspected”)
 

Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
5. The Pure Food and Drug Act, to set up the Food and Drug Administration: This government agency would test food and drugs and only allow the safe ones onto the market. The law is intended to prevent the manufacture or sale of “adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, or liquors.”
 

Vote for the proposal? Explain:

To help make your decisions on which of the two proposals to support, you may ask your teacher for the answers to two of the following questions:

1. What is the public’s view of the issue of food safety?
2. How does the food industry feel about the issue of food safety?
3. What have other industrialized countries done to address this issue?
4. Why have so many bills addressing this issue been defeated over the past 27 years?
5. What are the arguments against the proposed Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act?

<p><b>PROBLEM 3—CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT</b></p>
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Government at all levels was corrupt to some extent in the Gilded Age (1865–1900). Presidents, senators, and representatives received campaign contributions from special-interest groups, especially from big business. Senators are elected by state legislatures, which has led to the election of many wealthy businessmen as a result of backroom deals. The Senate was cynically referred to as the “millionaire’s club.”

Election fraud is common, especially since people vote in public. People can see how others vote, since the election ballots for each party are of different colors. Many government workers are installed by elected officials, which leads to the appointment of unqualified people, including campaign workers.

**PROPOSALS FOR PROBLEM 3:**

6. The secret ballot, so people can be free of influence when they vote  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
7. The direct election of senators, breaking the control of the wealthy over the Senate. Citizens, rather than state legislatures, would now choose the senators.  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
8. The initiative and the referendum, so citizens can propose laws and vote on them directly to get around legislatures that aren't responsive to the wishes of the people  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
9. The recall, so the people can remove a corrupt politician from office right away, rather than having to wait until the next election  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
10. The direct primary, so the people can choose candidates for themselves.  
Currently, the leaders of the parties select which candidates will run. Voters are therefore only able to choose between the candidates put up by the parties.  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:

<b>PROBLEM 4—INEQUALITY/MONOPOLIES</b>
--

According to the magazine *Arena*, the gap between wealthy and poor has increased during the past decade. The magazine estimates that about 1% of the population owns about 50% of the wealth, while 50% of the people own almost nothing. Government statistics also attest to the widening gap between rich and poor, even as the middle class is growing. The newly rich build huge mansions and other extravagances, while the poor live in rundown tenements.

The economy is growing at an amazing yearly rate of 6% (3% is considered good). Big business is also growing rapidly. In the past eight years, more than 4200 companies have merged into only 257 corporations. The 300 largest corporations own more than 40% of the industrial wealth of the country. The formation of trusts by large corporations illustrates the problem of the wealthy having unfair advantages. Monopolies or near-monopolies in industries such as sugar, steel, oil, meatpacking, railroads, and chemicals provide huge profits for their owners, since monopolies can gouge consumers with higher, noncompetitive prices.

**PROPOSALS FOR PROBLEM 4:**

11. A progressive income tax, which will tax the rich at a higher percentage than the poor  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
12. A reduction in the tariff on imported goods  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
13. Break up the monopolies through antitrust lawsuits. If the monopolies do anything wrong to drive other companies out of business, or if they are too large to make competition fair, we'll have the government sue to break them into smaller businesses.  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
14. Regulate the monopolies by setting up government agencies to monitor them, such as the Federal Trade Commission and the Bureau of Corporations  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
15. Have the government take over monopolies and run them for the good of the workers and consumers  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:



## PROBLEM 5—CITY PROBLEMS

More and more these days, Americans live in cities, partly due to high immigration and migration from farms. Unfortunately, cities have many problems, such as high crime rates, overcrowding, and poor sanitation. For example, Pittsburgh, PA has one of the highest death rates of any large city in the world, due mainly to its impure water supply. The rate of venereal disease is also high and increasing.

Corrupt urban bosses, who commit fraud and take kickbacks on city contracts, run many cities. For example, in the 1870s, Boss Tweed made \$2 million on a courthouse that was supposed to cost \$250,000. If you need something done quickly in a city, you must to pay a bribe to “grease the wheels” of the slow, bureaucratic city government. Specific examples of corruption have been documented in Lincoln Steffens’s book *The Shame of the Cities*, which was published this year. Even where there aren’t political bosses, cities are having a hard time expanding services (housing, schools, sanitation, etc.) and keeping up with such rapid growth.



Lincoln Steffens

### PROPOSALS FOR PROBLEM 5:

16. Simplify city government so that things get done more quickly. That way, people won’t need to pay off officials to speed up the process. For example, eliminate political parties at the city level, and reorganize the government under a small city council and a mayor with more direct authority to solve problems. The money saved from reducing corruption could be used to provide better city services.  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
17. Improve police forces by making them more professional (for example, using fingerprinting to help identify criminals) and by offering policemen higher wages. Society should also work harder to reform criminals, not just punish them.  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:
  
18. Offer better social services to urban residents, including hospitals, sewer systems, schools, playgrounds, and public concerts. Better housing would reduce overcrowding and tuberculosis, while playgrounds would reduce juvenile delinquency. City planning and zoning will help to use space more wisely. The goal is to make cities beautiful and healthy places to live.  
Vote for the proposal? Explain:

19. Improve the behavior of poor city residents by cracking down on prostitution and closing saloons and bars. By improving the way people live, government can reduce the rates of venereal disease, crime, and alcoholism. Public schools should be used to Americanize the immigrants who inhabit our cities. They'll learn English and the habits of good citizens. For example, they'll say the Pledge of Allegiance every day in school.

Vote for the proposal? Explain:

20. Improve the population of cities by setting up sterilization programs for the poor, immigrants, and criminals. People would be given information on the advantages of sterilization and asked if they would like to be sterilized—it would be entirely voluntary. The population of cities can also be reduced by restricting immigration to the U.S.

Vote for the proposal? Explain:

# LESSON 4: PROGRESSIVE REFORMS, 1906–1913

## Student Handout 3

### OUTCOMES

#### PROBLEM 1—WORKERS' WAGES AND CONDITIONS

##### What Actually Happened:

All of these proposals—limiting hours, eliminating child labor, and workers' compensation—helped workers. But they also raised problems. Limited-hours legislation was first passed for women. It made the lives of women less hectic, but it also separated them from mainstream male labor, since women were singled out for special treatment. It also reinforced stereotypes of women as primarily homemakers, not workers in the paid labor force, and as needing special help.

Restricting child labor reduced the income of some families and was opposed by many families. In the long run, however, most children were healthier and better educated.

Workers' compensation increased the cost of maintaining workers, so it probably increased unemployment and raised the price of goods. However, the laws made it fairer for workers to get help when they were injured on the job and probably helped many business owners. Workers' compensation laws reduced the number of injury cases that went to court, which in turn reduced the number of lawsuits that had cost businesses a great deal of money in the past.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court reacted to the laws, striking down a maximum-hours law (*Lochner v. New York*) in one case, and upholding maximum hours for women (*Muller v. Oregon*) in another case. Did you think about the courts or whether the laws were constitutional?

Under pressure from labor unions and labor parties, other industrializing countries enacted unemployment benefits and workers' compensation laws at this same time, so it was not unusual for the United States to have experienced these changes as well.

None of these laws had a dramatic impact on labor. Not until the New Deal did the government truly enforce comprehensive reform of child labor, working hours, and workers' compensation.

## PROBLEM 2—FOOD SAFETY

### What Actually Happened:

The author of *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair, was hoping to influence people to support socialism. President Roosevelt was moved to action by the book, intending to clean up the meatpacking industry. But he considered Sinclair's socialist message to be a "ridiculous socialistic rant." Nevertheless, Congress passed both the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act.

In the short run, sales from drug manufacturers and meatpackers increased greatly after the laws were passed. The public felt the government had taken action to protect them through labeling and inspections. Exports of these products also increased for the same reasons.



Upton Sinclair

In the long run, Congress added new powers to the new Food and Drug Administration. Eventually drugs had to be proven "safe and effective." These increased regulations cost businesses time and money. Sometimes necessary drugs were (and are today) kept off the market because government regulators did not want to be held liable for allowing the sale a drug that harms people. Still, the public continues to desire inspection and accurate labeling of its food and medications. Eric Schlosser's 2001 muckraking book *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* (along with other studies and sources) revealed there are still problems with the sanitation of meat and other food products.

## PROBLEM 3—CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT

### What Actually Happened:

All of these political reforms made the U.S. more democratic. The secret ballot, direct election of senators, initiative, referendum, recall, and direct primary all gave more power to the people. However, there were also some **unintended consequences**:

- These reforms broke the power of political parties. Consequently, more voters became independents, and voter participation dropped. Since they were not part of a larger group (political party), voters were not as politicized and did not vote as often.
- The recall threatened the independence of the judicial branch, since judges could be removed from office for making unpopular rulings
- With the reduced power of political parties, each candidate had to educate voters on particular positions on the issues, as well as on the candidate's qualifications. (Before this change, each candidate could rely somewhat on saying he was a Democrat or Republican. Voters identified strongly with political parties.) These more personal campaigns, which ended up costing more, kept poorer people from running for office. As campaign costs increased, candidates became more indebted to campaign contributors, which led—and leads—to greater power for lobbyists.

Unfortunately, some Progressives also wanted to improve government and cut corruption by improving the quality of voters. They wanted to prevent those they regarded as ignorant from voting. African Americans were largely disenfranchised during this time period, and immigrants were often prevented from voting.

#### **PROBLEM 4—INEQUALITY/MONOPOLIES**

##### What Actually Happened:

The progressive income tax reduced inequality in the U.S., but it might also have reduced economic growth by reducing incentives for individuals make more money. Do wealthy people in society have an obligation to pay higher taxes to the government?

The Progressives enacted proposals 13 and 14 on monopolies, regulating certain trusts and breaking up others. Two of the famous antitrust cases broke up Standard Oil and American Tobacco, both in 1911. The government also set up the Federal Trade Commission and strengthened other agencies to regulate big business. In the U.S. there are still many large businesses that are subject to government regulations. But the government also breaks up large businesses, as it did with AT&T and Microsoft. The debate continues on the merits of breaking up or regulating big business. The Progressives did not propose having the government take over and run monopolies (proposal 15). This is socialism, and while socialism was popular at the time (socialist candidates received 900,000 votes in the 1912 election—6% of the vote) most Americans opposed it.

In general, the regulation probably helped businesses significantly. Businesses stayed involved in the regulation of their own industries long after reformers had moved on to other causes. So businessmen were able to quietly make their wishes known to the government officials regulating their products, rather than in the public debates of legislatures.

#### **PROBLEM 5—CITY PROBLEMS**

##### What Actually Happened:

In general, simplifying city governments (proposal 16) seems to have worked well. Corruption and needless delays were reduced, and efficient governments could better handle the rapid changes of modern society. Cutting corruption was a necessary change. However, the efficient administrations led to more business influence over local governments and less influence by poorer residents. The poor used to have a city council representative for each of their districts; now they had no one to specifically represent their interests.

The Progressives adopted proposals 17 and 18, to improve police forces and offer more services. These reforms increased taxes but also made cities more livable. These changes did not completely solve city problems, but they did help. The purification of contaminated water supplies was especially beneficial.

Progressives also attempted to control the behavior of city residents (proposal 19). These reforms (cracking down on prostitution, and closing saloons and bars) were not very successful and gained the resentment of many people, especially immigrants, who felt they were looked at as inferior people who needed to be controlled.

While some Progressives favored sterilization, others opposed the idea. Only a few states had sterilization programs. The idea of reducing the population of undesirables through sterilization became a source of embarrassment for most Americans after the Nazis took the idea much further—to genocide.

Some Progressives worked hard to pass laws restricting immigration. However, many other Progressives opposed the restriction of immigration. Progressive reformer Jane Addams, for example, worked diligently to improve the lives of immigrants. Laws restricting immigration did not pass in this time period.



Jane Addams

### Overall:

Historians have very different interpretations of Progressive reforms. Some historians see the reforms as necessary adjustments to an industrializing society, while others note the mixed results of this era's reforms. Conservative commentators believe that the Progressive reforms were the beginning of the expansion of government, including bureaucracy and corruption, into many areas of people's lives. Liberals largely see the Progressive reforms as the necessary expansion of a social safety net later achieved more fully by FDR's New Deal.

## QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Explain why the Progressives made the same or different decisions you did.
2. Which of the following was the most important factor in the reform decisions of the Progressives?
  - a. Politics in the U.S. (public opinion, elections)
  - b. Economics (trade, investments, finance, economic power)
  - c. Beliefs (capitalism, democracy, social Darwinism, religion)
  - d. Technology (improved transportation; improved communications; large industrial businesses; inventions)
  - e. Social change (migration; changes in social class)
  - f. Individual choices by Progressive leaders
3. Which of these assumptions, if any, did you make in your decision about proposal 11 on a progressive income tax?
  - a. Taxes should be based on fairness. Wealthy individuals should pay a higher percentage than poor people.
  - b. The government misuses money, so we should keep taxes as low as possible.
  - c. Higher taxes slow down economic growth.

# LESSON 4: PROGRESSIVE REFORMS, 1906–1913

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## Student Handout 4

### 1. What is the public's view of the issue of food safety?

The public has become more and more concerned about the harmful effects of bad foods and medicines (referred to as patent medicines). As people move to cities, they don't know the sellers or producers personally. So literate consumers have begun to rely on articles in magazines. Lately articles have revealed many problems with food. In addition, investigation of foods by Congress and Dr. Wiley's experiments at the Department of Agriculture have made people aware of the health threats of various foods. When Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* was published, the public was ready to believe the author's descriptions of unhealthy, unsafe meat.

As a result, the public is buying less meat, and foreigners are selling more of their food on the U.S. market because many people trust foreign food more than they do American food.

### 2. How does the food industry feel about the issue of food safety?

Some people in the food industry are opposed to labeling laws. They argue that canned meat, for example, can last a very long time. People might look at meat with a month old canning date and assume the meat is bad when it is perfectly good. Food company owners also argue that the inspections and regulations will increase their costs, making the food industry unprofitable for some businesses.

Others in the food industry would prefer federal laws to regulate food. They've tried to discredit *The Jungle* and other reports damaging to the industry. However, these efforts aren't working. Many Americans do not trust American food products. Federal laws will reassure the public and also override differing state laws that make it difficult for food companies to sell any one product nationwide. In addition, pure food laws will help increase exports of American foods, since those overseas will be assured of high-quality food as well.

### 3. What have other industrialized countries done to address the issue?

Great Britain and Germany have passed pure-food laws. As a result, some Americans trust British and German food products more than they do American food products.

**4. Why have so many bills addressing this issue been defeated over the past 27 years?**

Over the years, the food and drug industries have lobbied members of Congress in order to defeat these proposals. One technique the drug industry uses to stop press criticism and regulation is the “red clause.” This type of clause in an advertising contract states that the contract is void if any hostile regulatory laws are passed in the state in which the ad appears. Therefore, advertising agencies worked hard to prevent regulatory laws in order to keep their contracts.

**5. What are the arguments against the proposed Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act?**

Opponents make three arguments. First, the federal government has no right to interfere in state regulation. Second, consumer safety should be left up to the consumer. When consumers want to know something, they can find out the information they need (“Let the buyer beware.”) If people become sick from the food, they or their relatives can sue the company. It may not help the individual who has been harmed, but it will force companies to stop selling bad food because no company wants to lose money in lawsuits. Third, new labeling requirements will hurt businesses. Opponents point out that canned meat, for example, can last a very long time. People might look at meat with a month old canning date and assume the meat is bad when it is perfectly good. They also argue that the inspections and regulations will increase their costs, making the food industry unprofitable for some businesses.



# LESSON 4: PROGRESSIVE REFORMS, 1906–1913

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## Student Handout 5

**Primary Source: Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, United States Statutes at Large  
(59th Cong., Sess. I, Ch. 3915, pp. 768–772)**

### AN ACT

For preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes...

Sec. 2. That the introduction...of any article of food or drugs which is adulterated or misbranded, within the meaning of this Act, is hereby prohibited;

Sec. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall make uniform rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of this Act, including the collection and examination of specimens of foods and drugs manufactured or offered for sale in the District of Columbia, or in any Territory of the United States, or which shall be offered for sale in unbroken packages in any State other than that in which they shall have been respectively manufactured or produced, or which shall be received from any foreign country...

Sec. 4. That the examinations of specimens of foods and drugs shall be made in the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture...

Sec. 7. That for the purposes of this Act an article shall be deemed to be adulterated:  
In case of drugs:...

Second. If its strength or purity fall below the professed standard or quality under which it is sold.

In the case of food:...

Fourth. If it be mixed, colored, powdered, coated, or stained in a manner whereby damage or inferiority is concealed.

Fifth. If it contains any added poisonous or other added deleterious ingredient which may render such article injurious to health:

Sixth. If it consists in whole or in part of a filthy, decomposed, or putrid animal or vegetable substance, or any portion of an animal unfit for food, whether manufactured or

not, or if it is the product of a diseased animal, or one that has died otherwise than by slaughter...

Sec. 8. That the term, "misbranded," as used herein, shall apply to all drugs, or articles of food, or articles which enter into the composition of food, the package or label of which shall bear any statement, design, or device regarding such article, or the ingredients or substances contained therein which shall be false or misleading in any particular, and to any food or drug product which is falsely branded as to the State, Territory, or country in which it is manufactured or produced.

That for the purposes of this Act an article shall also be deemed to be misbranded:

First. If it be an imitation of or offered for sale under the distinctive name of another article.

Second. If it be labeled or branded so as to deceive or mislead the purchaser...

Third. If in package form, and the contents are stated in terms of weight or measure, they are not plainly and correctly stated on the outside of the package.

Approved, June 30, 1906.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What are two ways this act protects the public from harmful or misleading food and drugs?
2. What problems do you predict might result from this act? What could go wrong with it?

# LESSON 5: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904–1905

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## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

This lesson follows the peace negotiations that ended the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. It is a positive topic, since President Roosevelt received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts at negotiating the Treaty of Portsmouth. Students benefit by seeing the treaty from three different perspectives: those of Russia, Japan, and the United States. Students also benefit by seeing the seeds of the Russian Revolution, the role of the United States as an international power, and the rumblings that led to World War I.

### VOCABULARY

- Russo-Japanese War—War fought between Russia and Japan over Manchuria and Korea
- Treaty of Portsmouth—Treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War, under which Japan received territorial concessions but not the cash payments from Russia the Japanese people were expecting
- Indemnity—Cash payment
- Manchuria—A part of China over which Russia and Japan fought
- Multi-track negotiations—When negotiators talk formally and informally to build confidence and trust in one another in order to enhance negotiations
- Battle of Mukden—Largest land battle ever fought up to that point in history; won by Japan
- Battle of Tsushima—Complete naval victory for Japan. Almost all Russian ships were sunk, while no major Japanese ships went down.
- Port Arthur—The port where Japan made a surprise attack against the Russian fleet, which started the Russo-Japanese War

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Ask about historical context
- Are the goals realistic?
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out the options

# LESSON PLAN

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## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (30–40 minutes)

### Procedure:

Give students Handout 1. Have small groups of students discuss the problem and ask any two of the questions at the bottom of the handout. There are two ways to use the questions: (1) You could have each group come up to you for written answers (make two copies of Handout 3, cut it into individual answers, and put them on your desk for students to take), or (2) you could have the class vote on the two questions to be asked. Read from Handout 4 the answers to the questions with the highest vote total. Groups then decide what they would do. Have each group explain what it would do and why. After groups have reported, distribute Handout 2 (or Handout 4, the shortened version of the outcomes) or tell the class what actually happened. You may also want to discuss which questions were most useful in helping students come to a decision.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from these outcomes. What would they have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes? Which decision-making skills were especially important to the decisions on negotiating the peace treaty? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the section on “Decision-Making Analysis” below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students how important historical context was to the Treaty of Portsmouth. (The situation on the battlefield was a key factor in bringing the two sides to the peace table. Moreover, as noted in the teacher notes, this modern war was very expensive, and both sides were having trouble obtaining loans to finance the war. The growing power of the United States was certainly a factor in Roosevelt’s decision to hold the peace conference.)

### Connecting to Today:

Is it still worthwhile for U.S. presidents to be involved in peacemaking? What are the circumstances that make peacemaking fruitful? Under what circumstances could it actually hurt the U.S.?

Troubleshooting:

Use the maps to make sure students understand where the war was being fought. Students often have difficulty understanding that while Manchuria is part of China, China was so weak that other countries fought over control of it. Students sometimes have difficulty understanding why countries fought over this territory. In discussing this question you can reinforce the concept of imperialism. It wasn't just Europeans who engaged in imperialism—Japan was also expanding at this time. Manchuria had natural resources (lumber, coal, and iron) that other countries wanted.

<b>B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–15 minutes)</b>
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Give students Handout 1 for homework. Also, copy the answers to questions 1, 2, and 5 (or all answers) from Handout 3 and have students read those in addition to Handout 1. Those answers will give students much more context. In class, have students pair up to discuss their answers for about two minutes. Bring the class together and ask how many would get involved in negotiations. Distribute Handout 4 with the shortened outcomes and discuss those outcomes. This streamlined procedure could go quickly, but students will probably want to ask questions.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

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(For outcomes for students, see Handout 2 or 4.)

(For answers to questions from Handout 1, see Handout 3.)

## What Actually Happened:

Ask students the following questions to expand discussion: What motives did President Roosevelt have in negotiating the treaty? How did the Japanese react to the treaty? How did the treaty affect China and Korea?

President Roosevelt had a foreboding sense that the negotiations would fail, which would hurt the prestige of the United States. However, once he committed to arranging the negotiations, he put considerable energy into reaching a successful peace agreement.

Roosevelt felt that by helping negotiate the peace treaty he could limit Japanese expansion. Roosevelt greatly admired the Japanese, whom he called “a wonderful and civilized people...entitled to stand in absolute equality with all the other peoples of the civilized world.” Roosevelt also felt the United States to be a great power. By negotiating a peace treaty he would enhance the reputation of the country as a diplomatic leader, to complement the economic and political power of the U.S.

Roosevelt also wanted to stop the expansion of Russia into China. He stated, “No human beings, black, yellow, or white could be as untruthful, as insincere, as arrogant—in short, as untrustworthy in every way—as the Russians under their present system.” He felt Russia was the main threat to the Open Door Policy in China. Roosevelt recognized that Japan was pursuing a policy that was helping the U.S. (stopping Russian expansion) at a cost of \$1 billion and the deaths of 1% of Japanese adult male workers, while the U.S. was losing nothing.

Early in the war, Roosevelt sent a note that stated if any other power were to become involved in the war on the side of Russia, the U.S. would take Japan’s side. Historians credit this note with keeping the Russo-Japanese War limited to those two countries. Some historians speculate that if Woodrow Wilson had sent a similar note in 1914 to honor Belgium’s neutrality he may have limited or prevented World War I.

The final treaty did allow Japanese expansion to Manchuria and Korea, areas where Roosevelt felt the Japanese had legitimate interests (just as the U.S. had in the Caribbean) and which they already controlled with their armies. In return, the Japanese later accepted U.S. control of the Philippines. Roosevelt felt there was no way, short of war, to end Japanese expansion into Manchuria. Since the U.S. wasn’t going to war, it was best to work to limit Japanese expansion through friendliness and diplomacy.

The treaty led to riots in Japan and denunciations of its terms in Japanese newspapers. One protest alone consisted of more than 100,000 people, in which thousands of police

and rioters were injured and 70% of the *koban* (police boxes) throughout the city of Tokyo were destroyed. The Japanese public expected the Russians to give them an indemnity (compensation) to help pay for the war. After all, Japan had won all the battles. Instead, the Japanese negotiators gave in on the indemnity, and Japan received no money. The Japanese did, however, receive valuable resources from their new territories: coal and other minerals in Manchuria, wheat in Korea, and fish from the waters off Sakhalin.

Patriotism in Japan during and after the Russo-Japanese war was at extreme levels, due largely to the emergence of a modern Japanese mass-media system that plastered the latest victories all over the daily newspapers. Each new victory was greeted with a lantern parade. Both of these would play a critical role in fueling Japanese militarism in the 1930s and 1940s. Wartime feelings also influenced hairstyles (old samurai styles again became popular), clothing (department stores issued special styles meant to emphasize power and speed), and mass-produced toys such as tin battleships and postcard-like images popularizing events in the war. Boys dressed in navy uniforms, eagerly await the day they could serve their country and their emperor.

As mentioned on Handout 2, the Japanese public blamed President Roosevelt as well as their own government, which collapsed a mere five months after the treaty.

The riots against the Treaty of Portsmouth marked the beginning of a 13-year period in Japanese history known as *minshu sojo ki*, or “the era of popular violence.” Japan was plagued by a series of violent and nonviolent protests by citizens who felt the government had failed to capitalize on the extraordinary successes of the army and navy; a gradual increase in the jingoistic spirit of the Japanese people; the moving of the country slowly toward militarism and ultra-nationalism, and ultimately toward World War II. Perhaps if the Russo-Japanese War had continued and Japan had lost some battles, the public would not have been so inclined toward military solutions.

The concession of the indemnity was humiliating for Japan, since the Japanese government had led their people to expect compensation from the Russians. It was difficult for the negotiators as well: the lead Japanese negotiator wept after conceding the point. Historians, however, believe Japan made a smart decision to give in. The Russians were threatening to break off negotiations if an agreement wasn’t reached soon, which meant returning to the battlefield, where (as mentioned on Handout 2) Russia eventually would have gained the upper hand.

In fact, according to some historians, the alternative to the Treaty of Portsmouth was not a continuation of the war but a different peace treaty negotiated by European countries, which probably would have favored Russia more.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem**
- \* - **Consider other points of view**
  - What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
  - Reliability of sources
  - Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
  - Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify any underlying problems:** Roosevelt saw two underlying problems. The first was the rising power of Japan. Although Roosevelt admired the Japanese, he also recognized the need to limit that country's ambitions and expansion. The second underlying problem was the rivalry between European powers. Roosevelt recognized that they were trying to manipulate the situation in Asia to gain power in Europe. This was certainly the case with Germany encouraging Russia to fight and was also evident in the policies of France and England. Without recognizing the underlying role of European competition for power, it would be very difficult to make an intelligent decision. Did students see this underlying problem?
- **Consider other points of view:** Roosevelt had to consider the points of view of Russia and Japan, and to a lesser extent those of other countries. If things went badly in the negotiations, one or both of the countries might blame Roosevelt or the United States, instead of each other. He had to try to figure out the goals of the two countries at this stage in the war.
- **Ask questions about historical context:** Some questions are provided at the end of Handout 1. (Suggested answers appear on Handout 3). The questions are very important to understanding the context.
- **Are your goals realistic?** Roosevelt's goals were realistic, as he accomplished them.
- **Consider consequences:** The long-term consequences (increased Japanese aggression in Manchuria) are described on Handout 2 and above in the "What Actually Happened" section.



- **Play out the options:** Roosevelt needed to consider what would happen if negotiations broke down, including formulating a backup plan if they did.

Further Research:

“Treaty of Portsmouth.” The text of the treaty is available at <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1914m/portsmouth.html>.

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# LESSON 5: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904–1905

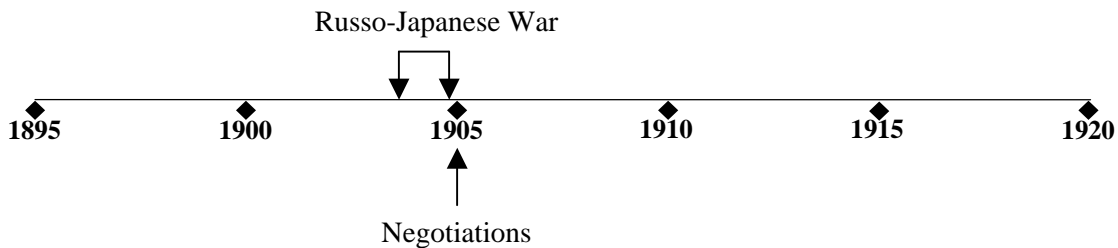
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## Vocabulary

- Russo-Japanese War—War fought between Russia and Japan over Manchuria and Korea
- Treaty of Portsmouth—Treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War, under which Japan received territorial concessions but not the cash payments from Russia the Japanese people were expecting
- Indemnity—Cash payment
- Manchuria—A part of China over which Russia and Japan fought
- Multi-track negotiations—When negotiators talk formally and informally to build confidence and trust in one another in order to enhance negotiations
- Battle of Mukden—Largest land battle ever fought up to that point in history; won by Japan
- Battle of Tsushima—Complete naval victory for Japan. Almost all Russian ships were sunk, while no major Japanese ships went down.
- Port Arthur—The port where Japan made a surprise attack against the Russian fleet, which started the Russo-Japanese War

# LESSON 5: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904–1905

## Student Handout 1



### PROBLEM

The year is 1905, and you are President Theodore Roosevelt. Since February of last year, Japan and Russia have been at war over territory belonging to China and Korea. The Japanese have won all the major battles, but the war has exhausted their resources, leading the government to call for its citizens to make great sacrifices. If the fighting continues, the Russians may eventually wear down the Japanese and win the war. On the



other hand, the Russians have been demoralized by staggering losses. The Russian people have made even greater sacrifices than the Japanese, including suffering from food shortages, and all for a losing cause.

Japan's expansion over the past decade is worrisome. According to many people, Asians are supposed to be inferior to whites, but here they are completely defeating a major European power. Ten years ago the Japanese utterly crushed and

humiliated China in a war. They have modernized their country and society and are very disciplined, which is admirable. But their constant expansion threatens U.S. interests in Asia, especially in the Philippines, and threatens the ever-expanding American trade with China. The main battlefields have been in Manchuria, a part of China. The U.S. government's Open Door Policy, which asks countries to respect China as a single country and allow trade in China on an equal basis for all countries, reflects U.S. interests in that area. Russia, however, is even more of a threat to China and the U.S. government's Open Door Policy. Russia has also been expanding over the past decade, and their autocratic (non-democratic) government allows their officials to lie without consequences. Russian leaders are not to be trusted.

Will you get involved in negotiating a peace treaty between the Russians and Japanese, or will you allow the war to run its course? Explain your answer.

Answers to the following questions may help you in making your decision:

1. What is each country's military situation?
2. Do both sides have good reason to negotiate?
3. How do other countries view the war? What are their interests in the outcome?  
How will they view a peace treaty as a way to end the war?
4. Who started the war? Who is more at fault?
5. What are the interests of the U.S. in this war?
6. What is the situation in the U.S. right now, especially regarding opinions of this war?

# LESSON 5: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904–1905

## Student Handout 2

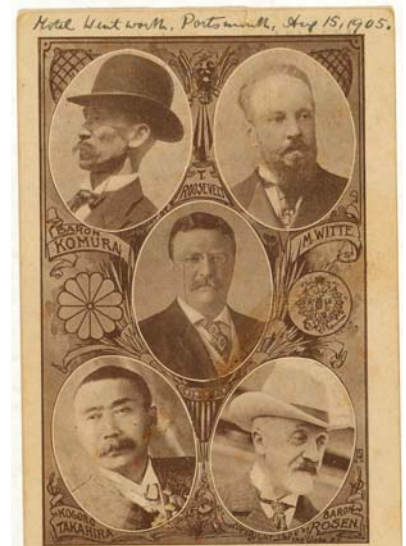
### OUTCOMES

#### What Actually Happened:

President Roosevelt did get involved in negotiating a peace treaty between the Russians and Japanese. He felt that by helping negotiate the peace treaty he could limit Japanese and (especially) Russian expansion into China. Since he saw Russia as the main threat to U.S. interests in China, he viewed Japan as helping the U.S. to limit Russian expansion.

The Treaty of Portsmouth gave Japan control over Korea, Port Arthur, southern Manchuria, and half of Sakhalin Island. Russia maintained more influence over northern Manchuria and did not have to pay an indemnity (cash payment) to Japan for the war. There were numerous unintended consequences of the treaty. How many did you predict?

- Japan: Riots broke out all over Japan. After the war, the Japanese felt they had been cheated. After all, Japan had won all the major battles. They blamed President Roosevelt and their own government for giving in, especially regarding the indemnity. They felt Russia owed Japan money for the war.
- Japan: The backlash against the treaty increased nationalism in Japan and caused a greater desire for military solutions to international problems. The Japanese were more inclined to settle problems in the future by force. This increased nationalism and militarism led to Japanese expansion and its involvement in World War II.
- Japan: The overall treaty—with the recognition of Japanese control over Korea, Port Arthur, southern Manchuria, and half of Sakhalin Island—encouraged Japanese expansion in subsequent decades, leading up to World War II. Japan tightened its control over Manchuria, a direct threat to the Open Door Policy and the sovereignty of China.
- Russia: The Russian negotiator was hailed as a hero for persuading the Japanese to give up the indemnity. After all the military defeats, the Russians finally won a diplomatic victory. But the treaty was not a major story in Russia, since rebellions were spreading throughout the vast country. Russians were too caught up in their own internal problems to pay much attention to a diplomatic triumph.
- Russia: The treaty, however, had solidified the Russian defeat, lowering morale and nudging Russia closer to revolution. It is difficult to separate the effects of the



Negotiators of the Treaty of Portsmouth (Roosevelt at center)

war from the effects of the treaty. In some ways, the treaty limited the effects of the war. Had the war continued, revolution might have come sooner to Russia. Soon after the treaty, for example, the tsar crushed the revolution—temporarily. On the other hand, had the Russians been able to turn the tide of the war, perhaps Russian citizens would have felt more national pride and would have not revolted.

- U.S.: President Roosevelt received the Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating the Treaty of Portsmouth. The prize enhanced the reputation of the United States as a peace-loving country, increasing its ability to persuade other countries to follow its leadership. The Treaty of Portsmouth was written in French and English, marking the emergence of English as a major international diplomatic language and highlighting the rise of the U.S. as an important diplomatic force in the world.
- U.S.: American bankers made loans to the Japanese, and businesses sold steel to them to help with reconstruction in Manchuria, but these transactions weren't widespread.
- China: The Russo-Japanese War was a further humiliation for the Chinese, as two other countries fought a war over their territory. Likewise, in the peace treaty, decisions regarding Chinese soil were made without Chinese approval, reflecting China's weakness. After the treaty, China was able to secure some political and economic control in Manchuria in negotiations with Japan. So at least the Chinese had more control over Manchuria than they had before or during the war.
- Korea: The Koreans were also not involved in treaty negotiations for Japanese dominance over their country. The Koreans appealed to Roosevelt for help when the Japanese further tightened their control over Korea after the treaty, but Roosevelt did nothing, wanting to avoid a major confrontation with Japan. The Korean leader had already signed a treaty in 1904 conceding to Japanese control of the country. Roosevelt didn't think it was practical for the U.S. to threaten Japan over its control of Korea. The U.S. couldn't realistically send troops there, so it couldn't really influence the Japanese.
- Asia in general: The treaty encouraged nationalism in Asia as a whole, since the treaty officially recognized that an Asian country had defeated a European power. People in Asia began using the phrase "Asia for Asians."
- Europe in general: By recognizing the defeat of Europeans at the hands of Asians, the treaty might have slowed European expansion in Asia. Europeans did not help settle the war, and the United States did not take the European side in the negotiations. Britain was happy with the defeat of Russia, as it was Britain's primary European competitor in Asia. Britain renewed their alliance with Japan after the war. By giving Japan control of Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula, the treaty helped keep Russia and Japan as competitors, thus continuing to help Britain. (Japanese hostility would limit Russian growth.)
- Negotiations: The Treaty of Portsmouth was the first to use what are now called "multi-track negotiations." The delegates sent to negotiate the Portsmouth Treaty had many informal meetings in addition to their formal meetings. This method has been used since in negotiations.

# **LESSON 5: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904–1905**

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## **Student Handout 3**

### **1. What is each country's military situation?**

The Japanese have won all the major battles, so currently they have the upper hand. They began the war with a surprise attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur. Later the Japanese won a battle on the Yalu River, captured Port Arthur, and won the largest battle in history at Mukden (more than half a million men fought). The Russians sailed their fleet halfway around the world (18,000 miles), only to see it crushed at the Tsushima Straits. The Russians had almost all of their 38 ships sunk, while the Japanese lost only three small torpedo boats.

But it isn't that simple. The Japanese had the advantage at the beginning of the war, since they outnumbered the Russian forces in Manchuria. Now, in the summer of 1905, the Russians have more troops and their equipment is improved. In addition, while the Russians have lost more men, the Japanese have suffered very high losses as well, since they have had to attack entrenched Russian forces. After the Battle of Mukden (only a marginal victory for Japan) some military leaders recognize that Japan can't expand much farther into Manchuria. Japanese troops are stretched too thin; they're exhausted and low on equipment. Japanese losses in the battle—15,000 killed and 60,000 wounded—cannot be replaced. Reinforcements to the Russian armies, meanwhile, have more than made up for their losses in the battle. Moreover, the reinforcements are well equipped. Up until this point in the war, Russian forces hadn't sent in their best troops. These new troops are their best trained and are highly disciplined.

### **2. Do both sides have good reason to negotiate?**

Yes. The Russians have lost every battle thus far, and the Russian people have never been very supportive of the war. Now, with these recent losses, riots are breaking out in Russian cities. Morale is low in the army, the navy's fleet is gone, and the war is costing the Russian government a fortune. Some military leaders want to press on, but the tsar has been listening to proposals for peace. French bankers have said they will not loan any more money to the Russians; without loans, it will be very difficult for them to continue fighting the war.

Meanwhile, though the Japanese have won all battles, the war is bankrupting the country. British and American bankers have told the Japanese they won't receive any more loans. Financially, Japan is actually in worse shape than Russia. Russia could convert gold to finance the war, but Japan doesn't have large gold reserves. The Japanese are also running out of supplies for their troops. Some Japanese generals, including Field Commander Oyama, believe it's the right time to negotiate. If the fighting continues much longer, the tide could easily turn in favor of the Russians.



During the course of the war, Japanese diplomats repeatedly have approached American leaders about negotiating a treaty. These efforts, ironically, have increased since their victory at Mukden in April.

On the other hand, the Russian tsar was the victim of an assassination attempt by a Japanese man about 15 years ago. The tsar still bears a scar on his head from the attack. Some people feel this assassination attempt increased the tsar's disdain for Japan in general, making negotiations more difficult.

**3. How do other countries view the war? What are their interests in the outcome? How will they view a peace treaty as a way to end the war?**

This is very complicated. In Asia, the British have interests similar to those of the United States.

They want stability in the region for their empire, and they want trade as open as possible. The British feel the Russians and Germans threaten their interests in Europe as well as in Asia. So the British have decided to align more with Japan, with whom they now have a friendly understanding. The British consider the Russian government to be unstable and a threat to peace. They're more worried about the Germans, however, who have been building a large navy to challenge Britain. The British are a little upset with you, President Roosevelt, for siding with Germany in a dispute this year over Morocco.

The French do not want to see the Russians weakened, since Russia is their main ally against their primary enemy, the Germans. The Chinese view their main enemy as Japan, after Japan humiliated them in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895. Since Britain started siding with Japan, China has become more friendly with Russia.

So, France and China don't want Russia to be weakened by the war or humiliated by the peace treaty. Britain wants Japan to do well enough to balance the influence of Russia and Germany in Asia.

Your advisers now think Germany pushed Russia into the war with Japan in order to weaken Russia. The Kaiser (leader of Germany) felt that if Russia entered into a war against Japan, the Russians would be weakened and therefore pose less of a threat to Germany. Moreover, a weakened Russia would be less useful to Germany's main enemy, France. There is evidence from the Russian foreign minister that the Kaiser encouraged Russia to fight Japan. On the other hand, the possibility of revolution is becoming much more likely in Russia. The Kaiser surely would not like to see a revolution against the tsar, which could give German people the idea that it's possible to overthrow the Kaiser as well.

Most countries will be glad to see the war end. The Chinese will be unhappy if they lose territory, but while the U.S. wants to keep China intact, China has been irritating lately, protesting American policy toward Chinese immigrants. Korea will also be upset if Japan gains control, but both China and Korea are dreadfully weak. According to your advisers,

Korea, at least, would be better off under Japanese control than under its own corrupt and incompetent government.

#### **4. Who started the war? Who is at fault?**

Most people agree that Japan started the war with its surprise attack on Russia at Port Arthur. It isn't quite that simple, however. Japan was supposed to receive Port Arthur after its war with China in 1895. But Russia and other countries forced Japan to return it to China. Then Russia took the port over from China. In 1903, Russia refused to remove its soldiers from southern Manchuria, even though Russian officials had agreed to do so earlier. So Russia was not without blame for contributing to the onset of the war.

Russia was viewed by many countries as exploiting international instability. For example, when European countries sent troops to China to rescue missionaries and businessmen from the Boxer Rebellion, Russia used the intervention to gain greater control over Manchuria. It seems as though Russia is simply trying to get as much of China as it can. Of course, Japan is trying to expand into Korea and Manchuria as well. And the Japanese have increased their demands each time they score a military victory.

#### **5. What is the interest of the U.S. in this war?**

The U.S. has some interest in Korea but considers the Korean government very weak. The U.S. prefers that Japan, rather than any European country, control Korea. Since the U.S. now controls the Philippines, its main interest is there, not Korea.

The U.S. was able to gain control of Hawaii, despite the high population of people of Japanese heritage on those islands. As Japan has scored victories in the war, the Japanese population has been stirred to nationalistic demonstrations. If Japan's power increases, it may pose a threat to U.S. control of Hawaii.

Because the U.S. trades heavily with China, it wants economic and political stability for the Chinese. Japan is certainly a threat to China, but so is Russia. After the Sino-Japanese War, the Russians seemed to side with China, but then took over much of the land the Chinese had recovered from Japan. It seems Russia wants to take as much of northern China as possible. The U.S. definitely doesn't want China to be partitioned (broken up into zones by various countries).

#### **6. What is the situation in the U.S. right now, especially the opinions regarding this war?**

You were just elected president a few months ago, in November 1904. However, you have already served as president for three years, following President McKinley's assassination, so you have experience as chief executive. A large number of Americans were opposed to the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines, and they're still upset by it. Some Americans have a negative view of the Chinese and are angry about the 1901 Boxer Rebellion, as well as what they consider to be excessive Chinese immigration to the U.S.

Many Americans are also very negative about Japanese immigration to the U.S. There have been numerous incidents of discrimination on the West Coast against some Japanese. On the other hand, Americans in general favor the Japanese in the war. The press has regularly reported Russian war crimes but very few Japanese atrocities.

American businessmen are split. The American Asiatic Association (of American businessmen) favors Japan strongly, arguing that Russia is the main threat to peace in Asia. Other businessmen favor Russia, viewing Japan as the major threat in Manchuria.

But the most important consideration is that most Americans have no idea where Manchuria is, nor why Russia and Japan are fighting. Americans are not engaged in this issue, which gives you, the president, a free hand.

# LESSON 5: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904–1905

## Student Handout 4

### SHORT OUTCOMES

#### What Actually Happened:

President Roosevelt did get involved in negotiating a peace treaty between the Russians and Japanese. He felt that by helping to negotiate the peace treaty he could limit Japanese and especially Russian expansion into China. Since he saw Russia as the main threat to U.S. interests in China, he viewed Japan as helping the U.S. to limit Russian expansion.

The Treaty of Portsmouth gave Japan control over Korea, Port Arthur, southern Manchuria, and half of Sakhalin Island. Russia maintained more influence over northern Manchuria, and did not have to pay an indemnity (cash payment) to Japan for the war. There were numerous unintended consequences of this treaty. How many did you predict?

- Japan: Riots broke out all over Japan. The Japanese people felt they had been cheated by the treaty's terms.
- Japan: The anti-treaty backlash increased Japanese nationalism and desire for expansion. This increased nationalism and militarism led to Japanese expansion and contributed to the nation's involvement in World War II.
- Russia: The treaty was not a major story in Russia, since rebellions were spreading across the vast country.
- Russia: On the other hand, the treaty had ratified the Russian defeat, which lowered morale and nudged Russia closer to revolution.
- U.S.: President Roosevelt received the Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating the Treaty of Portsmouth, which enhanced the reputation of the United States as a peace-loving country.
- China: The Russo-Japanese War was a further humiliation for the Chinese, as two other countries fought a war over their territory. Likewise, treaty decisions regarding Chinese soil were made without Chinese approval.
- Korea: The Koreans were not involved in the treaty decision that approved Japanese control over their country, which showed Korea's weakness.
- Asia in general: The treaty encouraged Asian nationalism in general, since the treaty officially recognized that an Asian country had defeated a European power. People in Asia began using the phrase "Asia for Asians."
- Europe in general: By recognizing the defeat of Europeans at the hands of Asians, the treaty may have slowed European expansion in Asia.

# **LESSON 5: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904–1905**

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## **Student Handout 5**

### **Primary Source: The Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5, 1905 (excerpt)**

The Emperor of Japan on the one part, and the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other part, animated by a desire to restore the blessings of peace, have resolved to conclude a treaty of peace...[and have] concluded the following articles:

#### **ARTICLE I**

There shall henceforth be peace and amity between their Majesties the Emperor of Japan and the Emperor of all the Russias, and between their respective States and subjects.

#### **ARTICLE II**

The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military and economical interests engages neither to obstruct nor interfere with measures for guidance, protection and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find necessary to take in Korea...

#### **ARTICLE III**

Japan and Russia mutually engage:

First—To evacuate completely and simultaneously Manchuria, except the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula, in conformity with the provisions of the additional article I annexed to this treaty, and,

[Note: Japan was granted a lease to control the Liaotung Peninsula in southern Manchuria.]

Second—To restore entirely and completely to the exclusive administration of China all portions of Manchuria now in occupation, or under the control of the Japanese or Russian troops, with the exception of the territory above mentioned.

The Imperial Government of Russia declares that it has not in Manchuria any territorial advantages or preferential or exclusive concessions in the impairment of Chinese sovereignty, or inconsistent with the principle of equal opportunity.

#### **ARTICLE IV**

Japan and Russia reciprocally engage not to obstruct any general measures common to all countries which China may take for the development of the commerce or industry of Manchuria.

**ARTICLE V**

The Imperial Russian Government transfers and assigns to the Imperial Government of Japan, with the consent of the Government of China, the lease of Port Arthur, Talien and the adjacent territorial waters, and all rights, privileges and concessions connected with or forming part of such lease, and it also transfers and assigns to the Imperial government of Japan all public works and properties in the territory affected by the above-mentioned lease...

**ARTICLE VI**

The Imperial Russian Government engages to transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan, without compensation and with the consent of the Chinese Government, the railway between Chang-chunfu and Kuanchangtsu and Port Arthur, and all the branches, together with all the rights, privileges and properties appertaining thereto in that region, as well as all the coal mines in said region belonging to or worked for the benefit of the railway. The two high contracting parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Government of China mentioned in the foregoing stipulation.

**ARTICLE VII**

Japan and Russia engage to exploit their respective railways in Manchuria exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes and nowise for strategic purposes. It is understood that this restriction does not apply to the railway in the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula.

**ARTICLE VIII**

The imperial Governments of Japan and Russia with the view to promote and facilitate intercourse and traffic will as soon as possible conclude a separate convention for the regulation of their connecting railway services in Manchuria.

**ARTICLE IX**

The Imperial Russian Government cedes to the Imperial Government of Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the southern portion of the Island of Sakhalin and all the islands adjacent thereto and the public works and properties thereon...

**ARTICLE XIII**

As soon as possible after the present treaty comes in force all prisoners of war shall be reciprocally restored...

**ARTICLE XV**

The present treaty shall be signed in duplicate in both the English and French languages. The texts are in absolute conformity, but in case of a discrepancy in the interpretation the French text shall prevail...

**QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS**

1. Which side gained more in the treaty? Give three examples to support your point.
2. Why would the people of Japan be upset by this treaty?
3. How would China view the treaty?

# LESSON 6: THE TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE

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## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

The 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist fire is one of the most infamous tragedies in U.S. history. This lesson deals with decision making in the aftermath of the fire. Reformers and workers had been working to improve conditions in factories. Now, with the disaster having taken the lives of more than 140 workers, what should be done to prevent a recurrence of such a tragedy?

### VOCABULARY

- Sweatshops—Places where factory work is performed for very low wages; working conditions are terrible, and often the work is performed in apartments in tenement buildings
- Triangle Shirtwaist fire—1911 fire that spread through a garment factory; 143 workers were killed
- Factory Investigating Committee—A group set up after the Triangle Shirtwaist fire that monitored factory conditions to prevent disasters

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Ask about historical context
- Generate options
- Play out the options

# LESSON PLAN

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## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (20–25 minutes)

### Procedure:

Give students Handout 1. Divide students into groups and have them generate options for preventing a repeat of the disaster. Tell students that now is the time to ask questions. (Answers for several possible questions are listed in the “Decision-Making Analysis” section below.) Bring the class together and list the options on the board. Discuss the list, and then have groups decide which options they will choose. Depending on the completeness of the students’ list, you may want to distribute Handout 2, which gives a list of seven options. Each group can report on which option (from the list they generated or from Handout 2) they chose and explain why. After groups have reported, give students Handout 3, which describes what actually happened, and discuss the outcomes. Give students the primary source (Handout 4) and discuss how this document fits into the options. (It fits into option 7.)

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they would have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions about these issues? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the “Decision-Making Analysis” section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Why would reformers turn to the state legislature to improve factory safety? (This occurred during the Progressive Era, when reformers were turning to state legislatures and Congress to reform many aspects of society.) Was it unusual for a woman to be a leader of reform? (No. There is a tradition of women leading reform in American history—temperance, abolition, moral purity, labor, women’s suffrage, and Progressivism all had women leaders. Besides, women were already leaders of these garment workers, and the tragedy killed mostly women.)

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students: Which industries today involve issues of worker safety and what should be done about these safety concerns? You could ask students to research contemporary workplace-safety issues or workplace tragedies. One interesting source is Chapter 8 of *Fast Food Nation*, by Eric Schlosser, which investigates safety and workplace tragedies in meatpacking plants.



### Troubleshooting:

Students may not know that state governments, rather than federal or city governments, pass laws regulating safety in factories.

## **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–15 minutes)**

Assign Handout 1 for homework, along with Handout 2 with the list of options. In class, give students time to ask questions. Then ask students to make a show of hands about which options they favor. Distribute Handout 3 and discuss the outcomes.

## **DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:**

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- \* - **Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- Predict unintended consequences
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Ask about context:** Students should ask several questions: Did the factory owners actually break any laws? (No. This means option 4 is not a good choice. The owners' guilt or innocence in the court case revolved solely around whether the door was locked, not about whether the owners broke any laws.) How does the public in the city and state feel about the fire? (The public of both the city and state is outraged, so the legislature is feeling the political pressure to do something.) Have commissions led to enacting worthwhile laws in the past? (Yes, occasionally, but commissions are sometimes set up to show the public that something is being done, while the bills to actually do something are killed.)
- **Generate options:** On Handout 1, without Handout 2, students are forced to generate options. They should consider the feasibility of the options they generate.

- **Play out the options:** The focus of this problem is on the best way to achieve the goal of better safety for workers. Al Smith pointed out to the reformers that they needed to play out their option more completely. They needed to understand the practical part of politics. If the reformers went off on their own, they would have a wonderful-sounding report, but it wouldn't result in the enacting of laws to help workers. Through experience, Smith understood the practical side of politics, as well as the importance of playing out an option while making a decision.

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Von Drehle, David. *Triangle: The Fire that Changed America*. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 2003.

# LESSON 6: THE TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE

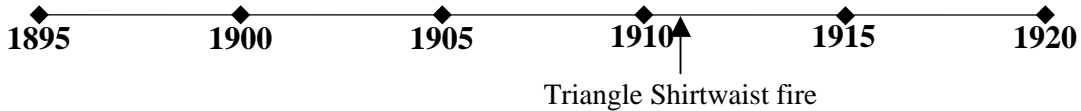
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## Vocabulary

- Sweatshops—Places where factory work is performed for very low wages; working conditions are terrible, and often the work is performed in apartments in tenement buildings
- Triangle Shirtwaist fire—1911 fire that spread through a garment factory; 143 workers were killed
- Factory Investigating Committee—A group set up after the Triangle Shirtwaist fire that monitored factory conditions to prevent disasters

# LESSON 6: THE TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE

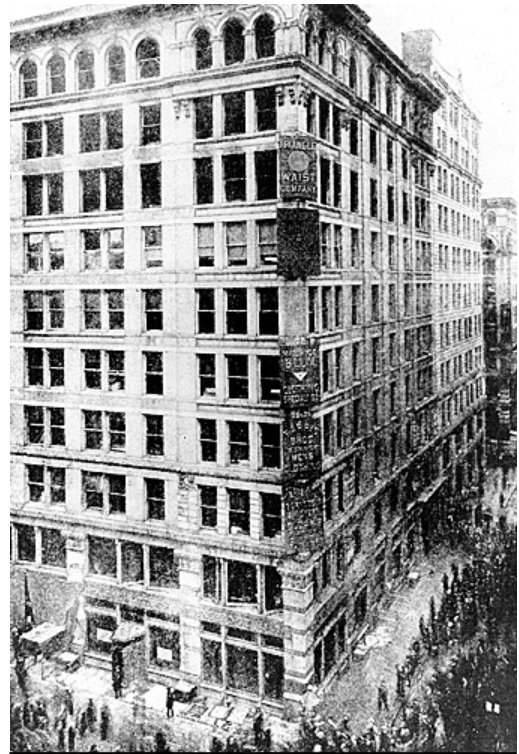
## Student Handout 1



### PROBLEM

The year is 1912, and you are Frances Perkins, a leader of a reform group. For years you and many other reformers have been fighting to improve working conditions in the New York City garment industry. Many employees work long hours for low pay in overcrowded and dangerous conditions. Reformers have been fighting to shorten working hours and raise safety requirements. In the sweatshop era of the 1880s and 1890s, many workers cut and sewed cloth 12–15 hours per day, every day of the week, in poorly lit, poorly ventilated tenements, while their pay was constantly driven down. Now more factories are using power-driven sewing machines. The large number of workers in these factories has led to more union activity and more strikes. Conditions are still unsafe.

A large strike took place in 1909, but it didn't prevent one of the greatest disasters in U.S. labor history. On March 25, 1911, just before closing time, a fire broke out at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company that resulted in the death of more than 140 workers. Most workers on the eighth and tenth floors escaped, but many on the ninth floor were trapped because one of the doors was locked to prevent workers from stealing cloth and carrying it out through the door. The locked door trapped many workers as the flames quickly spread across the cloth-strewn floor. Many workers were overcome by the smoke; others succumbed to the flames. Still others fell to their deaths when the fire escape collapsed. Some pried open the elevator doors and jumped to their deaths down the elevator shaft. Eventually, so many bodies accumulated on top of the elevator car that it couldn't go back up to rescue anyone. One man helped several women to a windowsill, held them away from the building, and then dropped them. He embraced and kissed a fourth girl who was apparently his sweetheart, dropped her, and then jumped as well. You,



The building that housed the factory (note Triangle sign at eighth storey)

Frances Perkins, saw this happen, since you live only a block from the factory. But you and the other onlookers were helpless to stop the tragedy.

The fire department saved many people, but their ladders could only reach as high as the sixth floor. Obviously, the fire escape was inadequate, and the factory lacked automatic sprinklers and fire doors, both of which are in widespread use but aren't required by law.

Middle-class reformers in New York City want to do something to reform the city's factories. Generate a list of at least five options to prevent this kind of tragedy from occurring again, and explain which ones you would put into action.



Bodies of Triangle workers lie on the sidewalk outside of the factory

# LESSON 6: THE TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE

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## Student Handout 2

Middle-class reformers in New York City want to do something about the city's factories to prevent this kind of tragedy (described on Handout 1) from occurring again. Which of these options do you favor?

1. Form an investigative committee to study the tragedy and make recommendations for reform to the state legislature. The committee would include lawyers, professors, and educated reformers—the “finest people” in the state.
2. Lobby the state legislature to form an investigative committee to be assisted by reformers and experts.
3. Do nothing. The factory owners are being prosecuted in court. When they are found guilty of manslaughter for not maintaining safe working conditions, the message will spread to other owners that conditions must be improved.
4. Pressure the city government to enforce its laws regarding factory safety.
5. Publish a list and boycott businesses that do not maintain safe working conditions.
6. Organize to overthrow the capitalist system that brought about this tragedy.
7. Strengthen the labor movement so workers can defend themselves against poor working conditions.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Write down the options you favor and explain your decision.
2. Which options do you think the reformers actually chose?

# LESSON 6: THE TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE

## Student Handout 3

### OUTCOMES

The reformers first tried option 1. They went to the New York (state) Legislature to tell the legislators they wanted to set up the independent commission headed by the “finest people” in the state. But when they talked with Al Smith, a member of the legislature, he advised them to let the legislature set up the investigating commission. He told the group the “finest people” in the state had too many other interests and wouldn’t be able to focus on this issue long enough to make it successful; even if they did have the time or interest, these people had too little influence over lawmakers. The reformers didn’t like Smith’s recommendation, but they didn’t have much of an alternative, so they accepted his suggestion.

That meant the reformers ended up choosing option 2, which worked very well. Three months after the fire, the governor of New York signed a law creating the Factory Investigating Committee. The committee, composed of five members from the legislature and four appointed by the governor, had sweeping powers. Robert Wagner and Al Smith ran the committee, which required factories to make significant safety improvements, including mandatory sprinklers and fire doors. The committee also spread its New Deal philosophy—that of protecting workers and the downtrodden—to the Democratic Party. The formation of the Factory Investigating Committee is a very important event in U.S. 20th-century history, as it ensured significant improvements in workplace conditions.

Option 3 didn’t work out. The two factory owners, Blanck and Harris, were found not guilty of manslaughter. The owners hadn’t broken any laws concerning fire safety. They had a fire escape (though it proved inadequate) and weren’t required by law to have fire doors or sprinklers. So it all came down to the locked door. The defendants had the best lawyer in New York take their case. In a previous court case, the judge had been accused of not having done enough as a government official to protect workers in a previous fire. He thought these suits were wrong. He told the jury that they had to find that Blanck and Harris knew the escape door was locked *at the time of the fire* in order to render a guilty verdict. Since there was no evidence as to what the owners knew at the time of the fire, the jury had to find the defendants not guilty. Some economists believe liability lawsuits are the best way to bring about safety precautions. Faced with the possibility of large monetary judgments or criminal punishments, businesses are likely to take the necessary actions to prevent future liabilities. This didn’t happen in this case, however, and the owners got off the hook without paying a dime.

Option 4 isn’t helpful, since the owners hadn’t broken any safety laws. Safety laws are under the jurisdiction of the state legislature, not the city or federal governments, so it makes sense to go to the state legislature.



Option 5 ended up incorporated by the commission formed under option 2. The commission published names of companies that weren't meeting safety standards. The boycotts that followed influenced many of the companies to reform.

Option 6 is socialism and wasn't tried. (Is the capitalist system so weighted toward owners that it must be overthrown?)

Option 7 was accomplished through favorable legislation, such as the Wagner Act passed during the New Deal. Some labor leaders felt that building a stronger labor movement was the best way to achieve safer conditions for workers. They felt that forming stronger unions would be much more effective than passing laws that businesses would somehow avoid or get around.

# LESSON 6: THE TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE

## Student Handout 4

**Primary Source: Speech by Rose Schneiderman on April 3, 1911, at the Metropolitan Opera House (as reported in the *New York Times*)**

“I would be a traitor to these poor burned bodies if I came here to talk good fellowship. We have tried you good people of the public and we have found you wanting. The old Inquisition had its rack and its thumbscrews and its instruments of torture with iron teeth. We know what these things are to-day: the iron teeth are our necessities, the thumbscrews, the high powered and swift machinery close to which we must work, and the rack is here in the firetrap structures that will destroy us the minute they catch on fire.

This is not the first time girls have been burned alive in the city. Every week I must learn of the untimely death of one of my sister workers. Every year thousands of us are maimed. The life of men and women is so cheap and property is so sacred. There are so many of us for one job it matters little if 143 of us are burned to death.



Rose Schneiderman

We have tried you citizens; we are trying you now, and you have a couple of dollars for the sorrowing mothers and brothers and sisters by way of a charity gift. But every time the workers come out in the only way they know to protest against conditions which are unbearable the strong hand of the law is allowed to press down upon us.

Public officials have only words of warning to us—warning that we must be intensely orderly and must be intensely peaceable, and they have the workhouse just back of all their warnings. The strong hand of the law beats us back when we rise against the conditions that make life unbearable.

I can't talk fellowship to you who are gathered here. Too much blood has been spilled. I know from my experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working-class movement.”

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What caused the tragedy of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, according to Schneiderman?
2. What does she say should be done, and why does she think this the best option?
3. Which of the seven options from Handout 2 is she recommending?

# LESSON 7: THE ELECTION OF 1912

## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

The presidential election of 1912 was highly unusual, since there were four major candidates. It was an excellent election for arguing major issues, including the tariff, women's suffrage, government regulation, income tax, labor, banking reform, and many others. The election was held during the height of the Progressive reform movement. A look at the issues shows that social, economic, and political reform was very much on the minds of candidates.

### VOCABULARY

- Theodore Roosevelt—U.S. president who had been a Republican until 1905; ran in 1912 as head of the Bull Moose Party
- Trust—A group formed by businesses with the intent of achieving a monopoly
- Women's suffrage—Allowing women to vote
- Tariff—A tax on imports
- Woodrow Wilson—Democratic presidential candidate in the 1912 election
- William Howard Taft—Republican candidate running for reelection in 1912
- Eugene Debs—Socialist candidate in the 1912 election
- Socialism—System in which the government controls and runs the businesses

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify any underlying problem
- What are the main goals, and are they realistic?

# LESSON PLAN

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## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (30–40 minutes)

### Procedure:

Give students Handout 1 on the candidates and ask them to vote. After they have voted, tell them who the candidates were and that Woodrow Wilson (Candidate B) won, as noted on Handout 2. Ask students if they think Wilson will be a good or bad president for the country, based on this description. Was there anything in the description of Wilson that showed he would enact so many progressive reforms? Was there anything that would have helped them see how he would make decisions during World War I? Have students answer the question about the photograph of Wilson at the end of Handout 2. (Students may make many inferences from the photo. They may say, for example, that he looks like a professor, that he looks stern or serious, or that he looks dignified.)

Integrate the primary source by giving students Handout 3 and having them answer the questions. The first question will prompt students to review the candidates' positions on issues, since they have to guess who said it. (It was from a speech by Candidate A, Theodore Roosevelt.) The second question reinforces the historical context by asking how well the speech fits the time period.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they learned from this outcome. Then ask which decision-making skills were especially important in deciding for whom to vote. Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) You might want to ask students directly if they voted primarily on character, decision-making skills, or the right position on important issues. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students what the election shows about the U.S. at the time (some possibilities: voters are now more interested in the issues highlighted by Progressive reformers; women can vote in 13 states; the U.S. is now more of a world power, although foreign policy doesn't appear to be an important issue). Why did students vote differently (or the same) as the voters at the time?

### Connecting to Today:

In general, how should people vote in presidential elections: based on character, skills, or issues? What does the 1912 election say about how to choose candidates in general?

Troubleshooting:

It may be helpful for some students to review trusts, regulation, women's suffrage, tariffs, income tax, and socialism. This is a good lesson in which to reinforce how the Electoral College works, since Wilson won a majority of the electoral votes but only 42% of the popular vote.

<b>B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10 minutes)</b>
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For homework, give out Handout 1 and have students decide on their candidate. In class, ask them to vote on their candidates and predict the results. Give them Handout 2 with the results. Keep the discussion short by focusing only on whether students voted more on personal characteristics or on issues.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 2)

## What Actually Happened:

Do students feel President Wilson should proceed slowly, not pushing for too much controversial legislation, since he received only 42% of the popular vote? Note that he didn't do that at all. Wilson passed many major pieces of legislation within the first two years of his presidency.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem**
- Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goal

- \* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- Predict unintended consequences.
- Play out the options. What could go wrong?

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Consider any underlying problem:** In this election we have two major candidates with very different proposals of how to deal with big businesses (large companies). If you think the underlying problem is the behavior of big businesses, you will more likely support Roosevelt. If, on the other hand, you think the big businesses themselves are the problem, because they don't allow for fair competition in the marketplace, you will more likely support Wilson. There was also a minor candidate with a view that the underlying problem was the entire system of capitalism. His supporters agreed that the system must be changed. It's important to note that in every presidential election there are minor candidates pushing for drastic social, economic, and political changes. This lesson includes

Eugene Debs because of the significant number of votes he received in this election.

- **Reflect on your goals:** Is the primary goal to elect someone who has strong character, good decision-making skills, or who holds the right positions on important issues? Most historians think Wilson exercised good decision making during World War I. All agree he possessed a strong character, but many critics frown upon his moralistic nature.

Further Research:

The platforms of the Republican and Democratic Parties are laid out at the American Presidency Project, available at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/platforms.php>.

# SOURCES

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# LESSON 7: THE ELECTION OF 1912

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## Vocabulary

- Theodore Roosevelt—U.S. president who had been a Republican until 1905; ran in 1912 as head of the Bull Moose Party
- Trust—A group formed by businesses with the intent of achieving a monopoly
- Women's suffrage—Allowing women to vote
- Tariff—A tax on imports
- Woodrow Wilson—Democratic presidential candidate in the 1912 election
- William Howard Taft—Republican candidate running for reelection in 1912
- Eugene Debs—Socialist candidate in the 1912 election
- Socialism—System in which the government controls and runs the businesses

# LESSON 7: THE ELECTION OF 1912

## Student Handout 1



You are a voter in the U.S. presidential election of 1912. Choose the candidate who will be best for the country. (All candidates' views on the issues are taken from their respective party's platform and from speeches.)

### Candidate A

#### Positions on Issues:

- **Big business:** For the good of the people, the U.S. government must regulate big business. However, the government should not break large corporations into smaller businesses, which would be a step backwards. The U.S. needs to accept the fact that big business is a permanent part of American society, one that does a lot of good but which the government needs to regulate. Bad business behavior—not big business itself—must be stopped.
- **Women's suffrage:** In favor of it
- **Tariff:** In favor of setting high tariffs to protect American businesses
- **Labor:** In favor of abolishing child labor as well as enacting laws favorable to labor unions

#### Personal Characteristics:

The candidate is an athletic person who is very assertive. He likes to do things his way and has a great deal of energy. He has read extensively and knows a lot about politics in the United States and the world. He is a war hero with extensive government experience, having been governor of a large state, as well as U.S. president. Most people consider his presidency successful. He was known as a "trust buster," won the Nobel Peace Prize, secured the Panama Canal for the U.S., and protected a great deal of land from development. Although he has a high-pitched, squeaky voice, he connects well with most Americans, who admire his assertive style. He tries to inspire greater effort in people to reach important goals, but some people think he loves to be in the spotlight too much.

He was born into wealth but battled to overcome childhood diseases, including asthma. He was hyperactive as a child and loved animals. He graduated from college with high honors. His mother and his first wife died on the same day 28 years ago. He was depressed for more than a year but then remarried and now has six children. He enjoys big-game hunting.

He believes blacks are inferior to whites, and has tried to gain the votes of white Southerners by saying the federal government has no right to get involved in race

relations in the states, thus leaving blacks by themselves to deal with white racists, especially in the South.

### Candidate B

#### Positions on Issues:

- **Big business:** The U.S. government must break up big business. The best way to ensure that products are produced and marketed efficiently is to have a free market. The free market weeds out inefficient businesses and businesses which charge too high a price for their products. Since trusts and monopolies interfere with the free market they should be broken into smaller businesses. Size is the problem; a free market is the solution. The government should pass laws that prohibit unethical business practices; competition will take care of the rest. Regulating business through laws won't work because businesses will only try to influence the regulating agencies.
- **Women's suffrage:** Takes no position on the issue
- **Tariff:** In favor of only moderately high tariffs to protect American businesses. This candidate wants to lower the tariffs the U.S. has in place now.
- **Labor:** In favor of an eight-hour workday, workers' compensation, and the abolition of child labor
- **Role of the federal government:** In favor of states' rights and placing responsibility on the individual. The government's role is to make sure conditions are fair for people to make decisions for themselves.

#### Personal Characteristics:

Although he is dyslexic, this candidate is a former college professor and has written several books on government. He is a good speaker but is much more reserved than Candidate A. As a former college president, this candidate tries to educate citizens on important issues so they can recognize their own best interests. He is good at explaining the causes of various problems and at giving reasons for particular actions. During his tenure as governor of a large state, he fought against and reduced corruption, but he has no political experience at the federal level. He grew up in the South. Some people find him unfriendly and too idealistic.

This candidate is the son of a Protestant minister and is a Protestant himself. He is married with three daughters. He has made no specific promises to blacks regarding issues of racial injustice.

### Candidate C

#### Positions on Issues:

- **Big business:** In favor of creating the Federal Trade Commission to regulate big business
- **Women's suffrage:** Takes no position on this issue
- **Tariff:** Supports setting high tariffs to protect American businesses

- **Labor:** In favor of workers' compensation and other laws favorable to labor unions

#### Personal Characteristics:

He is the current president and is running for reelection. During his presidency, the government prosecuted many large corporations for unfair trading practices. In fact, more businesses were prosecuted under this president than under any previous president. His critics say he gives in too often to powerful business interests. He decided not to prosecute any in the banking industry even though an investigation revealed that many bankers were engaging in monopolistic practices. He also signed a bill that increased tariffs. Two progressive amendments to the Constitution were passed and ratified during his presidency: the income tax and direct election of senators.

This candidate went to Yale College (now Yale University) and was a member of the secret Skull and Bones society. He also practiced law and was a federal judge. He was the U.S. governor of the Philippines, during which time he built roads and improved the economy. Before becoming president, he was the U.S. Secretary of War. He is married and has three children. He is of the Unitarian faith, and he weighs about 300 pounds.

### **Candidate D**

#### Positions on Issues:

This candidate argues that business interests control the other three candidates. What the U.S. needs, he argues, is to change the whole system. Instead of owners controlling the economy and the government, the country needs a system in which the government controls the factories and businesses for the benefit of the workers. He is very critical of racism, especially the racist viewpoints of Candidates A and B.

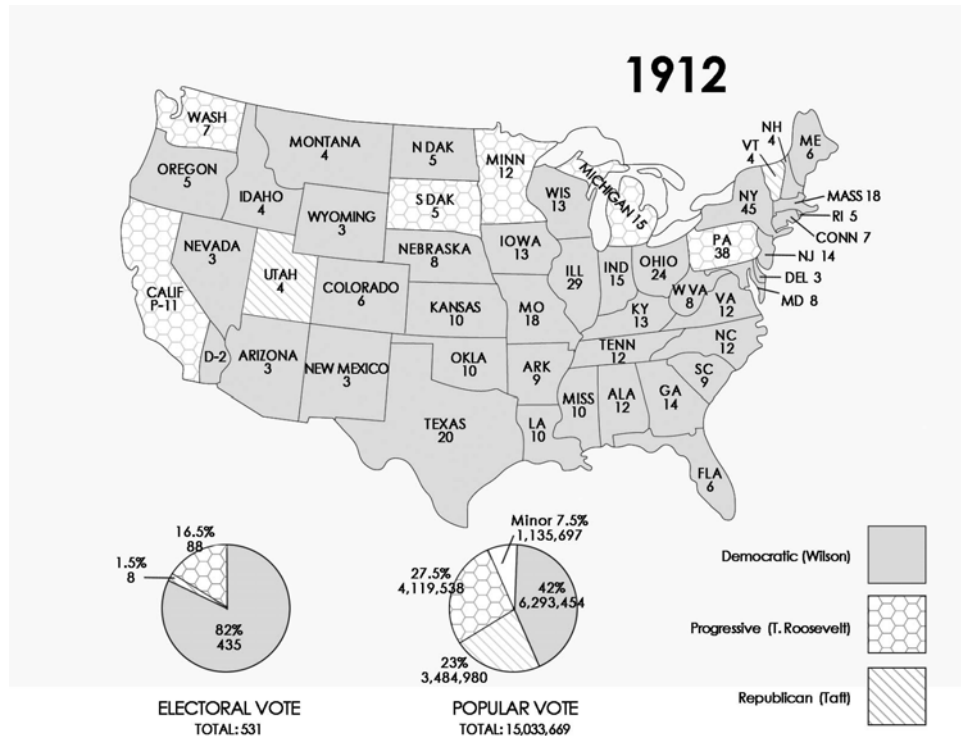
#### Personal Characteristics:

He started out as a worker and then became a union organizer. He has never held office at the national level, but for two years he was a representative in his state government. He served time in jail for continuing a strike after a court had declared the strike illegal. He is married and has no children. He has run for president in three prior elections.

**Will you vote for Candidate A, B, C, or D? Choose the candidate who will be best for the country. Explain your reasons.**

# LESSON 7: THE ELECTION OF 1912

## Student Handout 2

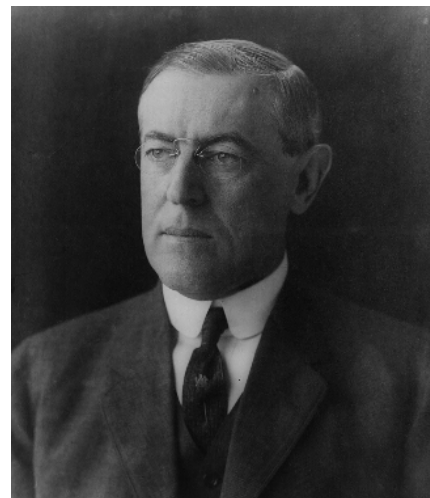


### OUTCOMES

#### What Actually Happened:

Candidate B, Democrat Woodrow Wilson, defeated Theodore Roosevelt of the Bull Moose Party (Candidate A), Republican William Howard Taft (Candidate C), and Socialist Eugene V. Debs (Candidate D). Since Roosevelt had split off from the Republican Party, he probably took enough votes away from Taft to allow Wilson to win. Wilson easily won the electoral vote, but he won only 42% of the popular vote—less than 50%, but more than any of the other candidates.

President Wilson quickly enacted important reforms, such as a lower tariff, an income tax, the pro-labor union Clayton Anti-Trust Act, and the Federal Reserve Act, which better organized the country's banking system and limited the power of



President Woodrow Wilson

banking trusts. In 1915 the president came out in support of women's suffrage. (Could you tell from the description of candidate Wilson that he would bring about all these reforms?) President Wilson continued to break up trusts that were engaging in non-competitive behavior, as he had promised in his campaign. But he also set up the Federal Trade Commission to regulate big business. So, in fact, his position was not very different from that of Candidate A, Theodore Roosevelt. President Wilson came to believe that breaking up big businesses was impossible, so government regulation was necessary. In regard to racial issues, President Wilson allowed increased segregation in many government agencies. He also praised the movie *Birth of a Nation*, which portrayed the Ku Klux Klan as saviors of the South after the Civil War.

However, the biggest event of his presidency, which involved the most important decisions he had to make, was World War I. Did you notice that no candidate stressed foreign policy in his platform? Yet, with the onset of World War I, foreign policy became the central issue for the new president.

# LESSON 7: THE ELECTION OF 1912

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## Student Handout 3

**Primary Source: From a speech by a candidate in the 1912 presidential election**

It has become entirely clear that we must have government supervision of the capitalization, not only of public service corporations, including, particularly, railways, but of all corporations doing an interstate business. I do not wish to see the nation forced into the ownership of the railways if it can possibly be avoided, and the only alternative is thoroughgoing and effective regulation, which shall be based on a full knowledge of all the facts, including a physical valuation of property...

Combinations in industry are the result of an imperative economic law which cannot be repealed by political legislation. The effort at prohibiting all combination has substantially failed. The way out lies, not in attempting to prevent such combinations, but in completely controlling them in the interest of the public welfare.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which candidate do you think gave this speech? Give evidence to support your opinion.
2. What is this candidate's point? How well does his point of view fit with the time period? How well does it fit today?

# **LESSON 8: THE LAWRENCE STRIKE, 1912**

## **Teacher Page**

### **OVERVIEW**

This lesson focuses on labor–management conflicts in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912. The lesson includes a list of questions that students can ask to integrate the historical context into their decision, as well as a handout on the strike from the point of view of the management, in order to help them focus on considering other points of view. Predicting unintended consequences is also important in this lesson.

### **VOCABULARY**

- Lawrence Strike—1912 strike that took place against the American Woolen Company in Lawrence, Massachusetts
- American Woolen Company—Business that employed more than 30,000 workers in its large factories in Lawrence
- Industrial Workers of the World—Radical union that organized unskilled workers
- Strikebreakers/scabs—People hired by owners to take the jobs of striking workers

### **DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED**

- Consider other points of view
- Ask about historical context
- Ask about analogies
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out the options. What could go wrong?



# LESSON PLAN

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## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period)

### Procedure:

Give students Handout 1, divide them into small groups, and have them decide whether, as factory workers, they will strike. Ask for a show of hands and then discuss their answers. Why did they decide to strike or not strike? Tell students the workers actually did go on strike, and then ask if they think the strike was successful. Distribute Handout 5, the primary source by William Wood. Have students answer the questions and discuss their answers.

Next, distribute Handout 2 and have students decide what they will do as the owner, William Wood, in response to the strike. Ask them if seeing the strike from the owner's point of view changed their thinking about whether to strike. Did they anticipate how the owner would view the strike or the strategies he could use to fight the strike? Distribute Handout 3, which lists the outcomes of the strike, or read the outcomes out loud, and ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making.

### Decision-Making Strategies:

You can emphasize asking questions by using the questions included on Handout 1. Each group will choose one question to have answered. The group will send a student to the teacher's desk to get the printed answer (from Handout 4) to its specific question. (Copy the answers in advance and separate them into piles by number.)

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what, if anything, they would have done differently now that they know the outcomes. Which decision-making skills were especially important in deciding about these issues? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students why this strike was successful for workers, whereas many other strikes were not. Students may say that poor decisions by William Wood and others on the side of management, along with the workers' effective organization and discipline, caused the workers to win the strike. Ask students to consider the larger context. What was happening in 1912 that might have made the situation more favorable to workers? (See

the explanation for “Ask questions about context” under “Decision-Making Analysis” for possible answers to this question.)

Connecting to Today:

Based on this lesson, what are some guidelines students would give to a union contemplating a strike? Which factors seem to be critical for success? (Help students recognize the weaknesses in analogies by asking questions about the differences between 1912 and today.)

Troubleshooting:

You may need to review basic labor concepts with your students, such as collective bargaining, unions, strike, injunction, and scabs. The bonus system might be confusing. In this lesson it's simplified to emphasize only that workers didn't like it because it pressured them to work all the time. Bonuses provide incentives to work harder for more pay. But the bonus system here required no absences or lateness over the period of a month. Workers viewed the bonus system as unfair.

<b>B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–20 minutes)</b>
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For homework, distribute Handout 1 and have students decide whether they will strike and list their reasons. In class, don't go into detail about their answers, and don't give them Handout 2 on William Wood's perspective. Then distribute Handout 3, but limit the discussion of the outcomes.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 3.)

## What Actually Happened:

Historians in general, including all the sources listed here, offer a favorable interpretation of the striking workers and an unfavorable view of William Wood and the city government (police beating up women and children at the train station, for example). Historians emphasize the gains made by workers in the strike, but they also emphasize the transitory nature of the gains, since the factories moved South in the following decades.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- \* - **Consider other points of view**
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- Reliability of sources
- \* - **Historical analogies**

### G = Goals

- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Other points of view:** Students should consider the strengths and weaknesses of the owner, William Wood. Handout 2 focuses on this decision-making skill by placing students in the shoes of the owner. How much will a strike hurt the owner as compared to the workers? Can the owner hold out as long as the workers can? How will consumers view a strike? Will they blame their inconvenience more on the owner or the workers? How does the public view strikes? Is there a way to get the public to see the strike from the workers' point of view? How do the newspapers portray strikes? Is there a way to get the workers' message expressed in the press?

- **Ask questions about context:** The questions listed in Handout 1 provide some of the major contextual information. However, there is a more general context that should be considered. The strike occurred during the Progressive Era, so the public and the federal government generally favored the workers in such conflicts. This change in attitude is reflected in contemporary pro-worker legislation, such as workers' compensation laws, maximum-hour laws, and child-labor laws. More Americans are educated and read about poor working conditions in factories, which in general makes them more sympathetic to workers. On the other hand, many textile factories are opening up in the South, where labor is cheaper. In fact, some textile factories are relocating to the South. Anti-immigrant feeling is also widespread, as mentioned in the answer to question 1.
- **Ask about historical analogies:** Students who worked on decision-making problems about strikes in the Gilded Age, or who have read about those strikes in their textbooks, will know that the best-known strikes failed. They should ask if there are important differences between these other strikes and this strike. First, the time period is different. The government, the public, and the press are not as favorable to business as they were during the Gilded Age. The press also is more inclined to dig deeper and discover devious methods employed by owners, such as hiring thugs to make unions look bad.
- **Predict unintended consequences:** Suppose the workers lose the strike: How will it affect their families? Will they be blacklisted? Will they be able to get other jobs? What will be the effects on the union movement in general? On the other hand, what will the effect be if workers don't stand up to the labor practices of the American Woolen Company? Will pay continue to be cut? Suppose workers win the strike: Will there be any negative consequences? (Yes: Textile companies closed numerous factories and moved to the South where labor costs were lower. Many factory workers lost their jobs.)
- **Play out the options:** If workers strike, will the owner hire strikebreakers, thugs to incite violence and make them look bad, or hire people to keep them out of the factory? How will workers counteract these strategies? What might happen if any strikers become violent? Can the workers prevent acts of violence? What will they do if they run out of money? How will they take care of their families?

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# **LESSON 8: THE LAWRENCE STRIKE, 1912**

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## **Vocabulary**

- Lawrence Strike—1912 strike that took place against the American Woolen Company in Lawrence, Massachusetts
- American Woolen Company—Business that employed more than 30,000 workers in its large factories in Lawrence
- Industrial Workers of the World—Radical union that organized unskilled workers
- Strikebreakers/scabs—People hired by owners to take the jobs of striking workers

# LESSON 8: THE LAWRENCE STRIKE, 1912

## Student Handout 1



### PROBLEM—WILL YOU SUPPORT THE STRIKE?

It is 1912, and you are a worker at a textile mill in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Today you learned that your pay has been cut by 3.5%. The owners of the American Woolen Company didn't inform you in advance of the pay cut—they just reduced your paycheck. About 30,000 people work in the wool factories in Lawrence. About 70% of all the people who live in Lawrence depend on wages they earn from the wool company. Adult male workers make about \$400 per year; women and children make much less. The workers in Lawrence are among the poorest in the United States, and the town has one of the highest death rates. Living conditions are horrible, and disease is a constant threat. Workers don't like the low pay and the bonus system, which basically requires people to work seven days a week. In Lawrence there are 24 different ethnic groups speaking 22 different languages, since almost everyone (86% of the town's population) is an immigrant. The people around you are walking out on strike against the pay cut, and you've heard that workers in other wool factories in Lawrence are also going on strike. The Industrial Workers of the World is organizing the strike. It's a radical union that has organized unskilled workers in other strikes, and it's sending its best organizers to Lawrence to help with this strike.

Will you support the strike?

To help you make your decision, you may ask your teacher one of the following questions.

1. Does the public support the workers or the owners?
2. Is the state government likely to get involved on the side of the owners, the workers, or remain neutral?
3. Is the American Woolen Company making a healthy profit at this point? What is the company's reason for cutting wages?
4. Are the workers stronger or weaker than the American Woolen Company? Which side can hold out longer in a strike?

# **LESSON 8: THE LAWRENCE STRIKE, 1912**

## **Student Handout 2**

### **OWNER'S PERSPECTIVE**

#### **WHAT TACTICS WILL YOU USE AGAINST THE LAWRENCE STRIKERS?**

It is 1912, and you are William Wood, owner of the American Woolen Company. The workers in your Lawrence, Massachusetts, factory have gone on strike after you cut their wages. The state of Massachusetts passed a law reducing the hours women and children can work from 56 to 54 hours per week. The company cut the pay an equivalent amount. Fifty-four hours pay for 54 hours work.

The American Woolen Company is making healthy profits right now, and its stockholders are receiving 7% dividends, so you can hold out for quite a while against the workers. They, meanwhile, will be making nothing while they are on strike.

Which, if any, of the following tactics will you use to fight the strike?

1. Hire strikebreakers. This way, the company will still be producing wool and making money, while the workers will be making nothing.
2. Hire someone to commit acts of violence, such as blowing up a factory building or possibly your office (when you're not there, of course). It will be easy to blame the explosion on the strikers, since the public won't suspect the company of blowing up its own property. The public will turn against the strikers, and you can ask the state government to send in troops to restore order. It will be especially easy to change public opinion against the workers, since the strikers are led by the Industrial Workers of the World, a socialist group that wants to overthrow the entire capitalist system. The public is more than ready to believe the members of this group are violent anarchists. The troops will also ensure the safety of strikebreakers who are entering the factory.
3. Hire a group of private detectives to guard the factory and make sure that strikebreakers get into the factory safely and that strikers don't.
4. Negotiate a reasonable settlement. Make necessary compromises to settle the dispute and avoid a long strike.



# LESSON 8: THE LAWRENCE STRIKE, 1912

## Student Handout 3

### OUTCOMES

The textile workers went on strike. To keep the strikers organized, they formed a committee composed of representatives from each ethnic group. They also sang songs to keep workers motivated as they demonstrated outside the factory. During the strike, many workers sent their children to other cities to live with relatives or friends. The town's mayor sent police officers to stop the children from leaving Lawrence. The following are some **unintended consequences** of the strike:

- State police and militia members beat up many of the mothers and children. Public opinion turned against the owner, William Wood, for the beatings.
- William Wood hired a thug to stage an assassination attempt in order to rally sympathy for his side in the strike. Newspapers figured out the plot and reported that the assassination attempt was a hoax. The public was outraged. Eventually, Wood was forced to give in to the strikers' demands. Pay was restored to its previous level, the bonus system was eliminated, and the company rehired the striking workers.
- The strike's success helped workers for a few years. By 1914, however, a depression caused many workers to lose their jobs. Owners countered the wage increase by speeding up textile machines, and they countered the influence of radicals by placing spies in the factories. In the 1920s, textile mills in New England moved to the South to avoid having to pay higher wages for union workers.
- Nevertheless, the success of the strike boosted the morale of workers in many industries, leading to other strikes in New England. The government also passed legislation to improve working conditions.



State militia members confront the Lawrence strikers

# **LESSON 8: THE LAWRENCE STRIKE, 1912**

## **Student Handout 4**

### **1. Does the public support the workers or the owner?**

Workers throughout New England, New Jersey, and New York sympathize with the textile workers. Some Americans sympathize with how poor the textile workers are, but many Americans don't like immigrants. In addition, many people do not like the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which has been organizing the workers in Lawrence into a union. The IWW is a socialist group, which means it wants to overthrow the entire capitalist system. Many Americans object to these radical beliefs. So the public is split on the issue.

### **2. Is the state government likely to get involved on the side of the owners or the workers or stay neutral?**

The state government of Massachusetts has never become involved in a strike, and the current governor is pro-business.

### **3. Is the American Woolen Company making a healthy profit at this point? What is the company's reason for cutting wages?**

The American Woolen Company making a healthy profit and is paying 7% dividends to its stockholders. The company says it cut the wages because the state of Massachusetts passed a law reducing the maximum hours women and children can work from 56 to 54 hours per week. The company cut the pay an equivalent amount. Fifty-four hours pay for 54 hours work.

### **4. Are the workers stronger or weaker than the American Woolen Company? Who can hold out longer in the strike?**

More than 30,000 people work in the wool mills. If all of them strike, the American Woolen Company will lose a lot of money. Since immigrants make up 86% of the residents of Lawrence, and since textile workers and their families make up more than half its population, some businesses in town will want the strike to end quickly so they'll continue to have customers. These other companies might pressure the owners to negotiate. If the workers can get outside help from other workers or unions, they could hold out long enough to get concessions from the company. In the past, workers have had some very strong union organizers, and they may be able to negotiate successfully on behalf of the textile workers.

On the other hand, the workers are composed of more than 24 ethnic groups and speak 22 different languages among them. How will they all be able to communicate with each other? How can they stay organized? If the American Woolen Company brings in strikebreakers, will the workers be able to prevent them from entering the mills without resorting to violence? The company has been making good money, so the owner can afford to hold out against the workers for a long time.

# **LESSON 8: THE LAWRENCE STRIKE, 1912**

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## **Student Handout 5**

**Primary Source: Letter from William Wood**

AMERICAN WOOLEN CO.,  
Lawrence, Mass., January 19, 1912

To our employees:

Last Friday many of you left our mills and have since remained away. Your...leaving the mills without notice and without any attempt at a conference is unfortunate all around. Both the company and employees are bound to lose a good deal of money as a result, which neither of us can afford.

I want every man and woman working for the American Woolen Co. to get the best wages that the company can afford. You work best for the interests of the company when you are contented, but you must realize that I must also care reasonably for the stockholders' interests and see that the business is properly managed. You know we have very sharp competition, and if we do not do our work economically our competitors will drive us out.

The last two years have been very discouraging years for us and for all manufacturers in our line. The present year being a presidential year is also bad for business. You realize, too, that the hours of labor are shorter here than in other States.

I have consulted long and anxiously with the directors and those associated with me in the management. Reluctantly and regretfully we have come to the conclusion that it is impossible, with a proper regard for the interests of the company, to grant at this time any increase in wages. Trade conditions do not justify an increase.

I ask you to have confidence in this statement and to return to your work. As long as I have managed the affairs of this company it has never yet reduced your wages, but on the contrary, four times this company has increased your wages without your asking. I say further to you that when the conditions of our business are again such as warrant raising your wages, I shall again, without even a request, recommend such an advance as circumstances warrant.

Very sincerely,  
William M. Wood, President

### **QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS**

1. What arguments does William Wood make to get workers to return to work?
2. Which is his best argument? Why is it more persuasive than the others?
3. How might the strikers counter his arguments?

# LESSON 9: WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE

## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

This lesson focuses on the arguments and strategies for achieving the goal of women’s suffrage. The splits over the arguments for—and strategies regarding—women’s suffrage offer students interesting decision-making problems.

### VOCABULARY

- Suffragists—Women who actively supported women’s suffrage (the right to vote). At the time, they were often referred to as “suffragettes.”
- Picketing—The act of marching while carrying signs that bring attention to a cause, in this case, women’s suffrage
- Nineteenth Amendment—Constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote (also known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment)
- Partisanship—The act of supporting one political party or candidate, rather than remaining neutral
- NAWSA—National American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Carrie Chapman Catt, which supported the decision of individual states on the issue of women’s suffrage, rather than adding a women’s suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution
- NWP—National Women’s Party, led by Alice Paul, which pushed for a national women’s suffrage amendment
- Feminism—The belief in women’s equality to men in all areas, including the right to own property, receive an education, and hold jobs
- League of Women Voters—Organization formed after the addition of the 19th Amendment; its goal was to educate voters on issues and increase voter participation.
- Prohibition—The banning of alcohol sales and distribution, with the goal of eliminating alcohol consumption

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify any underlying problem
- Consider other points of view
- Ask about the historical context
- Play out the options

# LESSON PLAN

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## **A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one class period)**

### Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and have students decide individually which women's suffrage arguments they will emphasize in 1900 (Problem 1). After everyone has finished, ask students to pair up and discuss their choices. They are free to change their decisions if their partner makes a good point. Bring the class back together and discuss their choices. Don't tell them the actual choices or outcomes yet. Repeat the process for Handout 2.

After groups have reported, distribute Handout 3 (the outcomes for Problem 1) and Handout 4 (the outcomes for Problem 2). You could tell the class what actually happened, but that might be rather lengthy for this lesson. Alternatively, you could give students the shortened outcomes from Handouts 5 and 6 (instead of Handouts 3 and 4). Ask students what they learned from these outcomes.

You can focus on consequences by reading the 19th Amendment (the first primary source on Handout 7) to the class. Ask students to list consequences (question 1) of this amendment, considering both the short-term and long-term consequences. Some of these consequences are listed in the "What Actually Happened" section for Problem 2. Have students answer question 2 and then discuss their answers. (Since the federal government enforces women's suffrage, as opposed to the states, this amendment increased the power of the federal government over the states. Many senators from the South argued that the states, rather than the federal government, should be responsible for enforcing women's suffrage.)

While not given its own handout, the "Kaiser Wilson" photo from Handout 7 focuses student attention on the limits of militancy. Ask students if it seems acceptable for protesters to compare President Wilson to the German Kaiser during a war against that leader.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they would have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes. Then ask which decision-making skills were especially important to the goals of the suffragists. Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Tell students to put themselves in the role of white suffragists in 1913. Will they allow African American women to join the demonstrations? Black women were asked to march

as a separate group at the rear of suffrage marches; white women didn't want to increase Southern opposition to the suffrage cause. Discussing this will remind students that the suffrage movement consisted of more than one race. Suffrage organizations agreed to compromises that hurt African Americans in order to get congressional votes for the suffrage amendment. In fact, many blacks confronted whites about these betrayals. Ask students what they think happened to black women after the 19th Amendment was passed. (They continued to have their right to vote infringed upon on account of race.) Why? (A lack of enforcement; widespread racism.) At what points in U.S. history have blacks been granted a right but not receive it? (Following the 14th and 15th Amendments.) When will blacks actually be able to vote? How will they get it? (The passing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act was a key event.)

You can also ask students directly about historical context. What was happening in the United States around the turn of the century that made female suffrage an issue? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below, especially the "Underlying Problem" and "Ask About Context.") Was the passage of the 19th Amendment due more to the decisions of a few leaders (Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul, for example) or to historical forces? (This question is touched upon on Handout 4 and the teacher notes to Problem 2.)

#### Connecting to Today:

When students examine the photograph of the protester holding a sign comparing President Wilson to the German Kaiser, you could ask what the limits of protest should be, highlighting recent wars, such as the war in Iraq. Ask students: Based on the debates over arguments and strategies in the women's suffrage movement, what guidelines would they make for protests or rights movements today? (Ask students about differences between the women's suffrage movement and these protest and rights movements today in order to get them to analyze the strength of these historical analogies.)

#### Troubleshooting:

If students do not know the process for passage of a constitutional amendment, this is a good time to review that process. (An amendment must pass both houses of Congress by a two-thirds vote and be ratified by three-fourths of the states.)

### **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (20 minutes)**

Work just on Problem 1 (Handout 1) on arguments. Or don't ask students to pair up. Just give them the problem for homework, have them vote, and give them the shortened outcomes from Handout 5 instead of the longer ones on Handout 3. If you do Problem 2 (Handout 2) on strategies, give them the shortened outcomes on Handout 6 instead of Handout 4. Have a short discussion about what surprised students about the actual outcomes.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 3 and 4, or 5 and 6.)

## PROBLEM 1: ARGUMENTS IN 1900

### What Actually Happened:

The argument that women were more entitled to the vote than ignorant men was a complicated one. The suffragists felt that to advance their cause they had to win at least a few Southern states, so they had to reassure Southern white males about expanding the vote. Southern legislators were all members of the Democratic Party, and they were very concerned that expanding the vote would reopen the issue over African Americans' voting rights. Racist Southerners had been able to disenfranchise most African Americans, so white leaders there did not want the federal government to get involved again in protecting black voting, as it had during Reconstruction. The enforcement part of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment scared many Southern whites. This complex thinking, however, did not overcome the conclusion by many people that suffragists were undercutting their most potent argument that women deserved the right to vote, pure and simple. It was hypocritical to argue for suffrage by contending that others' rights should be restricted.

Many upper- and middle-class suffragists argued for the vote in order to help working women.

It makes sense that many people and businesses with an interest in keeping alcohol available opposed women's suffrage, but the reasons for the opposition of textile owners is not as obvious. Students would have to know that textile companies employed a great number of children. Here again, regional differences complicated matters. New England textile producers had to operate with more restrictive state child-labor laws than those in the South. Thus, New England representatives might be more sympathetic to women's suffrage, according to David Morgan, while Southern representatives might see a conspiracy against Southern textile mills in New England's support for women's suffrage. The four leading Southern textile-producing states were the only four states in the South in which both senators voted against the suffrage amendment. According to Eileen McDonagh, there is a correlation between support for woman's suffrage and support for restricting child labor (and therefore between opposition to suffrage and opposition to child labor restrictions).



## **PROBLEM 2: STRATEGIES IN 1913**

### What Actually Happened:

U.S. entry into World War I changed the situation dramatically. The suffragists argued that giving the vote to women would promote democracy at home and therefore support the goals of the war effort. It would also be unwise to deny women the vote at a time when their labor was necessary for the war effort. President Wilson eventually agreed that for the U.S. to win the war, the passage of women's suffrage was an important factor and the least the U.S. could do as a nation in return for the patriotic service rendered by women. Wilson's first wife, Ellen, had raised the suffrage issue with him, and his three daughters were all strong-minded and independent women. So, personal factors may have influenced his position on women's suffrage.

Historians are divided as to whether the picketing and partisanship was effective. It definitely brought attention to the issue of women's suffrage, and it seems more than a coincidence that Congress took up the suffrage amendment soon after the picketing and partisanship began. (Flexner argues that Carrie Chapman Catt was too critical of the picketing.) Arresting women for picketing for the right to vote was clearly an embarrassment to the Democratic Party. The actions of militant female demonstrators made many congressmen turn to the moderate suffragists (the NAWSA, for example) as the lesser of several evils. This might have increased congressional support for women's suffrage.

On the other hand, militant tactics alienated some voters and political leaders. It especially infuriated Southern men, who saw a repetition of abolitionist tactics of the antebellum period. It isn't clear which factor was most important in moving the issue forward. The work of women in the war effort and tireless suffrage work at the state level also helped the suffragists achieve victory. The changing role of women in society and the effects of World War I are discussed on Handout 4. Historian Alexander Keyssar argues that almost all major expansions of the franchise in the United States happened either during or immediately following a war.

The victory of Republicans in 1918, especially after Theodore Roosevelt argued that Republicans should be pro-suffrage as a strategy, was key to the Democratic Party's turning more favorably toward suffrage. Another factor was the enactment of Prohibition (18th Amendment), which, since it had already been passed, removed some of the opposition by liquor interests to suffrage. Moreover, as suffrage leaders argued, once the possibility of women's suffrage became likely, many leaders in opposition would change their position quickly, not wanting to hurt their chances with new voters.

Some people feared that women's suffrage would cause the collapse of the American family, as women would become more involved in the political arena rather than focus on the home. Others feared women would vote as a bloc for "women's issues." The family, however, did not collapse, and women, like men, voted on a whole range of issues. According to Richard Evans, women's suffrage weakened feminism in most countries, as

women turned to political parties instead of to feminist groups. Evans also argues that as women in the 20th century, other feminist issues, such as equality of property rights and employment, were deemphasized. In the U.S. these other issues were not emphasized again until the women's liberation movement of the 1960s.

There were numerous intended and unintended consequences of the 19th Amendment. These outcomes aren't the subject of this lesson, since the lesson focuses specifically on arguments and strategies to achieve women's suffrage, not its outcomes. Nevertheless, students will be interested in the outcomes of the amendment itself:

- Feminism was weakened as women turned more to political parties, rather than to feminist groups.
- Women did not revolutionize politics, as some predicted they would. They held—and continue to hold—divergent viewpoints, just as men do. Women were kept out of key power positions in political parties. However, women gradually filled more positions in political parties and were elected to more Congressional seats. In the long run, women have been perceived as more politically independent than men—and more skeptical of both Democrats and Republicans.
- Women kept the reform impulse of the Progressives alive and contributed to the promotion of ongoing social legislation: health, education, child labor, mothers' pensions, playgrounds, parks, sanitation, and Social Security.
- Black women, though they supported and demonstrated for women's suffrage, did not see the enforcement of their voting rights improve after the passage of the 19th Amendment. At a 1921 women's convention, black women presented a resolution for a Congressional investigation of violations of the 19th Amendment in Southern states. The resolution did not pass, and for decades black women continued to be disenfranchised.
- The League of Women Voters began to educate new women voters on issues and candidates. The League used candidate surveys on issues and sponsored debates to educate the electorate.
- Women became much more powerful as consumers. Legislators had to pay more attention to consumer issues, since a large portion of the electorate was made up of women. For example, women were important to gradually lowering the tariff, as it was a consumer issue.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem**
- **Consider other points of view**
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies.

### G = Goals

- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- Predict unintended consequences
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Consider the underlying problem:** As mentioned on Handout 2, suffragists had to consider that women had the right to vote in only 13 states. So, strategies had to be formed in light of their having little (yet increasing) political power. The underlying situation was changing. More women were working, especially married women. And more of them were working in factories and professions, rather than as domestics (maids). More women belonged to unions (for example, the International Ladies Garment Workers), and more women were becoming educated. So the tide of history was moving toward women's suffrage. Carrie Chapman Catt understood this historical trend when she unveiled to the NAWSA her plan to gain suffrage. She believed that with the growing number of educated and working women, the right to vote would be achieved.
  - Another underlying problem was the division within the suffrage movement. The split over race is explained in the lesson plan in "Placing the Actual Decision into Historical Context." Class differences were also an issue. The suffrage movement tried to unify itself when it dropped the argument that women were better educated than many ignorant men. Advocating for the needs of working women also helped to gather support from the working class. Finally, marches brought women together, as described by a newspaper correspondent in 1912: "Women who usually see Fifth Avenue through the polished window of their touring limousines and touring cars strode steadily side by side with pale-faced, thin-bodied girls from the sweltering sweatshops of the East Side."

- **Consider other points of view:** Students should consider how various groups—including farmers, workers, middle-class professionals, and businessmen—viewed the issue of women voting. Political bosses didn't want women to vote because most women supported “clean government” (as opposed to tolerating corruption), which would disturb urban political machines. Since the campaign for suffrage was closely identified with Progressive reforms (a lower tariff, antitrust legislation, the income tax, etc.) that weren't pro-business, many businesses opposed suffrage as well. The reason for the opposition of textile-factory owners (because they employed many children) is described in the teacher notes above for Problem 1.
- **Ask about context:** Students should ask questions such as: Was suffrage successful in other countries? (Yes: in Australia, New Zealand, and by the time of Problem 2, in Norway) Had militant tactics worked well in the past? (This is debatable. Women had been very militant in Britain and had made some headway. In countries where women had achieved suffrage, it had always involved some practical political reason. In each case, however, women had been agitating for suffrage, so it's unclear.)
- **Play out the options:** The long-term unintended consequences come from accomplishing the goal of women's suffrage, but these consequences of women achieving the right to vote are not the focus of this lesson. Rather, in deciding how effective a strategy would be in helping women get the vote, one would repeatedly have to play out the option. If suffragists picket the White House, what will opponents of suffrage do in response? How will the newspapers report it? How will the public see it? If suffragists focus most of their resources on the passage of a constitutional amendment, which issues might they have to abandon? If they oppose some political candidates, how will they respond if those candidates are elected anyway? What will be their plan if the majority of congressmen become hostile toward the issue of women's suffrage?

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# LESSON 9: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

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## Vocabulary

- Suffragists—Women who actively supported women's suffrage (the right to vote). At the time, they were often referred to as suffragettes.
- Picketing—The act of marching while carrying signs that bring attention to a cause, in this case, women's suffrage
- Nineteenth Amendment—Constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote (also known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment)
- Partisanship—The act of supporting one political party or candidate, rather than remaining neutral
- NAWSA—National American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Carrie Chapman Catt, which supported the decision of individual states on the issue of women's suffrage, rather than adding a women's suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution
- NWP—National Women's Party, led by Alice Paul, which pushed for a national women's suffrage amendment
- Feminism—The belief in women's equality to men in all areas, including the right to own property, receive an education, and hold jobs
- League of Women Voters—Organization formed after the addition of the 19th Amendment; its goal was to educate voters on issues and increase voter participation.
- Prohibition—The banning of alcohol sales and distribution, with the goal of eliminating alcohol consumption

# LESSON 9: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

## Student Handout 1



### PROBLEM 1—ARGUMENTS IN 1900 FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

The year is 1900, and you are a leader of the women's suffrage movement. The women's rights movement began back in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York, and included the proposal that women be able to vote. There are a number of arguments you can use to support the cause of women's suffrage. Place a checkmark next to the arguments you think should be made.

1. Women should be given the vote because there are many ignorant men who vote now. Some women are smarter and more educated than many men who vote. To be able to vote, people should be required to pass a literacy test.
2. If women are allowed to vote, they'll promote reform and help clean up the country. Specifically, women will support the prohibition of alcohol.
3. If women are allowed to vote, they'll promote reform and help clean up the country. Specifically, women will support laws banning child labor.
4. If women vote, they'll vote the same way men do, so people should not worry that big changes will occur.
5. Women should be able to vote as a right.
6. Women should vote to improve their status as workers. The vote will give them a fair chance to fight for better pay and working conditions.

# LESSON 9: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

## Student Handout 2



### PROBLEM 2—STRATEGIES IN 1913 FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

The year is 1913, and you are a leader of the women's suffrage movement. Women have gotten the vote in 13 states, but they still have a long way to go. Your organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) has remained nonpartisan. That is, it doesn't support one candidate or party over another in elections. It doesn't campaign against candidates who haven't supported woman suffrage. Rather, it has worked with people already in office. Check off all of the following strategies you would adopt to further the cause of women's suffrage. Explain your answers.

1. Keep the main focus on educating the public on the merits of female suffrage
2. Concentrate on the passage of a constitutional amendment for women's suffrage at the national level, as opposed to focusing on the vote in various states. If the national amendment passes, all states will be forced to allow women to vote. The passage of an amendment requires a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress and three-fourths of the states.
3. Become partisan by opposing politicians who have worked against women's suffrage, or who haven't worked hard enough for it. This includes opposing President Wilson, who has not been a strong supporter of women's suffrage. Since the Democrats are in power, we will work against Democrats in the 1914 congressional elections and the 1916 presidential and congressional elections. If we can defeat some Democrats, we will teach them to consider the power of the female vote. Currently 13 states (with a total of 100 electoral votes) allow women the right to vote.
4. Organize demonstrations in support of women's suffrage. Carry signs and picket in front of the Capitol Building and/or the White House.
5. Meet with politicians, including President Wilson, to convince them to support women's suffrage.



# LESSON 9: WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE

## Student Handout 3

### OUTCOMES

#### PROBLEM 1—ACTUAL ARGUMENTS IN 1900

Some women argued that women would bring reform (thereby alienating the liquor interests who feared an increase in temperance if women voted) as in argument 2, while others argued that women would vote the same as men (leading opponents to argue that there was no reason to give women the vote—it would make no difference), as in argument 3.

The important arguments were 1, 4, and 5. Until 1906, many women argued that women deserved the vote because many ignorant men were allowed to vote. This argument was prejudiced against immigrants at best, and blatantly racist at worst. For example, this resolution was passed at the NAWSA Convention in Washington, DC in 1893:

“RESOLVED: That without expressing any opinion on the proper qualifications for voting, we call attention to the significant facts that in every state there are more women who can read and write than the whole number of illiterate male voters; more white women who can read and write than all negro voters; more white women who can read and write than all foreign voters; so that the enfranchisement of such women would settle the vexed question of rule by illiteracy, whether of home-grown or foreign-born production.”

The idea by suffragists of appealing to various groups in terms of their own interests has been called the “expediency strategy” by historian Eileen Kraditor. Suffragists were especially concerned about winning support in the South, where hostility was highest. It did not seem possible, for example, to pass a national suffrage amendment without any state in the South ratifying the amendment, since three-fourths of states are needed for ratification. An example of the expediency strategy is this speech to the NAWSA convention in 1903:

“...[T]he enfranchisement of women would ensure immediate and durable white supremacy, honestly obtained, for upon unquestioned authority it is stated that in every southern State but one there are more educated women than all the illiterate voters, white and black, native and foreign, combined...”

The expediency strategy turned out to be ineffective. According to a 1990 study of voting patterns in Congress from 1900 to 1920, there was no connection between anti-immigrant or anti-black voting and voting on the suffrage amendment. Making anti-immigrant or racist arguments didn’t increase support for women’s suffrage.

At the NAWSA convention in 1906, Florence Kelley urged that suffragists stop making the “ignorance argument,” since it was racist and elitist. She argued that women should argue for the vote as a right (argument 5) and as a way to improve the conditions for women workers (argument 6).

The suffragists did argue that women would help enact Prohibition (argument 2) and child-labor restrictions (argument 3), which caused them to make two powerful enemies: liquor businesses (makers and sellers) and the textile industry. A leader of the brewers’ association said in a note to other brewers that “a new anti-suffrage association has been organized in Illinois, and is a retail liquor dealers’ affair.” A Milwaukee brewer said, “Women’s suffrage in the state [Nebraska] we defeated two years ago at tremendous expense...”

# LESSON 9: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

## Student Handout 4

### OUTCOMES

#### PROBLEM 2—ACTUAL STRATEGIES IN 1913

The suffrage movement was successful in getting Congress to debate and pass the amendment for women's suffrage in 1919 and win ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920. The suffrage movement was divided regarding strategy, however.

Members of the suffrage movement had already been meeting with politicians (strategy 5 on Handout 2), including President Wilson. These meetings convinced the president to change his position and favor women's suffrage. Even before that, suffragists met for countless hours with lobbyists of state legislatures to secure voting rights in various states. After 1915, however, the suffragists focused on meeting with national lobbyists.

Until now, the main focus of the suffrage movement had been on educating the public, so the first strategy in Problem 2 was also already being emphasized.



Carrie Chapman Catt

The leaders of the suffrage movement were divided regarding the other three proposed strategies (2, 3, and 4 on Handout 2). The NAWSA, led by Carrie Chapman Catt, favored continuing the present emphasis on battling for suffrage in the states, remaining nonpartisan, and not stressing demonstrations. With two million members, the NAWSA was the larger of the two main suffrage organizations. The NAWSA felt the chances of getting a constitutional amendment passed were very low. Therefore, the time, money, and energy that would go into that strategy would be better used on other strategies—for example, continuing the battle for suffrage at the state level.

The NAWSA also wanted to continue the policy of nonpartisanship. They argued that the issue of women's suffrage transcended political parties. Since women didn't have much political power (they couldn't vote in most states), alienating male political leaders would ensure the defeat of women's suffrage. Likewise, conducting demonstrations would likely reduce support among those who did have power—men.

The National Woman's Party (NWP), led by Alice Paul, was organized after the NAWSA split over these strategies. The NWP argued that the time was right for a constitutional amendment, given the increasing support for women's suffrage during the

previous 20 years, especially in the western states. While the passage of an amendment would be difficult, its huge payoff would be well worth the risk.

Alice Paul and other NWP leaders argued that if they wanted politicians to support their cause, they had to put pressure on them and hold them accountable. Therefore, support for politicians should be contingent on the politicians' support for the constitutional amendment for women's suffrage. Women could vote in 13 states, which would mean the congressmen in those states might pressure congressmen in other states. The issue of women's suffrage might also contribute to outcome of the 1916 presidential election. Historians disagree as to whether this tactic of partisanship helped to promote the issue of women's suffrage.



Alice Paul

Those in favor of demonstrations argued that suffragists in various states had made significant gains by demonstrating. Thousands of ordinary suffragists had used demonstrations successfully and were pushing for its use at the national level. By conducting demonstrations, the suffragists would make voters more aware of the issue. It wasn't that the majority of men opposed women's suffrage. Rather, they just couldn't see why it was important. The issue had gotten lost among all the other issues of the day. Once the public became more attentive to the issue of women's suffrage, it would be more difficult for political leaders to avoid the issue. Moreover, anyone who was forced to confront the issue openly would have to wrestle with his conscience over questions of fairness and equal rights.

The first major demonstration in Washington DC provoked a near-riot by onlookers (not the picketers, who were well organized and nonviolent). It was a public relations goldmine for the suffragists, as it publicized and attracted sympathy for their cause.

The NWP pushed for a constitutional amendment, took partisan positions for and against candidates who supported or did not support the amendment, and demonstrated for their cause. For 18 months, members of the NWP marched in front of the White House carrying signs that read: MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE? and HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY? During these demonstrations, 200 women were arrested and fined. Those who refused to pay the fines went to jail. Some even went on hunger strikes. Signs comparing President Wilson to the German Kaiser provoked onlookers.



The constitutional-amendment strategy eventually affected the NWSA and was incorporated into Carrie Chapman Catt's 1916 "winning plan." The plan called for continuing the struggle within states, but also for placing pressure on Congress for the passage of a constitutional amendment (the NWP strategy).

These strategies and arguments were important to passage of the 19th Amendment. Broader historical forces, however, also played an important role, including the changing role of women, especially married women, in education and the work force, and the onset of World War I. As women did their patriotic duty in the war, it became difficult for political leaders to oppose women's suffrage.

# LESSON 9: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

## Student Handout 5

### SHORT OUTCOMES

#### PROBLEM 1: ACTUAL ARGUMENTS IN 1900

1: Until 1906, many women argued that women deserved the vote because many ignorant men, specifically African-Americans and immigrants, were able to vote. This argument was blatantly racist and prejudiced against immigrants. It was ineffective at increasing support for female suffrage.

2 & 3: Suffragists supported temperance and restriction of child labor, which gained them powerful enemies, especially in the liquor and textile industries.

4: Some women argued that women would vote the same as men, thus no one should fear that any big changes would occur. This argument didn't seem to gain many supporters.

5: Eventually suffragists stuck more closely to the simple, effective argument that women should vote as a right.

6: When suffragists switched to the argument that voting was a way to improve conditions for working women, they gained a great deal of support from female workers.

# LESSON 9: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

## Student Handout 6

### SHORT OUTCOMES

#### PROBLEM 2: ACTUAL STRATEGIES IN 1913

The suffrage movement was successful in getting Congress to debate and pass the amendment for women's suffrage in 1919 and win ratification of 19th Amendment in 1920. The suffrage movement was divided regarding strategy, however.

Members of the suffrage movement had already been meeting with politicians (strategy 5 on Handout 2). Also, the main focus of the suffrage movement had always been on education, so of the first strategy in Problem 2 was already being emphasized.

The leaders of the suffrage movement were divided regarding the other three proposed strategies (2, 3, and 4 on Handout 2). The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), led by Carrie Chapman Catt, favored continuing the emphasis on battling for suffrage in the states, of remaining non--partisan, and on not stressing demonstrations.

The National Woman's Party (NWP), led by Alice Paul, was organized after the NAWSA split over these strategies. The NWP argued that the time was right for a constitutional amendment, given the increasing support for women's suffrage during the past 20 years, especially in western states. NWP leaders argued that support for politicians should be contingent upon the politicians' support for the constitutional amendment for women's suffrage. Historians disagree whether this tactic of partisanship helped the cause of suffrage.



Those in favor of demonstrations argued that suffragists in various states had made significant gains by demonstrating. Thousands of ordinary suffragists had used demonstrations successfully and were pushing for their use at the national level. By conducting demonstrations, the suffragists would make voters more aware of the issue. Moreover, anyone who was forced to confront the issue openly would have to wrestle with his conscience over questions of fairness and equal rights.

These strategies and arguments were important to passage of the 19th Amendment. Broader historical forces, however, also played an important role, including the changing role of women, especially married women, in education and the work force, and the onset of World War I. As women did their patriotic duty during the war, it became difficult for political leaders to oppose women's suffrage.



# LESSON 9: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

## Student Handout 7

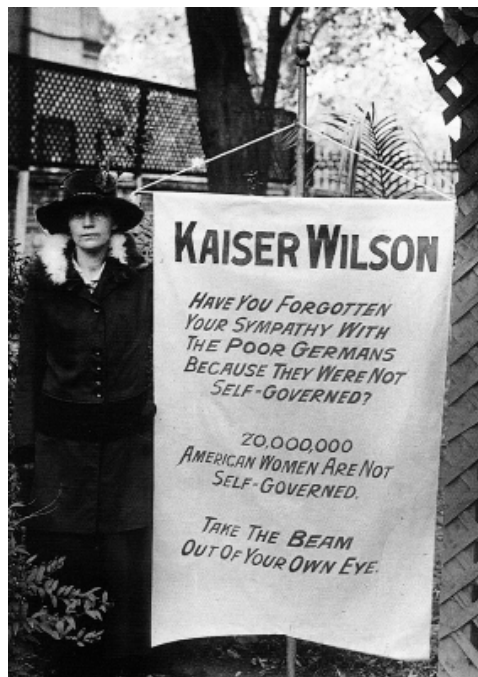
### Primary Source 1: The 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution

“The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What are some short-term and long-term consequences of the 19th Amendment?
2. What are some of the consequences of giving Congress the power to enforce this amendment through legislation?

### Primary Source 2: Picket outside of White House, 1918



### QUESTION FOR ANALYSIS

1. Does this banner go too far in comparing President Wilson to the leader of Germany?

# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

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## Teacher Page

### OVERVIEW

This lesson consists of five short problems on three handouts about the Wilson Administration and its decisions regarding Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. The decisions of the Wilson Administration in Latin America are instructive, since different positions were taken in different situations. The outcomes of the decisions range from fairly positive to disastrous. Students who participate in this lesson will also gain insights into President Wilson's personality, which may help them understand his later decisions on the U.S. entry into World War I and on the League of Nations.

### VOCABULARY

- General Victoriano Huerta—1914 leader of Mexico who killed the elected president Francisco Madero and seized power in the country
- Self-determination—The right of a country to rule itself independently without outside interference
- Venustiano Carranza—Leader in Mexico in 1916 who opposed U.S. forces entering Mexico to capture Pancho Villa
- Pancho Villa—Rebel leader who attacked a town in the United States
- Dominican Republic—Country in the Caribbean that shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti
- Customs service—Department that collects tariffs and other taxes on imports
- Haiti—Country in the Caribbean that shares an island with the Dominican Republic
- Anarchy—State of disorder due to the absence of an effective government; differs from anarchism, which is a political philosophy that advocates the total elimination of government.

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Consider other points of view
- Identify assumptions
- Ask about historical context
- Ask about reliability of sources
- Are the goals realistic? Are they ethical?
- Play out the options

# LESSON PLAN

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## **A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period)**

### Procedure:

Give students Handout 1. Divide them into groups and ask them to decide what they will do about Mexico in 1914. Have each group report on which option it chose and explain why.

After the groups have reported, distribute Handout 4, which lists the historical outcomes, or tell the class what actually happened. Ask students what they learned from these outcomes.

Repeat the process for Handouts 2 and 3. The outcomes for these problems are listed on Handout 5 (Mexico, 1916 and 1919) and Handout 6 (Dominican Republic and Haiti).

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students what they would have done differently, if anything, now that they know the outcomes. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions about these issues? Which letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the “Decision-Making Analysis” section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis. Discuss their answers, or have students write their answers in their journals or in their decision-making logs.

### Placing the Actual Decisions into Historical Context:

Ask students: Did certain historical factors cause President Wilson to make the decisions he did in Latin America? What was the historical context at the time? (Rapid industrialization and increasing American power in the world; social Darwinism and the belief in the inferiority of certain races, including many Latin Americans; the Progressive movement and its many reforms; optimism concerning the spreading of democracy; better transportation and communication, making countries more likely to interact; World War I)

### Troubleshooting:

Try not to get bogged down in the many names and dates of these events. The focus should be on the question of when and under what conditions it is a good idea to intervene in another country. This should be a discussion, not an exercise in memorization.

## **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–20 minutes)**

Have students work on only one or two of the problems; they will gain as much by doing one problem as by doing all five in this lesson. Assign the problem(s) for homework, and have students pair up and discuss their decision for a few minutes. Ask for a show of hands as to which option they chose, and discuss their choices. Distribute the corresponding outcomes handout and discuss what they learned about decision making during this lesson.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

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## MEXICO, 1914

(Handout 1; outcomes on Handout 4)

### What Actually Happened:

Ask students whether they looked at this decision from the point of view of the Mexicans. If the U.S. were having political problems and another country invaded and occupied New York City or Los Angeles, how would students feel about the invaders? Would they want the help of the invaders, or would they want to drive them out? Thousands of Mexicans volunteered to defend their country, and mobs attacked American diplomatic buildings in Mexico. Why was President Wilson surprised by this consequence? (He thought he knew best and others would see the logic of his reasoning.)

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- \* - **Consider other points of view**
- \* - **What are my assumptions? Emotions?**

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - **Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)**
- \* - **Reliability of sources**
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- \* - **Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- Predict unintended consequences
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify assumptions:** Question 1 at the bottom of Handout 4 deals with possible assumptions students might have made in making their decision.
- **Consider different points of view:** President Wilson, despite advice he received that the U.S. should not occupy Veracruz, did not understand the Mexican

response to the occupation. He simply didn't see the occupation from the point of view of patriotic Mexicans.

- **Ask about historical context:** What was the historical background of Mexico? (It was ruled by a dictator in the late 19th century. Only a few wealthy Mexicans profited; most poor peasants felt oppressed by the rich plantation owners and wanted to change the system so they too could acquire land. Poor Mexicans also felt foreign investors were taking advantage of Mexico.) How much investment did Americans have in Mexico? (Americans owned half the oil fields and 75% of the mines.)
- **Ask about the reliability of sources:** President Wilson deserves credit for sending a journalist to investigate the situation. However, he should have taken what the journalist reported with a grain of salt, since the journalist had little knowledge of Mexico and didn't speak Spanish. The U.S. ambassador to Mexico was also unreliable, since he was close friends with Huerta. Both men enjoyed drinking, while President Francisco Madero didn't drink at all. The ambassador regarded Madero as self-righteous and stiff, unlike the friendly Huerta. The ambassador's reports were therefore biased in favor of Huerta.
- **Play out the options:** President Wilson should have considered the possibility that the occupation of Veracruz would galvanize Mexicans in opposing the invaders. In terms of politics in Washington, Wilson requested and received a congressional resolution approving military action.

## MEXICO, 1916

(Handout 2; outcomes on Handout 5)

Ask students why it was so difficult for authorities to capture Pancho Villa. Was it due more to the hostility of the Mexican people and government or because of geographic challenges?

In the battle mentioned on Handout 5, ten Americans and 45 Mexicans were killed, 12 Americans and 43 Mexicans were wounded, and 23 Americans were captured. The battle highlighted for Wilson the hostility of the Mexican government and the open-ended nature of the expedition to Mexico to capture Pancho Villa.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - **What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**
- Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- Predict unintended consequences
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Is the goal realistic?** Given the size of Mexico, sending in a small army probably wouldn't accomplish the goal. Since it wasn't worth fighting a major war over an incident of this size, trying to apprehend Pancho Villa this way wasn't realistic. Another problem was the popularity of Pancho Villa in this region of Mexico. Was it a reasonable goal to try to capture him without having the support of the Mexican people?
- **Play out the options:** President Wilson should have anticipated a negative response from the Mexican government and people.

## MEXICO, 1919

(Handout 2; outcomes on Handout 5)

Ask students what this decision shows about President Wilson. (He operated on principles, rather than practical considerations and did not accept campaign contributions from oil companies.)

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies.

### G = Goals

- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- \* - Generate options to help achieve these goals. **Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- Predict unintended consequences.
- Play out the options. What could go wrong?

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Consider ethical issues:** President Wilson based this decision almost entirely on ethical considerations. He felt the Mexicans had a right to take control of their own oil, and he felt it was unethical for governments to intervene in other countries to protect commercial rights.



## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, 1914

(Handout 3; outcomes on Handout 5)

The outcomes of the U.S. decision to intervene in the Dominican Republic in 1914 illustrate the difficulties of a country involving itself in another country's political affairs. Political situations change rapidly in a crisis, and the outside power is often caught in a disastrous position.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- Predict unintended consequences.
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Play out the options:** Once again, U.S. intervention became bogged down in the poverty and infighting of the Dominican Republic. President Wilson should have anticipated these problems.

## HAITI, 1915

(Handout 3; outcomes on Handout 6)

The invasion of Haiti brought economic benefits and stability to that country, if only temporarily—why? Why did it not bring democracy? Ask students why this policy seemed to work better than sending advisers to the Dominican Republic, or occupying Veracruz in Mexico. Is there a rule of thumb that could be used to decide whether to intervene in other countries?

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem
- \* - **Consider other points of view**
- \* - **What are my assumptions? Emotions?**

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to help achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- Predict unintended consequences
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\* Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Other points of view:** All groups within Haiti naturally tried to use the Americans to accomplish their own goals. For example, landowners wanted Americans to protect property, while leaders in power wanted Americans to preserve order.
- **Play out the options:** President Wilson should have anticipated from the Haitians a negative response to the invasion and to his forcing democracy on the country.

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# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

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## Vocabulary

- General Victoriano Huerta—1914 leader of Mexico who killed the elected president Francisco Madero and seized power in the country
- Self-determination—The right of a country to rule itself independently without outside interference
- Venustiano Carranza—Leader in Mexico in 1916 who opposed U.S. forces entering Mexico to capture Pancho Villa
- Pancho Villa—Rebel leader who attacked a town in the United States
- Dominican Republic—Country in the Caribbean that shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti
- Customs service—Department that collects tariffs and other taxes on imports
- Haiti—Country in the Caribbean that shares an island with the Dominican Republic
- Anarchy—State of disorder due to the absence of an effective government; differs from anarchism, which is a political philosophy that advocates the total elimination of government.

# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

## Student Handout 1



### PROBLEM—MEXICO, 1914

The year is 1914, and you are President Woodrow Wilson. General Victoriano Huerta has recently overthrown the constitutional democracy in Mexico. Huerta's men have already killed the elected president, Francisco Madero. The U.S. State Department tells you that it has been the policy of the U.S. government to give diplomatic recognition to whatever government holds power in other countries, no matter how those governments achieved power. The American ambassador in Mexico City, Henry Lane Wilson, tells you that Madero was a terrible leader and that Huerta will be good for the country. You recently sent an American journalist to Mexico to get more information on the situation. He reports that Huerta has launched "an assault on constitutional government" and that the United States has a moral duty to stop the violence and uphold the law. He tells you that most Mexicans despise Huerta.



General Huerta

You also sent a special agent to ask Huerta to hold a presidential election in which he would not be a candidate. The election would return democracy to Mexico. Huerta was outraged by this suggestion. He later closed the legislature and arrested many of its members, and then took the powers of a dictator. Several Mexican opposition groups are now fighting against Huerta.

You sent another agent to interview the leaders opposed to Huerta. The agent reported that the opposition wants not only democracy but also land reform, so that poor people can acquire land. These rebel leaders will also oppose U.S. intervention in the Mexican crisis.

In April 1914, some U.S. Marines landed at a port city to refuel near where Huerta's forces and the opposition were fighting. The Marines accidentally entered a restricted area and were arrested by inexperienced Mexican soldiers (on Huerta's side). The Huerta government quickly released the Marines and apologized. The U.S. naval commander at the port wants the Mexican government to issue a more formal apology, but Huerta has refused. The nearby port of Veracruz is the main city where the Huerta government

procures the guns it needs to fight the rebels. A German ship loaded with 200 machine guns and a million rounds of ammunition will be landing there in one or two days. Trains are waiting to take the supplies to Huerta in Mexico City.



Place a checkmark next to the actions you will take as U.S. president. You can check off as many as you'd like. Explain below.

1. Invade Mexico with a large American army, take Huerta out of power, and set up free elections. This is the simplest way of putting Mexico back on the track to democracy. Americans will see it as strong leadership on your part. Any other action will be much more complicated and may not work.
2. Send guns to the rebels to help them overthrow Huerta. This action will also put pressure on Huerta to surrender and resign, which will bring liberty to the Mexicans.
3. Send a small army to take over the port of Veracruz. It's the perfect time, since the army will be seen as retaliation for taking the Marines as prisoners. Taking the port will cut off the flow of guns to Huerta, giving an advantage to the rebels. It will also put pressure on Huerta to surrender and resign, which will bring liberty to the Mexicans. Your personal adviser in Mexico says there will be no resistance by Mexicans to taking the port. The ships and Marines are already in the area, so it would just take an order to land them.
4. Blockade the Mexican coast to prevent any guns being shipped to Huerta. This action will also put pressure on Huerta to give up and resign, which will bring liberty to the Mexicans. Some ships are already in the area, so it would just take an order to set up a partial blockade. It will take longer to get the rest of the ships to the area to make a tighter blockade.
5. Do nothing. Let the Mexicans work out their own problems.

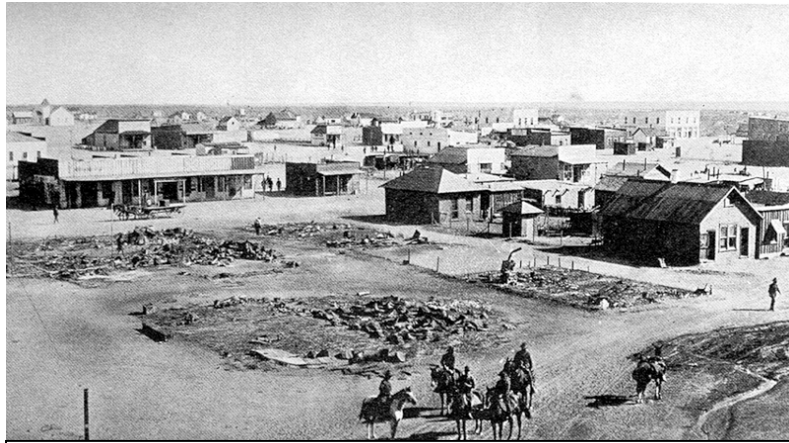
# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

## Student Handout 2



### PROBLEM—MEXICO, 1916

The year is 1916, and you are President Wilson observing the changing situation in Mexico. One of the rebel leaders, Venustiano Carranza, took control of the Mexican government after defeating another rebel leader, Pancho Villa, in battle. He assured you that he believes in constitutional government, the separation of church and state, public education, and land reform by legal means. So you joined other countries in giving diplomatic recognition to Carranza's government, making it the official government of Mexico.



Columbus, NM, following Villa's raid

Pancho Villa was so upset by the U.S. recognition of Carranza that his rebel army invaded the United States. Villa attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing 18 Americans and wounding eight others. U.S. soldiers stationed at Columbus fought and killed about 100 of Villa's men.



Pancho Villa (third from right) and his men

Villa's rebels have attacked a U.S. town, and the American public is outraged. Carranza says the Mexican government will capture Villa and bring him to justice. But the attack seems to show that Carranza's government doesn't have control over

northwest Mexico, where Villa operates. At first, Carranza said that the U.S. and Mexican governments should cooperate to catch Villa. Later, however, he said that if a U.S. army marched into Mexico to capture Villa, he would consider it an invasion of Mexico. Villa himself has committed many atrocities against Mexicans, including the murder of many individuals.

Place a checkmark next to the action you will take. Choose only one and explain your choice below.

1. Invade Mexico with a large American army and remove Carranza from power. Capture Pancho Villa and make sure no rebels ever again attack the United States.
2. Send a small army to hunt down Pancho Villa and bring him to justice. Tell Carranza the U.S. is doing this and that he shouldn't interfere.
3. Ask Carranza if he would allow U.S. troops to hunt down Pancho Villa in Mexico. If he says no, send in the army anyway.
4. Ask Carranza to work with the U.S. to hunt down Pancho Villa. Between his forces and U.S. forces, Villa will be captured.
5. Tell Carranza that the U.S. supports his policy to hunt down Pancho Villa and bring him to justice. The U.S. will stay out of Mexico and let Carranza capture Villa.
6. Do nothing. Let the Mexicans work out their own problems.

### **PROBLEM—MEXICO, 1919**

The 1917 Mexican constitution allows the Mexican government to take, with compensation, land and resources from foreign companies. U.S. oil companies do not want to have their rights to Mexican oil taken away by the Mexican government, even if the American companies will be paid for the land and rights. The American oil companies want the U.S. government to take over the oil fields to prevent the Mexican government from taking their oil rights. A senator from New Mexico says that the Carranza government is like the Bolsheviks in Russia—he says that it wants to expand communism in Mexico. World War I is over, so the U.S. has troops available to send into Mexico.

Will you send troops in to invade Mexico and take over the oil fields? Explain your decision.



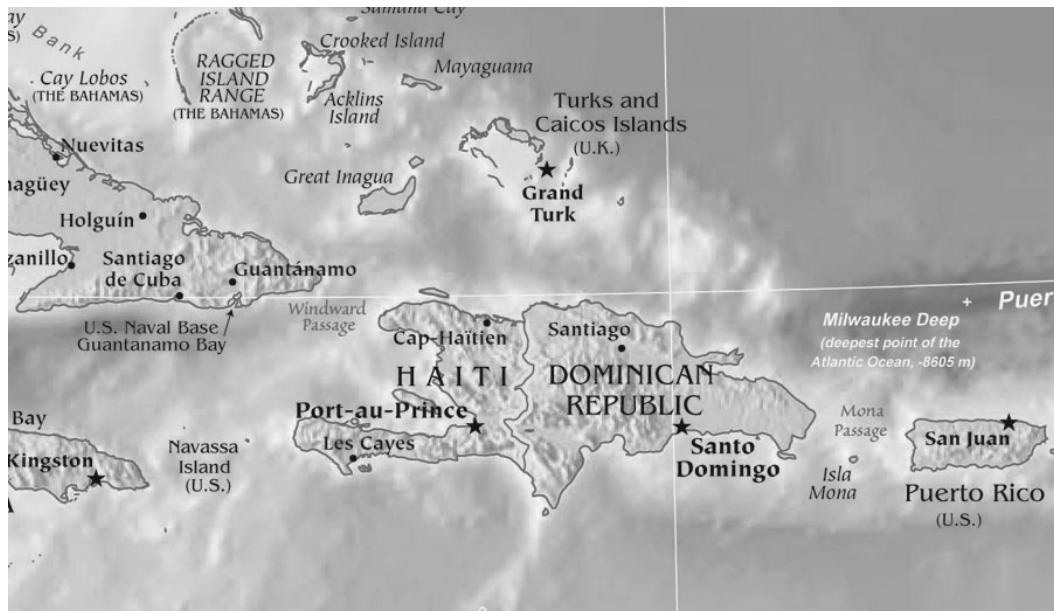
# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

## Student Handout 3



### PROBLEM—DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, 1914

The Dominican Republic is heavily indebted to other countries. According to the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. has the right of “international police powers” to intervene in situations in which poor Latin American countries are having trouble paying their debts. For years, the U.S. has run the Dominican Republic’s customs service. In 1913, however, conflict broke out in the Dominican government. An election brought in a Dominican congress completely opposed to the country’s current president. Each side is trying to build up arms to fight, while preventing the other side from getting weapons. Consequently, each side is stopping trade from coming into the country, preventing the collection of customs taxes (effectively shutting down American operation of the customs service) and making the financial situation even worse.



Place a checkmark next to the action you will take. Explain your choice below.

1. Have a group of American advisers come into the Dominican Republic, along with American troops, and help set up American-supervised elections to restore order and build democracy. Americans would also ask the new government to allow the United States to supervise the customs service again. (Americans

- wouldn't invade and control the island as in #2, below) There wouldn't be many troops, though there would be the threat of invasion if something went wrong, and the advisers would be working with the Dominicans to set up their own elections.
2. Invade the island and set up a democratic government under U.S. control
  3. Negotiate with other Latin American countries to help the Dominican Republic restore order
  4. Do nothing. Let the Dominicans work out their own problems.

### **PROBLEM—HAITI, 1915**

Haiti is a very poor and unstable country. Its French-speaking population is more loyal to France than to the United States. Since Haiti is in great financial debt, Germany and France have discussed taking over its customs service (currently run by Haitians), which collects taxes on imports. U.S. diplomats are afraid Haiti will sell its excellent harbor to Germany or France to pay off part of its debt. The U.S. certainly doesn't want a German naval base that close to the United States and the Panama Canal.

Recently, Haiti's political situation has gotten worse. The leader of Haiti had 200 people massacred and then was killed himself by a mob. It looks like anarchy is sprouting in Haiti.

Place a checkmark next to the action you will take. Explain your choice below.

1. Ask the Haitians to allow the United States to help run its customs service and straighten out its financial obligations
2. Invade the island and set up a democratic government under U.S. control
3. Negotiate with other Latin American countries to help Haiti restore order
4. Do nothing. Let the Haitians work out their own problems.

# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

## Student Handout 4

### OUTCOME–MEXICO, 1914

President Wilson chose two of the policies listed (2 and 3). Giving guns to the rebels (option 2) strengthened the rebels, which placed pressure on Huerta. Occupying the city of Veracruz (option 3) was a major mistake and led to numerous **unintended consequences**:

- It united some of the rebels with the Huerta government against the United States. Newspapers in Mexico City printed headlines of “Invasion!” and called for acts of vengeance against the Americans. Wilson was clearly mistaken in predicting the Mexicans would not resist U.S. occupation.
- Seventeen Americans died and 63 were injured, along with at least 126 Mexicans killed and about 300 wounded.
- The occupation also made people angry in other Latin American countries. They accused the United States of imperialism. People saw President Wilson as hypocritical for espousing self-determination for countries (the right to rule themselves free from outside interference) and then interfering in Mexico.
- President Wilson decided not to expand military operations beyond Veracruz. U.S. troops remained in that one city, which was unsanitary and mosquito-laden. The Americans cleaned up the city and ran it honestly, setting up the most efficient government the city had seen.
- At first, Congress and the U.S. public supported the use of force in Mexico. As the occupation dragged on for months, however, some Americans asked why the U.S. was there at all, while others asked why U.S. troops didn’t just attack the Mexican government in general (option 1) and stop these partial measures.
- The failure of the occupation of Veracruz, one of the most obvious strategic blunders in U.S. history, caused many Americans to believe that U.S. involvement in foreign affairs would most likely turn out negatively for the U.S. These beliefs made the U.S. a bit more isolationist, although other factors played a much bigger role.
- About two months after the occupation began, Huerta resigned from the government. President Wilson took credit for this, claiming that his decision to occupy Veracruz pushed Huerta to give up. Huerta’s army, however, was already crumbling, so it’s unclear how much of an effect the occupation had on Huerta’s decision to step down. Also, the new leader (Carranza) refused to hold free elections, so it’s also unclear how democratic the new government was.
- Carranza asked the Americans to leave Veracruz because he needed the port in order to fight the rebel leader Pancho Villa. U.S. forces withdrew from the city four months after Carranza’s request. When the occupation was ending, crowds of Mexicans in the city asked the U.S. government to take them to the U.S. as

refugees, since they might be harmed by Carranza or Villa for cooperating with the Americans. The U.S. evacuated many of these people.

Huerta's 1913 murder of President Francisco Madero deeply upset President Wilson. He came to believe Huerta was the main obstacle to democracy in Mexico. According to people around him, the president was confident in this view. Wilson had almost no experience dealing with other countries, and neither did his secretary of state, even though the U.S. was clearly a world power after the Spanish-American War. In 1913 he stated that he wanted to "teach the South American republics to elect good men." This quote demonstrates well his attitude of American superiority.



President Francisco Madero

In creating a blockade of Mexico against Huerta (option 4), you might have been condemned throughout Latin America, since a blockade is an act of war. You might also have created a hostile Mexico, no matter who became leader of the country after this point.

Invading Mexico (option 1) would have almost surely been the worst of all the choices. The U.S. could easily have defeated the Mexican army, although the sheer size of the country would have prolonged the war. The problems would have begun after the U.S. took over the government—then what? Does the U.S. leave and allow the country to fall into chaos? Does it install a government, which would rightly be seen as a puppet of the United States? How would Mexico then become a democracy after being taken over by a foreign country? Occupying Mexico would have drained the U.S. of resources, led to the loss of many American lives, earned the hostility of the Mexican people, and gained the U.S. a reputation of being an outright imperialist nation.

Doing nothing (option 5) would have probably caused the fewest problems for the U.S. Sometimes doing nothing is the smartest option. In this case, it would have done no harm to either Mexico or the U.S.

### QUESTION FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which of the following assumptions did you make in your decision regarding Mexico in 1914?
  - a. Mexico is very weak, so if the U.S. invades, they'll defeat the Mexicans quickly
  - b. Mexicans want democracy
  - c. Mexicans won't mind if the U.S. occupies one of their cities
  - d. The Mexican leader, Huerta, would actually benefit from a U.S. attack, since it would unify Mexicans with their leader against the U.S.

# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

## Student Handout 5

### OUTCOME—MEXICO, 1916

President Wilson decided on option 2, to send in an army to hunt down Pancho Villa and bring him to justice. The policy didn't work and brought about many **unintended consequences**:

- The army never caught Villa. The Mexican government and its people would not help the U.S. capture Villa. Despite whatever atrocities he might have committed, Villa was regarded as a hero. One historian notes that the Mexicans were no more willing to turn in their hero than the people of Sherwood Forest were to turn in Robin Hood. As U.S. soldiers went into Mexican towns, they heard people all around yelling, "Viva Villa!" ("Long live Villa!").
- After an eight-month battle between U.S. and Mexican soldiers, Wilson withdrew U.S. forces from Mexico. With World War I raging, the U.S. viewed Germany as its main enemy. The problem with Mexico needed to be settled quickly.
- Sending in troops did not make the Mexican government any more democratic
- The U.S. was viewed in Latin America and around the world as both imperialistic (for invading) and incompetent (for not capturing Villa)
- Many Americans felt that the U.S. got involved in a mess that ended up costing the country lives, money, and prestige
- Other Americans felt the president was obligated to do something to punish those who had attacked Americans on U.S. soil. The president sent a message that the U.S. would not sit idly by and allow attacks on its citizens.
- U.S. troops gained greater experience and learned lessons for future military operations, especially regarding the inadequacy of its airplanes. It also helped develop a strong military leader, General John J. Pershing, who would later distinguish himself in World War I.

President Wilson was under pressure to do something about Villa's attack on U.S. soil. However, waiting to see what Carranza would do about Villa might have been a better option than taking action. Carranza probably wouldn't have captured Villa, but at least the U.S. would have avoided the unintended consequences outlined above. Waiting for Carranza amounted to the same thing as doing nothing, unless Carranza managed to capture Villa.

### OUTCOME—MEXICO, 1919

President Wilson decided not to help U.S. oil companies. He didn't order an invasion or try to protect the oil companies from having their rights taken away by the Mexican government. He did not support intervening in a country solely to protect economic

assets. Rather, he tended to intervene to promote democracy or to support decent governments. He said in that if the Mexicans wanted to take control of the oil within their country, they had the right to do it. American companies would just have to do without their investments.

After 1921, oil production in Mexico dropped significantly, due partly to instability in Mexico, cheaper oil from Venezuela, and the worldwide depression of the 1930s. The production decrease also may have arisen from the change in ownership of the oil companies, which resulted in the loss of some experienced managers and experts.

# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

## Student Handout 6

### OUTCOME—DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, 1914

President Wilson decided to send in advisers (option 1) and arrange for elections in what became known as the “Wilson Plan.” It didn’t work. **Unintended consequences:** The Dominican congress threatened to impeach the new president if he agreed to U.S. supervision of their finances. In poor health, the Dominican president resigned, and Wilson’s secretary of state ordered U.S. Marines to occupy the all of the Dominican Republic. The Marines restored order, got the government debt under control, and improved the economy. U.S. soldiers occupied the Dominican Republic until 1924. Some American soldiers arrogantly viewed the Dominicans as inferior. For example, Admiral Caperton, the head of the military occupation in the Dominican Republic stated, “I really believe that these people are worse than the Haitians if such a thing is possible and I am more convinced each day the only way to handle them is by force and a big stick. Their rascality, grafting, and total unreliability are beyond all conceptions.”

In 1930, a dictator took over the country and violated its citizens’ human rights for 30 years. The situation in the Dominican Republic remained disastrous for decades.

### OUTCOME—HAITI, 1915

President Wilson decided to invade Haiti (option 2), which restored order to the island. The U.S. established an honest government, bettered Haiti’s financial situation, and built new roads, schools, and sewers. The standard of living of Haitians improved significantly. The main city, Port-au-Prince, was modernized, which helped to increase trade. Unfortunately these improvements did not last in the long run: by the 1960s Haitians had the lowest life expectancy and per-capita income of any country in the world, along with a 10% literacy rate.

Haiti did not become democratic. In 1918 more than 40,000 Haitians rebelled against U.S. rule. U.S. forces killed about 2,000 people. When U.S. troops left, Haiti was ruled by a series of corrupt dictators and controlled by the military.

# LESSON 10: CRISES IN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1914–1919

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## Student Handout 7

### Primary Source: Mexican Constitution of 1917 (excerpt)

**Article 27.** Ownership of the lands and waters within the boundaries of the national territory is vested originally in the Nation, which has had, and has, the right to transmit title thereof to private persons, thereby constituting private property.

Private property shall not be expropriated (taken over by the Mexican Government) except for reasons of public use and subject to payment of indemnity.

The Nation shall at all times have the right to impose on private property such limitations as the public interest may demand, as well as the right to regulate the utilization of natural resources which are susceptible of appropriation, in order to conserve them and to ensure a more equitable distribution of public wealth. With this end in view, necessary measures shall be taken to divide up large landed estates; to develop small landed holdings in operation...

In the Nation is vested the direct ownership of all natural resources of the continental shelf and the submarine shelf of the islands; of all minerals or substances...petroleum and all solid, liquid, and gaseous hydrocarbons...

In the case of petroleum, and solid, liquid, or gaseous hydrocarbons no concessions or contracts will be granted nor may those that have been granted continue, and the Nation shall carry out the exploitation of these products, in accordance with the provisions indicated in the respective regulatory law.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does this article say about ownership of land and the minerals in the land?
2. Did the Mexicans make a good decision to include this article in their constitution? Explain your answer.